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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 1, foot-note 2, line 3.—For Rājahmahēndravarmaṇ during the regin read Rājamahēndravarmaṇ during the reign
- „ 1, foot-note 3, line 4.—For Rāghudēva read Raghudēva
- „ 6, line 19.—For eminence read aminece
- „ 6, foot-note 4, line 2.—For *sthitam* . . . *Gōdācarī* read *sthitam* | . . . *Gōdā-carī*°
- „ 6, foot-note 5, line 2.—For *vipra* read *uprā*
- „ 7, lines 6-7.—For Vijayapratāpakapilēndra-mahāśāsana in the Sanskrit read Pratāpakapilēsarapura in the Oriya
- „ 8, foot-note 2, line 2.—For *Kṛishnā* read *Kṛishṇā*
- „ 10, line 37 and page 18, text line 128.—Add note—*Madhubibhūra* may be a mistake for *madhubhūra*.
- „ 11, line 34.—For *Upājati* read *Upajāti*
- „ 12, text line 3.—Read *yaś* |
- „ 13, foot-note 2.—Add note—Or read *putra* *kīrti-pratāpā*°.
- „ 13, foot-note 4.—Read *samprā*°
- „ 14, text-line 44.—For *sukkhāṇ* read *sukham*
- „ 15, text lines 65 and 80.—The correction of **asa* = *Yaju*° is unnecessary
- „ 16, text line 93.—Read [*sa**] *ṭamaḥ*
- „ 16, text line 100.—Read *nishpātāḥ* |°
- „ 17, text line 115.—For *mataḥ* read *matuḥ* ; for *seḍ*° read *syād*°
- „ 18, text line 136.—For *mana*° read *mahā*°
- „ 18, text line 138.—For *Lakshmi* read *Lakṣmī*
- „ 20, lines 6-13.—Add note—If the author used the word *asa* in the sense of 'eight', the year would be Śaka 1378 (current). As the second of the two suggested dates falls in the next lunar year, the first one may be regarded as the correct date of the record.
- „ 21, foot-note 4.—Omit.
- „ 23, line 3.—Read *nāḍu* (*i-nnāḍu*°)
- „ 26, text line 13.—For *idha*, read *i-dha*

Page 27, line 19.—For *ātman* read *ātman*

„ 28, line 18.—For *Pullempet* read *Pullampet*

„ 28, line 28.—For *Renāṇḍu* read *Rōnāṇḍu*

„ 28, foot-note 4, line 1.—For *Dakṣarṇma*^o read *Dakṣarṇma*^o

„ 28, foot-note 4, line 2.—For *vira* read *vira*

„ 29, foot-note 6.—Read ^o*mūḍa* *Deṇkaṇḍā*^o

„ 29, text line 3.—Read *(kḥ-ākḥi)la*

„ 29, text line 5.—Read *(dī)p-ā*^o

„ 29, text line 35.—Read *Baraṇḍāsi*

„ 32, line 23.—For *indentify* read *identify*

„ 34, text line 5.—The correction of *kakṣyaṣ* is unnecessary.

„ 34, foot-note 1.—For *dayda* read *danda*

„ 35, text line 27.—For *kṛtuh* read *kṛtuh*

„ 36, line 21.—For *Pūrṇimānta* read *Pūrṇimānta*

„ 37, line 24.—For *preant* read *present*

„ 37, line 31.—For c. 1255-70 A.D. read c. 1155-70 A.D.

„ 38, line 22.—For *exacavated* read *excavated*

„ 41, foot-note 1, line 2.—For *Huitzsch* read *Hultzsch*

„ 47, foot-note 7.—Add note—*Āsvayuja sudi 11* seems to have been the date of the grant and not of the festival.

„ 49, foot-note 3.—For *karayitum* read *karayitum*

„ 52, line 5.—For *as* read *us*

„ 56, line 3.—For *all sins* read *great sins*

„ 58, line 13.—For *bhikṣumi* read *bhikṣuṇ*

„ 59, line 15.—For *Enlightment* read *Enlightenment*

„ 61, line 29.—For *definity* read *definitely*

„ 63, text line 8.—For *sa-pañcha* read *sa pañcha*

„ 68, foot-note 9.—For ^o*ādriṣ* read ^o*ādriṣ*

„ 69, text line 5.—For *śri* read *śrī*

- Page 69, text line 10.—For °āṛata[ā] read °āṛata[ā]
- 70, text line 18.—Read *śuchi*²
- 71, line 31.—For *Karṇāta* read *Karṇāṭa*
- 73, line 32. For *discused* read *discussed*
- 74, text line 8.—For *Janḍamalaśtarē* etc. read *Janḍamall[ḥ]pā(lz=°n)tarē* etc. [H.K.N.]
- 75, text line 16.—For *nagare=ca*² read *nagarī=va*²
- 75, foot-note 4, line 4.—For *below* read *below as*
- 75, foot-note 15, line 2.—Read *not sama*²
- 77, foot-note 1, line 1.—For *Nollipayva* read *Nollipayya*
- 80, line 7.—For *thi* read *this*
- 89, lines 33-34, and page 91, text line 20.—Add note—*Uñchh-ādi-parihartavyē samādhi-sahitaḥ* may mean 'together with an agreement in respect of the exemption of *uñchha*, etc.'²
- 92, text line 25.—For *Sua* read *Sen*
- 93, line 34.—For *Dēvapāladeva* read *Dēvapālādēva*
- 94, text line 1.—For *Śrī*² read *Śrī*²
- 97, line 19.—For *Dhanesar* read *Dhaneswar*
- 102, line 29.—For *as* read *has*
- 104, para 4.—Add note—The verb in *sauti lōkē=smi* in verse 5 may suggest that Mallikārjuna was living at the time when the record was drafted or engraved. In that case, verse 11 merely indicates that Gaurī made her husband Mallikārjuna free from his debt to his ancestors by performing their *śrāddha* at Gayā on her husband's behalf.
- 104, foot-note 2, line 3.—For *abave* read *above*
- 105, foot-note 3, lines 3. A.—For *Dhruvēśvara* read *Dhruvēśvara*
- 107, text line 1.—For *lass*. read *loṣa-*
- 108, para. 3, line 7.—For *magan[*]* read *maga[ā*]*
- 109, line 4.—For *in that Narasimha* read *in that of Narasimha*
- 113, text line 16.—For *kā[ā*]* read *kā[ā]*
- 114, lines 25-30.—Add note—If *Vijayanagara-simhāsana-kartala* is taken to refer to Achyutarāya, it was he who was made free from his debt to his ancestors by Timmananua by performing their *śrāddha* at Gayā on the king's behalf.

- Page 118, line 20.—For *Konkonḍala* read *Konakonḍla*
- .. 118, foot-note 10, line 5.—For *munisurak* read *munīścarak*
- .. 118, foot-note 19, line 7.—Read *pūjīṭ-ōṭṭirishā*
- .. 120, text line 15.—For **rlēmpi* read **rlēpi*
- .. 120, text line 24.—For *varggaṁś=cha* read *varggaś=cha*
- .. 120, foot-note 1.—For *range* read *raṅgē*
- .. 121, line 29.—For *away* read *away*
- .. 122, lines 13-14.—Add note—The 21 generations are generally understood to indicate the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations of a person together with his own generation.
- .. 123, foot-note 1, line 1.—For *this* read *the*
- .. 128, text line 1.—For *parāddhē* read *parāddhē*
- .. 132, line 15.—For *Rodam* read *Roddam*
- .. 137, line 17.—For *2f* read *of*
- .. 139, text line 14.—For *vidhāya* read *vidhāya*
- .. 139, text line 14.—Read *evgaṇḍhīni*
- .. 144, text line 7.—For *lāchhana* read *lāchhana*
- .. 144, text line 22.—Read *bhūpatir=*
- .. 146, text line 54.—For *uttarāyana* read *uttarāyana*
- .. 146, text line 56.—For **ashta* read **ashta*
- .. 154, text line 20.—For **utkirappā* read **utkirappā*
- .. 156, line 15.—For *to whom* read *to which*
- .. 158, foot-note 3.—For *Tihre* read *There*
- .. 161, text line 2.—For *yirattar* read *Yirattar*
- .. 161, text line 3.—For *dēvarku* read *dēvarku*
- .. 161, foot-note 11.—For *Pudukottai* read *Pudukkottai*
- .. 173, line 2.—For *Tirupparan** read *Tirupparan**
- .. 194, line 39.—For 959 A.D. read 995 A.D.
- .. 213, text-line 26.—For *vipulā[n*]* read *vipulā[n*]*

- Page 317, line 4.—For *Kōṅkaṇa* read *Kōṅkaṇa*
- .. 220, line 39.—For *Bhaktrāja* read *Bhaktirāja*
- .. 220, foot-note 3.—Read pp. 239 ff.
- .. 221, last line.—For *Sūrya* read *Sūrya*
- .. 225, line 36.—For *bring* read *being*
- .. 228, last line.—Read *70 tam*
- .. 231, text line 124.—Read *cha*
- .. 234, foot-note 1.—For *this* read *this*
- .. 237, text line 12.—For *sarvash* read *sarvadā sarvaśh*
- .. 237, text line 15.—Read *cha bhagavatā* and omit foot-note 1.
- .. 252, foot-note 1, line 2.—For *sdescription* read *description*
- .. 256, line 32.—For *nscription* read *inscription*
- .. 258, foot-note 5.—For *Māvāli* read *Māvāli*
- .. 260, foot-note 3.—Add note—For the female name *Nāgavasu* with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 64.
- .. 265, foot-note 2.—For *Chōḍaganga* read *Chōḍaganga*
- .. 280, foot-note 8, line 3.—For *Kashhamumetta* read *Kambamumetta*
- .. 283.—For *74 Yarrā* read *74 Yarrā*
- .. 284.—For *101 Sōmayajulu* read *101 Sōmayājulu*
- .. 285, foot-note 5.—For *Śārdūlavikrīṭā* read *Śārdūlavikrīṭa*
- .. 287, text line 31.—For *Rigvedī* read *Rigvēdī*
- .. 287, text line 37.—For **pu(pu)li* read **puli*
- .. 289, text line 86.—For *Yarrā* read *Yarrā*
- .. 290, text line 141.—For *dharī* read *dari*
- .. 291, text line 177.—For *tādi* read *tādī*
- .. 291, text line 178.—For *nilla* read *nilla*
- .. 293, line 23.—For *seems to register* read *seems to be to register*
- .. 302, text line 20.—For *nama* read *nāma*
- .. 302, text line 21.—Read **aidida[ru]*

Page 304, line 3.—*For characters read chartdis*

„ 304, foot-note 8, line 2.—*Add at the end of the sentence—as well as in the Gunsighar plate of 507 A.D. (ibid., p. 331).*

„ 309, line 27.—*For called read called*

„ 315, line 25.—*Read \bar{s}*

„ 316, line 5.—*For Ballālasēna read Ballālasēna*

„ 318, line 35.—*For is read are*

„ 320, line 41.—*For supported read supported*

„ 323, text line 31.—*For grāma-samāpāsita read grāma-parisara-samāpāsita*

„ 328, line 43.—*For sence read sense*

„ 331, foot-note 9.—*For va read vi*

1456 A.D. Since the earlier of the two records now under review, viz. the one dated 1455-56 A.D., is fragmentary and its introductory part gets some elucidation from the other epigraph, dated 1456 A.D., we shall take up the latter first for discussion.

The two known records of Raghudēva, together with the two now under study, show that he was Kapilēśvara's governor at Rajahmundry at least from 1453 to 1460 A.D. But he seems to have been placed in charge of the Gajapati province of Rajahmundry some time earlier. The province in question appears to have comprised roughly the present East and West Godavari Districts together with some of the adjoining areas. This was the Rājamahēndra-rājya or the kingdom with Rājamahēndrapura (or 'nagara) or Rājamahēndravaram (i.e. Rajahmundry) as its capital, which Kapilēśvara conquered from the Reddis and annexed to the Gajapati empire a few years before the earliest date in Raghudēva's known records.

The struggle of the Reddis of Rajahmundry with their kinmen, the Reddis of Kondavidu, led to the decline of both the houses and to their complete subjugation by the Vijayanagara king Praudha-Dēvarāya (Dēvarāya II) who had ascended the throne in Śaka 1346 (1424 A.D.). This also speaks of the success of the Vijayanagara king against the contemporary Gaṅga monarch Bhānu IV (c. 1414 to 1434-35 A.D.) of Orissa because the latter's attempt to annex the Rajahmundry kingdom to the Gaṅga empire failed. An inscription* points to the presence of the Vijayanagara general Teluṅgarāya at Simhachalam in the year Playaṅga (1427 A.D.) while the Mūḍa-bidure inscription† of Śaka 1351-Saunmya (1429 A.D.) describes Dēvarāya II as the lion in destroying the crores of elephants of the Mātaṅgarāja (Gajapati) and the very Agastya to the ocean of the armies of the Andhra kings (i.e. the Reddis). The latest date for Virabhadra, the last Reddi king of Rajahmundry, is the month of Phālguna in Śaka 1359-Piṅgala (1438 A.D.),‡ when he was apparently a vassal of the Vijayanagara monarch. But a Draksharame (Rama-chandrapuram Taluk, East Godavari District) inscription of the reign of Dēvarāya II, dated Śaka 1366 (1444 A.D.), seems to suggest that the Reddi king was still living as late as that date.§ An inscription* at Penugonda (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District), dated Śaka 1370-Vibhava (1448 A.D.), however, speaks of the rule of the Gajapati king, i.e. Kapilēśvara. The Rajahmundry kingdom was thus conquered by Kapilēśvara between 1444 and 1448 A.D. There is a tradition that he conquered the country named Mahendra (or Rājamahendra) or Mahendra (i.e. Rājamahendra) in the fourteenth Śaka year of his reign.¶ Since he ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., his 14th Śaka or 12th actual regnal year would correspond to 1446-47 A.D. Raghudēva may have been stationed at Rajahmundry soon after the annexation of the Rājamahēndra-rājya to the Gajapati empire, i.e. sometime before 1450 A.D. How long he served in the same capacity after 1460 A.D., the latest date known from his records, cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming.

1. Raghudēvapura Grant of Śaka 1378

The set consists of six plates, of which only five bear writing on both sides. The plates are each 10½ inches long and 5½ inches high. The inscribed plates are numbered in Telugu-Kannada numerals, the figures being engraved in the left margin on the obverse, very near the ring-hole

* This is the earliest known date found in his records. But the real date of his accession cannot be determined. See *JOB*, Vol. XXII, pp. 47 ff.

† *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 203.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 202.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1352 and 1353.

¶ M. S. Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, pp. 192-93.

* *Ibid.*, p. 193; *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, No. 15-4-4. The Guttu fort was besieged by Gajapati Hanhira during the reign of Praudha-Dēvarāya (*A.H.Ep.*, 1921, p. 114, No. 10 of App. A).

† *Mūḍaḥ Pāṭṭi*, ed. A. B. Mahanti, Cuttack, pp. 44, 45. Cf. *Kaṭṭiyat of Jagannātham* quoted by Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, p. 84.

which is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. The ends of the ring passing through the hole are soldered beneath a seal bearing the figure of a standing caparisoned elephant fixed on its surface. The diameter of the ring is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches while that of the seal is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The five plates together weigh about 271 *tolas*. The weight of individual plates varies between 50 and 58 *tolas*.

There are altogether 149 lines of writing on the ten faces of the five plates and they are distributed in the following order: IA—16 lines, IB—15 lines, IIA—17 lines, IIB—16 lines, IIIA—16 lines, IIIB—15 lines, IVA—15 lines, IVB—15 lines, VA—17 lines, VB—7 lines. There is a linear drawing at the end of the epigraph on the reverse of the last plate. The same kind of sketch is also found on the other charters issued by the *Sūryavarmā* Gajapatis of Orissa, in some of which it looks clearly like the representation of a sword or dagger (or several swords or daggers).¹ The figure apparently stood for the signature of the donor on the original document later engraved on copper plates.

The inscription is written in **Telugu** characters and in the **Sanskrit** language and, excepting a short *maṅgala* passage in prose at the beginning of line 1, the whole record is written in verse. Its **palaeography** is characterised by the use of almost similar signs for letters like *ch* and *bh* in some cases and for others like *bā* and *bhā*, *bi* and *bhi*, etc. There is no distinction between *p* and *r* when used as subscripts in conjuncts. The mark distinguishing *bh* from *b* is generally a curve added to the top of the right limb of *b*. It is rarely a small vertical below the letter (cf. *Talla-bhāṭṭa* in line 82); but sometimes it is a curve at the same place (cf. *tanū-bhava* in line 81). The indication of aspiration of this second type is found in *chh* (cf. *chchhā* in line 12) and sometimes in *th* (cf. *stambhā-tha* in line 126) in the form of an inward curve in the bottom line of the letters. In a few cases, an inward loop takes the place of the curve (cf. *chchhā* in line 54). The same medial signs have been used for *ṣ* and *ṣ* and for *ḍ* and *ḍ* as the distinction between the short and long signs did not develop or was not popular as yet. There are two forms of *t* (cf. *ṭṭan gata staḥ* in line 15). A noteworthy characteristic of the **orthography** of the record is the representation of *th* by *dh*, *ddh* by *dhdh* and *ph* by *p* in a large number of cases. In some cases, *l* has been written for *l*. The letter *t* is often reduplicated after the nasal (cf. *jagantti* in lines 1-2) while *h* is often represented by *hv* and *y* by *yy*. Another peculiarity is the substitution of the class nasal by *anuvāra* which is again invariably used in the place of final *m*. *Visarga* followed by *ṣ* or *ṣ* has very often been changed to the respective sibilant in *Sandhi*. In several cases, medial *ṣ* has been represented by *ra* (cf. lines 103-04, 107).

The date of the charter is quoted in verse 30 in lines 58-59. It was the **twelfth of the bright half of the month of Śuchi in the year Dhātṛi** of Jupiter's Southern Cycle corresponding to the **Saka year** counted by *raṇu* (i.e. 8), *ḍaila* (i.e. 7) and *vīṣṭa* (i.e. 13), i.e. 1378. The month of Śuchi is *Jyēṣṭha* according to some authorities and *Āṣāḍha* according to others, although in Oriya lexicons it is recognised in the latter sense only. The date thus appears to correspond to the **15th June 1456 A.D.**

The inscription is divided into four sections, one separated from another by one or more floral designs. It is interesting to note that the stanzas of Sections I and II are numbered, but that the numbering is not continued from Section I to Section II in which the verses have consecutive numbers beginning again from 1. Section III actually begins with a *Siddham* symbol.

Section I may be subdivided into two halves, the first containing adoration to gods and the second a description of the donor's ancestry as well as of the donor and the grant he made. It consists of 33 stanzas in various metres engraved in lines 1-64 on the four faces of Plates I and II.

¹ Cf. the Chiruvelli grant of Hambira in *BHārati*, November, 1941, p. 530; the Bainsore copper axe-head inscription of Puruṣottama in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 335; the Valicharla plates of Pratāparudra in *BHārati*, August 1936, p. 273; above, Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 211; etc.

Section II gives a list of the donees in 40 stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, which runs from line 65 at the beginning of the obverse of Plate III to the first half of line 119 in the middle of the second side of Plate IV. Section III describes the boundaries of the gift village. It consists of 14 stanzas mostly in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, which are engraved in lines 119-35. Section IV contains the imprecatory and benedictory part in 8 stanzas in different metres, which are engraved in lines 135-49. There are thus altogether 95 stanzas in the inscription.

Section I begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *mangala*: *avighnam astu*, after which there is another *Siddham* symbol. The above is followed by several verses invoking the protection of a number of deities. Verse 1 contains a prayer to the tusk of the *Lilāvāṛāka*, i.e. the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, for the protection of the world from danger, while verse 2 contains a similar prayer to the god *Gajāśya* (i.e. Gaṇeś). The next two stanzas (verses 3-4) likewise seek for the favour respectively of the goddess Earth and the feet of *Kamalāpati* (i.e. Viṣṇu). After this, the donor's family is gradually introduced. Verses 5-7 describe the god *Nārāyaṇa* (i.e. Viṣṇu) and the next stanza (verse 8) speaks of *Virīṇchi* (i.e. Brahman), the god of creation, who was born out of *Nārāyaṇa*'s navel and whose two arms produced the martial race (i.e. the *Kahatriya* clan). According to verse 9, in this race came into being the Sun and the Moon (*prahṛa-vantau*) from whom sprang two dynasties (i.e. the solar and lunar races). Verse 10 states that there was a *Nāyaka* named *Kapilēśvara* who was one of the many rulers (*nripa*) born in the solar and lunar races and was the crest-jewel of a number of *Nāyakas* (i.e. was one of the foremost *Nāyakas* or had several *Nāyakas* under him). The real meaning of the word *nāyaka* used in this context is uncertain. An inscription¹ of Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) from *Srikurmam*, e.g., mentions the *Nāyakas* of *Kalinga* either in the sense of royal officers or ruling chiefs, while the *Oriya* lexicons recognise the word in the sense of a ruler or a leader of forces. There is thus no doubt that *Kapilēśvara*, described not only as a *Nāyaka* but also as a *nripa* or ruler, was a person of some importance, apparently a small ruling chief. The family names *Nāyaka* and *Paṭṭanāyaka* are still current among the people of Orissa.

Verse 11 mentions *Jāgēśvara* who was the son of the above-mentioned *Kapilēśvara* and represents him as a great hero and a possessor of numerous elephants. The next stanza (verse 12) speaks of *Balarāma* as the eldest among *Jāgēśvara*'s sons who were all famous for their prowess. Verse 13 states that *Balarāma* and his father *Jāgēśvara* died on the battle-field while fighting with certain enemies even though they had already obtained victory in the contest. The following three stanzas (verses 14-16) deal with *Kapilēśvara*, the younger brother of *Balarāma*. This *Kapilēśvara*, named after his grandfather, was the celebrated founder of the *Sūryavamśa* *Gajapati* family of Orissa. A passage in verse 14 says that *Kapilēśvara* acquired the exalted position (*vibhava*) of the *Dantirāja* (i.e. *Gajapati*) by dint of his prowess (*śaurya*). This no doubt refers to his occupation of the throne of *Gajapati Bhānu IV*, the latest known ruler of the Imperial *Gaṅga* dynasty.² Verses 15-16 vaguely describe the heroism of *Kapilēśvara*. Verse 17 introduces *Paraśurāma Harichandana* as the younger brother of *Kapilēśvara*, while the following stanzas describe *Paraśurāma*'s son *Raghudēva* who was the donor of the grant under study. Verses 17-18, 20 and 23-24 of this part are also found in the *Dōrapālem* grant of *Raghudēva* edited below, although a stanza in that record, mentioning *Rāma* as the younger brother of *Paraśurāma*, is not

¹ *SIU*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

² The title *Gajapati* became popular with the latest rulers of the *Gaṅga* family gradually. *Bhānu I* is called *Gajapati* or *Gajapati* in a *Drakṣarāma* inscription (*SIU*, Vol. IV, p. 361, No. 1084) of Śaka 1196 (1274 A.D.) and *Narasimha III* *Gajapati*-*Pada-Narasimha* in a *Simhachalam* record of Śaka 1305-1383 A.D. (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 285, No. 752). *Narasimha IV* is called *Gajapati* in some inscriptions from *Simhachalam*; cf. *Gajapati* in one of Śaka 1323-1406 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 277, No. 731), and *Gajapati* or *Gajapati* in another of Śaka 1305-1383 (*ibid.*, p. 286, No. 753). Similarly *Bhānu IV* is called *Gajapati* in two *Simhachalam* inscriptions respectively of Śaka 1336-1414 A.D. and Śaka 1339-1417 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 447-48, No. 1113; pp. 417-18 No. 1040) Cf. below, p. 44.

met with in the present epigraph. Verse 19, which is not found in the Dōrapālesh grant, discloses the fact that the name of Raghudēva's mother was Mallikā. Verse 20 says that, owing to his prowess and his conquests Raghudēva was *putrikṛita* by his uncle Kapilēśvara. The expression *putrikṛita* may suggest that Raghudēva was adopted by his uncle as a son, but the idea may also be that Kapilēśvara treated Raghudēva as one of his own sons. The second alternative seems to be supported by Raghudēva's Warangal inscription of a later date (1460 A.D.) representing him as the son of Paraśurāma and not of Kapilēśvara. It is difficult to say whether the claim had anything to do with the title *Kumāra* enjoyed by Raghudēva.¹

Verse 33 represents Raghudēva as a *Narēndra*, i.e. a ruler, although he is generally called a *Kumāra*, *Nṛpa-ātmanaja*, *Rāju-tanaya*, *Narēndrarāja-putra* (or **sūnu*) and *Narēndra-dhātāpāl-ātmanaja*, i.e. a prince, and verses 26-27 state that he owed his position to the grace of Kapilēśvara whose viceroy apparently he was. That he was a servant of Kapilēśvara is also clearly indicated by the word *śrēṣṭh* used in verses 25 and 29 with reference to his service to his uncle. Verse 27 may suggest that the title or position of *Kumāra* was assigned to him by Kapilēśvara. But the reference to his *dig-vijaya* (verses 20, 25 and 26) and to his rule over 'the earth' (verses 22, 24), his comparison with the ancient imperial ruler Kārtavīrya (verse 22) and the vague reference to the prowess of his arms in many of the stanzas show how the official *prasthikāra* was trying to endow a provincial governor with the glory of an emperor.

Verse 27 states that Raghudēva had his headquarters at the city of *Rājamahēndra* (i.e. Rajahmundry) and that the province over which he ruled extended from *Simhāchala* to *Giripraja* which may be a mistake for *Girivraja*. *Simhāchala* is no doubt the place of that name in the Viśakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh; but the other limit of the province under Raghudēva is difficult to identify. We know, however, that the kingdom of the Redḍis of Kondavidu, which also was conquered by Kapilēśvara and made a province of the Gajapati empire, lay on the other side of the territory ruled by Raghudēva. It is thus not impossible that *Girivraja* (literally 'the cowherd settlement on the hill') was the Sanskrit form of the Telugu name *Koṇḍavidu* (literally, 'the city on the hill'). The rendering may of course have been influenced by the names of the celebrated cities called *Girivraja*, which were the capitals of the ancient Magadha and Kākaya countries.² It may be noted that, when Raghudēva was ruling over the district around Rajahmundry, Kondavidu was the headquarters of Gāḍadēva, another of Kapilēśvara's viceroys. Gāḍadēva's inscriptions bear dates in 1454 and 1455 A.D.³ It seems that the province under Raghudēva lay between two other provinces of Kapilēśvara's empire, which had their headquarters at Simhachalam and Kondavidu.

¹ This case reminds us of a Simhachalam inscription (*SHI*, Vol. VI, No. 1088, pp. 437-38) of Śaka 1381 (1459 A.D.) recording the gift of *Hambira-kumāra-mahāpātra* of the *Sūrya-vamśa*. In the Chiruvroli grant and Warangal record, the donor *Hambira* is represented as the son of Kapilēśvara. The date of the record, the title *Kumāra-mahāpātra* and the descent from the solar lineage no doubt suggest that *Hambira* of the Simhachalam inscription was the same as the homonymous son of Kapilēśvara, although the title may mean 'a *Mahāpātra* of the status of a *Kumāra*'. But *Hambira-kumāra-mahāpātra* is described in the Simhachalam epigraph as the son of *Saṅḍudēva-mahāpātra*. Since it is impossible to believe that the emperor Kapilēśvara has been mentioned as *Mahāpātra* *Saṅḍudēva* in a record of 1459 A.D., the only possibilities are that *Hambira* of the Simhachalam inscription, even though he must have been a close relation of Kapilēśvara, was different from the emperor's son of the same name, or that *Saṅḍudēva*'s son *Hambira* was adopted by Kapilēśvara as his own son sometime after 1459 A.D. as a reward for *Hambira*'s success in the southern campaigns. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 286-87.

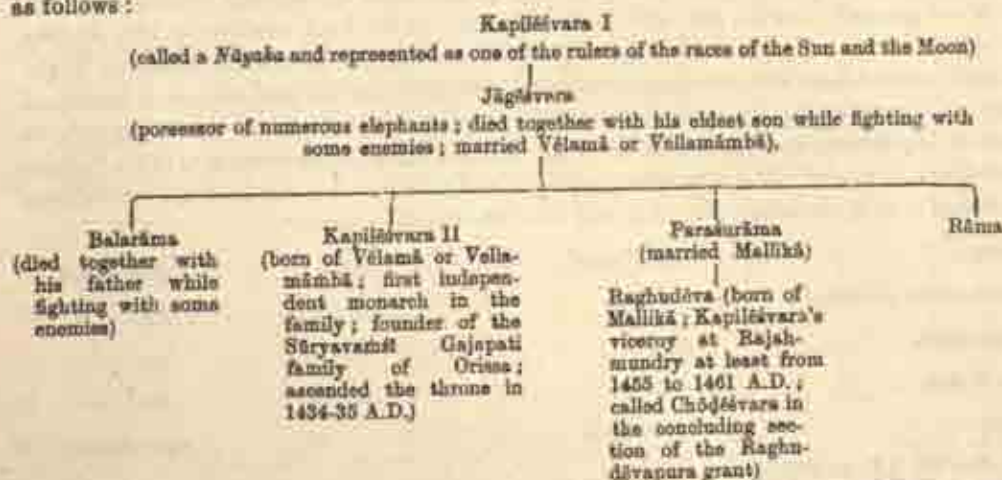
² See N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v. *Girivraja*. Cf. the Palampet inscription in *Hyd. A.S.*, No. 3.

³ The Chintapalli inscription (*A.R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 70) of Gāḍadēva is dated Śaka 1376, Bhāva, Vaiśākha-endi 15, Thursday. The date may be the 11th April 1454 A.D. His Kondavidu plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 390 ff.) were issued in Śaka 1377-Yuvan corresponding to 1455 A.D. Chintapalli is in the Sattenapalle Taluk and Kondavidu in the Narasaraopet Taluk, both in the Guntur District of Andhra. The forts of Addanki and Vinukonda lay within Gāḍadēva's province.

120 donees receiving shares in the two localities are then enumerated in the following order: (1) northern part of Jāgēśvarapura (*Jāgēśvarapurapu vidhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (2) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (3) northern part of Vellamāmbāpura (*Vellamāmbāpurapu vidhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (4) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas; (5) northern part of Kapilēśvarapura (*Kapilēśvarapurapu vidhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*), called Vijayapratāpakapilēndra-mahāśāsana in the Sanskrit part—20 Brāhmaṇas; (6) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādī*)—20 Brāhmaṇas. It appears clear from this enumeration that the village of Veligalani was divided into three parts, one of which was named Jāgēśvarapura and another Vellamāmbāpura. This further suggests that the word *pitrī* in the passage *eva-pitr-ākhyayā* means not merely 'father' but both 'father and mother' and that the name of Kapilēśvara's father was Jāgēśvara and that of his mother Vellamāmbā. The third part of the gift village was named after the donor and the village was sometimes referred to as Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapura.¹

The female name Vellamāmbā looks like Telugu in origin and it may be suggested that Kapilēśvara had Āndhra blood in his veins. This is of course not improbable in view of the fact that his success in conquering wide areas of the Telugu- and Tamil-speaking lands, then under the hegemony of the Vijayanagara king, was due, to a very considerable extent, to the help he received from Āndhra generals.² But the question cannot be satisfactorily solved without further light on the subject, since the Oriya supplement³ of the Veligalani grant mentions Vellamāmbāpura as Vēlamapura or Bēlamapura and *Vēlamā* or *Bēlamā* may be supposed to have been made *Vellamāmbā* in Telugu. It has, however, to be admitted in this case also that *Vēlamā* or *Bēlamā* does not look like a typical Oriya name either. On the other hand, it reminds us of the Velama caste, one of the front-rank agriculturist communities of the Āndhra country, to one of the sub-divisions of which belong the Rajas of Bobbili, Venkatagiri, Pithapuram and Nuzvid.⁴

The genealogy of the early Sūryavamśī Gajapatis of Orissa, as found in the Raghudevapura grant with its information supplemented by the Dōrapāleni and Veligalani grants, now stands as follows:



¹ The Oriya part of the document also suggests that the village of Veligalani was divided into three parts, one named after the king's father, another after his mother and the third after himself.

² Many of the celebrated Gajapati generals were Āndhras. Some of those who served under Kapilēśvara were Gajarāva Tippe and Dāmara Timma or Tamma and Tamma's son Basava-bhūpāla (cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 86-87; A. R. Ep., 1892, No. 208; etc.).

³ This part of the inscription is carelessly engraved on both sides of the last plate, lines 1-10 on the obverse and line 11 on the reverse. For the text, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 279-80; *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.

⁴ See Thurston and Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, pp. 336 ff.

No.	Donor	Donor's father	Gotra	Vēda or Sākhā
5	Annam-ārya	Mallabhatta	Kauṣika	Yajus
6	Singam-ārya	Brahma	Hārita	do.
7	Annam-ārya	Narasimha	do.	do.
8	Kāman-ārya	Āditya	Kauṣika	do.
9	Vadagiri	Mallam-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
10	Prōlan-ārya	Bōtan-ārya	Kauṣika	do.
11	Nāgan-ārya	Gōpāl-ārya	Bhāradvāja	do.
12	Nāya(Nāgaya ?)-bhatta	Tippam-ārya	Kauṇḍinya	do.
13	Aubhal-ārya	Vallabh-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
14	Talin-bhatta	Kāman-ārya	Laṅghita	do.
15	Kāman-ārya	Mallam-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
16	Nārāyaṇa-bhatta	Vallabh-ārya	Kauṇḍinya	do.
17	Āditya-bhatta	Kāman-ārya	Kauṣika	do.
18	Kasavan-ārya	Kamchan-ārya	Bhāradvāja	do.
19	Timmāṇa-āsttrin	Aubhal-ārya	Ātrēya	do.
20	Viśvāvara	Nṛsimha-sūri	Kāśyapa	do.
21	Kṛishṇa-bhatta	Peddam-ārya	do.	do.
22	Dēvarāṣ-bhatta	Viśvāvara	Kutsa	do.
23	Pōti-bhatta	Viśvāvara	Kauṇḍinya	do.
24	Kāmārya-bhatta	Lakshmaṇa	Ātrēya	do.
25	Appal-ārya	Kāman-ārya	Kauṣika	do.
26	Nāgan-ārya	Vallabha	Kauṇḍinya	do.
27	Daggam-ārya	Mallāya	Kāśyapa	do.
28	Aubhal-ārya	Gangam-ārya	Śrīvatsa	do.
29	Bollam-ārya	Singam-ārya	Ātrēya	Bahvricha (Rik)
30	Bhāskara	Brahmānanda	Hārita	Yajus
31	Yaru-bhatta	Aubhal-ārya	Ātrēya	do.
32	Dēchi-bhatta	Āditya	do.	do.
33	Mallana	Setgi (Setgiri ?)	Hārita	do.
34	Sōma	Mallana	Bhāradvāja	do.
35	Aubhal-ārya	Appal-bhatta	Kāśyapa	Yajus
36	Yarām-ārya	Narasimha-ārya	Śrīvatsa	do.
37	Rāmachandra	Peddi-yajvan	Hārita	do.
38	Sitgana	Yajñam-ārya	Kauṇḍinya	Bahvricha (Rik)
39	Narasimha	Anant-ārya	Gautama	Yajus

No.	Donor	Donor's father	Gotra	Vēda or Śākhā
40	Sārap-ārya	Mallan-ārya	Kāśyapa	Yajus
41	Mādhava	Yallanna	Kaudika	do.
42	Vissana	Bhāskara	Kutia	do.

Of these Nos. 33-34 and 41-42 are specifically stated to have received only half a share each. This seems to suggest that the other Brāhmanas received one full share each. There were altogether 40 shares; but 2 shares were divided equally among 4 Brāhmanas.

Verse 29 of Section I (lines 55-58) shows that the land granted by the charter under study was called **Kriddēvy-uttarakhaṇḍa**, i.e. the northern part of Kriddēvi, while the next verse mentions the land granted by Raghudēva in favour of the 40 Brāhmanas as **Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa** situated on the bank of the **Gōdā**, i.e. the Gōdāvari (called **Gautamī** in verse 1 of Section III). The three concluding stanzas of the section mention **Raghudēvapūra** which was made an *agrahāra* (i.e. a rent-free holding for being owned by Brāhmanas) by Raghudēva. It is thus clear that the northern part of what was formerly called Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa was made an *agrahāra* and granted in favour of a large number of Brāhmanas and that the *agrahāra* was re-named as Raghudēvapura after the donor Raghudēva. The grant was made for the *priti* or favour of the god Vāṇudēva (Viṣṇu). It was endowed with the privileges of *aṣṭa-bhoga* and *aṣṭa-bhūti*.¹ There is no doubt that Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa or Raghudēvapura on the Gōdāvari or Gautamī is the same as modern Raghudēvapuram, about 14 miles to the north-west of Rajahmundry, headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the East Godavari District of Andhra. It is situated on the left bank of the river.

Section III of the inscription (lines 119 ff.) describes the boundaries of Raghudēvapura situated on the bank of the **Gautamī** (i.e. Gōdāvari). To the north and north-west of the village, the **Vṛiddha-Gautamī** (i.e. bigger Gautamī) was flowing and, to the east of the river, there was an *antariya* (an island or a promontory) and the **Laghu-Gautamī** (i.e. the smaller Gautamī) flowed beyond it. To the east of the Laghu-Gautamī, there was a big stream flowing from the Gautamī and, to the east of this stream, there was a row of palmyra trees and beyond them a big Pippala tree. On the way to the Pippala tree (or, at the same place near it), there was a big Vāṇa tree and near it, on the same mound (*aṣṭu*), some palmyra trees. To the north-east of these, there were two bamboo bushes and to their east a tamarind tree. To the north-east of that tree, there was a Bahā tree and to its east another tamarind tree. There were two Palāśa trees to the north-east of that tree and a Plakṣa tree stood to the north-east of the Palāśas, and near them, on the same mound, there were the Gōḍinēni-taṭāka (tank), one Pippala tree and two Vāṇa trees. To the north-east of these, there was a stone pillar while a second stone pillar stood towards the east of it. From the second pillar towards the east began a big mound (*aṣṭu*) which ran towards the south. There was a big Pippala tree on it and also the bank of the **Madikāva** (possibly the name of a tank or stream). To the south of these, there were some Kadamba trees and, to the south-east of the trees, there stood a **Madhubhūra** (tree) very near a stone pillar. There was Kāśava's tank to the south of the pillar and behind the tank there was a curved road marked by a pointed stone, which came from or led to the locality called **Kōṭēlapūṭa**. On the said road towards the south-west, there were several Ghṛṣha and Tāḷa trees and to the west of them stood two Pippala trees on the road to or from **Mugguḷu**. To the north of them, there was a big Pippala tree as well as a temple of Śaṅkara (Śiva). Behind the temple, the Gautamī was flowing in the west and there were the temple of Chintamma and a big Pippala tree on its bank. To the west of these, the Gautamī flowed straight in a small stream, to

¹ The same privileges are also referred to in such other records as the Kondavīḍu plates of Gopādēva. Cf. *South Indian Inscriptions* in lines 31, 32 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 291).

the west of which there was an island and beyond it ran the bigger stream of the same river. Between these two streams of the Gautami, there was an *antaripa* and, from that place (*adhvan*) the northern bank of the Gautami formed a part of Raghudēvapura.

The concluding section of the inscription in lines 135 ff. contains some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. But they are preceded by two stanzas containing the prayer of *Śrī-Narēndra* (i.e. the illustrious ruler Raghudēva) to the future rulers and that of *Śrī-Vira-Chōdēśvara* of the solar race to the Brāhmanas, both for the protection of the grant stated in the verses to have been made by the *Narēndra* or *Chōdēśvara*. This seems to suggest that *Chōdēśvara* was another name of Raghudēva, the donor of the grant. Whether this suggests that Raghudēva's mother was a *Chōda* or *Chōja* princess cannot be determined. The last verse of the inscription states that the charter regarding *Raghudēvapura* was *kathita* by *Ādaviḷa Nṛsiṃha* under orders from *Raghudēva*. The word *kathita* seems to have been used here in the sense of 'composed' or 'written'. It is found in a similar context also in some other records.¹

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription include : *Kaṭaka* (Cuttack) the capital of the empire of *Kapilēśvara*, *Rājamahēndranagara* (Rajahmundry) which was the headquarters of the province under the rule of Raghudēva, the gift village originally called *Kṛiddēvi-uttarakhaṇḍa* or *Kṛiddēvi-khaṇḍa* and re-named as *Raghudēvapura*, and the river *Gōdā* or *Gōdāvari* or *Gautami* and its courses called *Vṛiddha-Gautami* and *Laghu-Gautami* on which the gift village was situated. As already indicated above, the province of the Gajapati empire, which was under Raghudēva's rule, is stated to have been bounded by the *Sinhāchala* (Simhachalam in the Taluk and District of Visakhapatnam, Andhra) on one side and by what is called *Giripraja* (probably standing for *Giriraja*) on the other. This *Giripraja* or *Girivraja* was apparently situated towards the west or south-west of Rajahmundry and, as already suggested above, was probably the name applied to another province of the Gajapati empire, which had its headquarters at *Kondavidu* in the Guntur District.

The location of *Raghudēvapura*, the new name applied to the gift village formerly called *Kṛiddēvi*, has already been discussed above. In the description of its boundaries, mention is made of the *Mugguḷlu-mārga*, i.e. the road coming from or leading to *Mugguḷlu* which is still known to be a village about a mile to the south of *Raghudēvapuram* and about 13 miles to the north west of *Rajahmundry*. I am unable to identify the few other places mentioned in this connection.

TEXT²

[Metres : Section I—verses 1-2, 6, 8-11, 16 *Upajāti* ; verses 3 *Indravajrā* ; verse 4 *Harini* ; verses 5, 7, 31, 33 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 12, 14, 25-27, 29-30 *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita* ; verses 13, 21-24, *Mālabbhūṣi* ; verse 15 *Sragdharā* ; verse 17 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 18 *Gūti* ; verses 19-20, 28 *Prithvī* ; verse 32 *Sāgātā*. Section II—verses 1-40 *Anuṣṭubh*. Section III—verses 1-9, 11-14 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 10 *Upajāti*. Section IV—verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verse 2 *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita* ; verse 3 *Sālīni* ; verses 4-8 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

Section 1

First Plate, First Side³

1 Siddham⁴ [1*] avighnam=astu. [1*] Siddham [1*] Pāyād=apāyāt=paramāya pūṇa[6]
Līlāvarīhasya jagā-

2 mīti(ti) dānab[trā | vaṭa-prarūh-āgra-da]śaya lakṣmīṇ yad-āgra-lagnā vasudhā babbhāra | 1 |

¹ Cf. the Chiruvelli grant (*Bhāratī*, November 1941, pp. 514 ff.), line 31.

² From impressions.

³ The figure 1 is engraved in the left margin of the plate, near the beginning of line 8.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol which is preceded by a floral design.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

- 3 Sa-*etanōdra-lēkhadi** *gaganam nirikahya mahurama(r-nmu)uōd-ānubuda mēhakaṁ yaḥ*
khēla[n]-pi-*
- 4 *tri-prānta-charō Gajānyayō²-vyād-Aj-ādyair-abhivandīyamānsh* | 2 | *Yām-ud(dih)shur-*
jala-
- 5 *rāsi-linēh dēvō dhar-ōdbhēda-vidhāna-chumēkh* | *sanstabdhā³-rōm-ājan* *Mādhavō-pi*
saukaryatas-ā
- 6 *Vipul-āetu bhūtyai* | 3 | *Pradh(tha)yata mudan pād-āmbhōja-dvayaṁ Kamalāpatō[r]-*
nata-
- 7 *ripu-śira[h*]-śrēṇyāo sadm-āvatī(t)rga-jaya-śriyāḥ* | *vinamad-smari-da(dha)mmill-āsta-prapu-*
(phu)lla-ā-
- 8 *ra-du(dru)ma-prasava-patāil-dva(vē)shṭi(śhṭi)bhūta-pramōda-parākramam(mam)* | 4 | *Asti*
vastu chid-ā-
- 9 *natūda-mayam-advayam-achyutām(tam)* | *avidyā-dvaya-nā(sā)chivva-vivartita-jaga[t*]-*
- 10 *trayam(yam)* | 5 | *Sahasta-saukhyas-charagaḥ śirōbhū-nētraiḥ karair-vvyāpya jagad-*
vasantām(tam) | *vilōchati-*
- 11 *bhūta-ray-indu-bhūbāh vibhūh mahātmānam-ajījanad-yat* | 6 | *Utpatti-athiti-sauhvā-*
(hā)ra-hō-
- 12 *tu-bhūtō-yam-avyayaḥ* | *Nārāyaṇō-bhavach-chhirmān⁴ tri-guṇ-ātmā trayi-mayaḥ* | 7 |
- 13 *Tan-nābhi-padmaōd-śalabhōd-Virinchī[h*] śraṣṭā samastasya char-ācharasya* | *chatur-*
mukhasy-āya ma-
- 14 *bātmanō-bhūd-varpō bhujābhyām jaya-labha(bdha)-varṇaḥ* | 8 | *Kīrti-pratāp-iva mūrti-*
man-
- 15 *tan tau pushpavantā(sā)v-uditan yata stah* | *yasāḥ-patākā jagatāḥ tatō-bhūd-vanśa-dva-*
- 16 *yī bhāgya-pa[raṁ]parābhīḥ* | 9 [*] | *Tat sūrya-ādm-ānvaya-bhūmi-pāla-varṇa-āgrajānām n[rī]-*

First Plate, Second Side

- 17 *pa-san-maṇinām(nām)* | *viṇḍdhā(ddha)-vittah* **Kapilōvarō-bhūt-san-nāvakō nāyaka-**
manj-ratnath(tnam) | 10 [*] **Jāgōśva-**
- 18 *ras-tat-tanayō mahātmā Raghōraiv-Ājō bhuvan-aika-sūrah* | *abbūd-abhūr-vairi-bhuvām bha-*
- 19 *yānām kīrti-pratāpa-dvaya-bhū[r*]-ggaḥ(j-āu)ghaḥ* | 11 [*] *Tasy-āsan⁴ tanayāḥ prasidhūha-*
(ddha)-vinayā Jāgō-
- 20 *āvarasy-ābhavan vīra-chhcha(chchha)trita-kīrttayaḥ kuvalay-ōllāi-pratāpa-śriyāḥ* | *tatr-*
ādyō Bala-
- 21 *rāma ity-udaya-bhūr-āvaradhdna(rttha)-nām-ābhavat-khaḍga-stambhita-śūra-vairi-nikara-*
[h] kīrti-pratāp-ā-*
- 22 *śrayaḥ* | 12 | *Asama-samara-sacipat-kampit-āris-tad-āyam nija-janaka-samētō yudhdha-*
(ddha)-sam(sa)ma-

* There seems to be an unnecessary and imperfectly formed *ā-mānō* with *āḥ*.

² Read *Gajāyō rō* or *Gajāyā-ā*.

³ Read *sambhādhā*.

⁴ *Sandāi* has not been observed here.

TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA — PLATE I

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

i, a

2	...	2
4	...	4
6	...	6
8	...	8
10	...	10
12	...	12
14	...	14
16	...	16

i, b

18	...	18
20	...	20
22	...	22
24	...	24
26	...	26
28	...	28
30	...	30

Scale : One-Half

32	...	32
34	...	34
36	...	36
38	...	38
40	...	40
42	...	42
44	...	44
46	...	46
48	...	48

50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54
56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62
64	...	64

- 23 dhḍha(dḍha)-vāhaḥ | raṇa-bhavi vijit-āris-tyakta-dāhō vibhinna-dyu-maṇir-agamaḥ-iṣṭya
svar-vadū(dhū)nām.
- 24 kuth(ku)ch-āgram(gram) | 13 | Vira-āri-Kapilśēvaras-tad-annajāḥ kīrtti-pratāpa-dvayī āri-
vikṣālita-
- 25 cakravāla-charaṇa-ōddām-āṇḍhakārō-bhavaḥ | śaury-śaḍita-Darṇtirāja-vibha-
- 26 vō bhō-maṇḍal-ākhaṇḍalō llā-avikṛita-dig-jay-ārjita-mahī(hī)pāl-ākhila-āri-bharah | 14 | *
- 27 Dīk-kōṣṭh vāya sōṣṭh raṇa-śaraṇa-mukhō samṁukhaṁ vāri-vi(vi)raṁ vāraṁ vāraṁ varitaṁ
- 28 varam-Amaraṇa-purī-vāṇa-āryasavaramvai¹ | ēkā-yasy-āśi-putri(trī) nava-jalada-tati-śyāmālā-h²
- 29 ma-bhūṣhā-putrāḥ kīrti-pra³tāpāveśabhata yamaṇaḥ parviṇḍ rakta-raktā | 55(15) | Yas-
āśi-dh⁴-
- 30 nuḥ samid-agra-bhūmaḥ yav-āṇkurāṇ karpa-vataṇṣa-bhūṭāṇ | dvishad-vadhūnāṁ grasta-
- 31 nuvelam-apahnuvā[nā] stana-patra-vallīḥ | 16 | Tasy-ānujāḥ Paraśurāma iti prasiddhō-
(dḍhō) nāmnō padō-

Second Plate, First Side⁵

- 32 na Harichandana śva-sākahāt | yaṁ prāśya(pya)-yām(ti*) vibudhāḥ paripūrpa-kāmōḥ
sāmprā-
- 33 rōṭit-ārdhāḥ⁶ [pha]ladam karit-āṇḍa-ku(ki)rttiḥ(vitim) | 17 | Abhavad-analō guṇ-aughair-
uditaḥ kīrtti[yā] cha Paraśu-
- 34 rāma-vibhōḥ | Udaya-girī(h*) śi(ḥi)taruchi(chi) Raghudēva-kō(ku)māra-vi(vi)ra-simhvo-
(hō)-yām(yam) | 18 | Anu(sū)ta suta-
- 35 m-aṅgaṇā-kula-mataḥkikā Mallikā prabhūtam-iva mahī(ḥi)kā-prasavam-iṣṭa-gaṇḍhaṁ
nṛpāṇ(nām) | [yataḥ]
- 36 Paraśurā[ma-rā*]jō-abhavad-agraṇḥ putriṇām-asaṇ Raghuvārō vāsi(āi) vibhu-maṇiḥ kaḍamu-
nābavad⁷ | 19 | Putri(trī)-
- 37 kṛitō mahimnā Kapilśēvara-damṭti(ti)-rāja-si(m*)hvo(hō)ṇa | dig-vijay-ārjita-yasasā Ragu-
dēva-kumā-
- 38 ra-śūra-(śā*)jōḥlāḥ | 20 | Raghudēva-kumāra-vi(vi)ra-si(m*)hvo(hō) vidadhānō vijayam
diśām ravim(v-iṇi)dvōḥ | pra-
- 39 tihimḥakatā pratāpa-kīrttyōḥ ppa(pa)rivēśma-tu Vidhēr-ayam viśēhaḥ | 22(21) | Raghudēva-
narō-
- 40 mdra-rājaputrō vipulām śasati Kārttavi(vi)rya-kalpō | girayaḥ paripadhdhī(nthi)nām-
abhīvanu-u-
- 41 ta sarv-āpasasām kucā nivāśāḥ | 23(22) | Raghudēva-narādndra-rājasūnau raṇa-sannō-
- 42 ha-vidhāyini prakāmarō(mam) | śaraṇam cha raṇō tadā bhajantō charaṇō vā maraṇam ripu-
pra-

¹ Read "āryasavaramāḥ".² The syllable pa may be omitted for the sake of the metre.³ The figure 2 is engraved in the left margin of the plate, near the beginning of line 40.⁴ Read *compāṣṭhīḥ dīkha*.⁵ Read *āṇḍhakārō-bhavaḥ*.

- 43 vi(vi)rāḥ | 24(23) | Raghudēva-narēndra-rājaputrē jagatīm śaṁti khaḍga-śālī-bāhu |
charaṇ-ā-
44 vanatā-sukhām bhajamātē(tē) rāṇa-śm-ēvanatā-tu jamṇā¹ | 25(24) | Dhātī-dig-vijay-
ārji-
45 tair-bahunai² ratnatā-cha ghōḥ(ā)śatāḥ śāś(ā)ti(tī)bbh[ḥ*] kṛō(ka)ripām ghaṭābhīr-
abhiśampūjy-ānḍhri-yu-
46 gmaṁ pīnūḥ | vīra-śrī(śrī)-Kapilēśvarasya bahudhā sāvām vidhāy-ādarādvi(d-vī)ra-śrī-
Raghudēva-rā-
47 ja-tanayō labdh-ākhlā-śrī(śrī)r-abbūt | 25 | Jitv-śāśa-saka(ka)lā nihatya cha ripūn hṛtvā
48 tadīyāṁ(yam) dhanam nānā-ratna-mahābha-bhāpya(vya)-turaga-ārēṇābhīr-aty-ambujau |
vīra-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 49 [śrī]-Kapilēśvarasya charaṇau sampūjya tat-sāvayā labdhā-śrī(śrī) Raghudē[va*]-rāja-
tanayō
50 dharm-ādlikā varddhā(rddha)tē | 27(26) | Tishṭham-Bājamahēndra-nāma-nagarē samyak-
prajāḥ pāk(pā)āya(n*)-
51 a-ā-Simbhā(bā)chalam-ā Gīptā(vrā)jam-īmām bhūmim tat-ākarṇakām(kām) | vīra-
śrī(śrī)-Kapilēśva-
52 rasya kṛpāyā kurvan Kumār-āgrāṇi(ḡ)rdhī(r-dhī)ra-śrī(śrī)-Raghudēva-rājatanayaḥ Śrī-
(Śrī)śa-priyō va-
53 riddhā(rddha)tē | 28(27) | Turanga-ju(khu)ra-dhā(dā)rita-kahitī-rajah-kaṇair-vairipām
ārāmaḥ pata-bhāsurair-a-
54 nu-kalam samāchchhāde(ya*)n | mahāura-gaṇān-punair*-vasubhīr-adhthī(rthi)śaś-
tāhāyām-śaś Raghū-
55 nrip-ātmajaḥ pitar-abhiśatāḥ śumbhatē | 29(28) | Śivāya Kapilēśva[ra*]sya Katakam
56 gatvā tatō mārggatō vyāghrapya(ahy-ā)gamanō samakāhya dharaṇidēvān sa-bhāḥ(bhā)ryā-
57 n-bahūn | tad-rakṣā-luta-dhīr-narēndra-dharaṇipāl-ātma-jō-manyata Kriddēvy-
uttara-kha-
58 [m]ḍam-āha sukṛit dātum dvijēbhya-ethiram(ram) | [29]* Śāk-āhdō vasu-śaila-
viśva-gaṇitē sa[rn*]vatearē
59 Dhātari Dvādeśyām Śuchi-śukla-pakehage-tidhau(thau) prādādhā(d=Dha)ri-
pri(pri)ṭayē | vīra-śrī-Raghudēva-
60 rājatanayaḥ Kriddēvi-kharṇam parām chatvārimāś-abhiśatā-bhūra-vara-ārēṇyai
cha Gō-
61 dā-taḥ | [30]* Raghudēvapuram datvā(ttvā) Raghudēva-nripātmajaḥ | śrī(śrī)matō
Vāsudēvasya pri(pri)ṭa-
62 yē-sa(sā)[va*]kaiputa | [31]* Śahta-bhōga-sahitam Raghudēvaś-cha-śahta-bhūti-sahitam
cha vidhāya |

¹ Read śāśa śāśa.

² Read bahūndhar* or bahū-dhara*.

³ Read pūma*.

- 63 agrahāra-Raghudēvapuraṁ tat-sarva-mānyam-adadhākripātuh¹ | 31(32) | Raghudēvapu-
 64 rasy-āśya likhyatē [bhū]sur-āva[[ih] | Raghudēva-narēndrasya āha[r*]mmāpām-iva mālīkā
 | 32(33) |*

Section II

Third Plate, First Side*

- 65⁴ nasyapas-sanya(d-Ya)jurvēdi(dī) Varad-ā[r]yya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi(gī) Vēdagiri-dvēdī⁵
 vēd-ādhyāya-pa-
 66 rāyapaḥ* | 1 | Ātrēyō-namtta(ta)-bhāṭṭō-pi Yajurvēda-parāyapaḥ | bhāgi(gī) prājñō manā-
 67 vidvān-Ādityasya [ta*]nūbhavaḥ | 2 | Mahā-vidvān-Mallu-bhāṭṭō Hārīt-ānvaya-śekharaḥ |
 Na-
 68 rasimhva(ha)-sutō bhāgi(gī) Yajur-vich=chhāstra-vāk-patīḥ | 3 | Hārītō Dēvarē-bhāṭṭa-
 sutas=Sō-
 69 maya-kōvidaḥ | bhāgi sabhyas-sad-āchārair-agra-vēdi-Pitāmahaḥ | 4 | Kauśikō-pi Yajus-
 śā[khō]
 70 Mallu-bhāṭṭa-tanūbhavaḥ | Annam-ārya-dvijō bhāgi(gī) Vēda-śāstra-parāyapaḥ | 5 |
 Hārīta-Brahma-tana-
 71 yō Yaju⁶-śākhā-parāyapaḥ | bhāgi(gī) syāch=Chimṅan-āryō-pi nity-āchāra-nirām-
 72 taraḥ | 6 | Hārītō Yajur-adhyāya-nishthō bhāgi dvij-ōttamaḥ | Annam-ārya-
 73 s=sad-āchārō Narasimhva(ha)-tanūba(bha)vaḥ | 7 | Kāman-ārya[h] Kauśikō-pi bhāgi(gī) bhū-
 74 sura-sattamaḥ | Yajur-vēdas=sad-āchārair-Ādityasya tanūbhavaḥ | 8 | Kā-
 75 śyapō Yajur-adhyāya(ya)s=sabhya[h*] prāmāṇikō gupī(nī) | Mallan-āryasya tanayō bhāgi
 76 Vēdagiri[h*] avayam(yam) | 9 | Kauśikō Yajur-adhyāyō Bētan-āryya-tanū-bhavaḥ |
 bhūsur-ā-
 77 grēsarō bhāgi Prōlan-ā[r*]yyaḥ priyamvadaḥ | 10 | Bhāradvājō Yajus-śākhō Gōpā-
 78 -āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi san-Nāgan-āryō-pi sabhyaḥ prāmāṇika-priyaḥ | 11 | Kauṇḍī-
 79 nyō Yajur-adhyā[ya*]s=Tippaṇ-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi Nāya*-bhāṭṭō-pi vidvad-yājñika-
 saṁ-
 80 mataḥ | 12 | Kāśyapas-sanya(d-Ya)jñ-śākhō Vallabh-ārya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgavān-Aubha-
 āryō⁷=pī

¹ The intended reading seems to be *adadhāsa kripātuh.

² There is a floral design here to indicate the separation of the following section quoting the list of donees from the foregoing part.

³ The figure 3 is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of lines 72-73.

⁴ There is another floral design at the beginning of this line.

⁵ The correct form of the word is *dvēdī*. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 93.

⁶ The two aksharas *rāya* are engraved in the margin.

⁷ The name is written partially in the margin on an erasure.

⁸ Between *Ya* and *ju*, the letter *śa* was engraved and rubbed off.

⁹ One more syllable is required in the name to suit the metre. The intended reading may have been *Nāpasa*.

¹⁰ The correct form of the name is *Aubhaka* which is a modification of *Aśbhaka*.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 81 prāmāṇika-padhā(ṭh-ā)ṇgaḥ | 13 | Lauhitō Yajur-adyā(dhyā)yaḥ Kāman-ārya-tanūbhavaḥ
[1*]
82 Tallu-bhattō=pi bhāgi syād-Vēda-sāstra-viśāradaḥ | 14 | Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāyō Ma-
83 ṇan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | Kalpasūtra-priyaḥ kāntaḥ Kāman-āryyō=pi bhāgavā-
84 n | 15 | Kaundinyō Yajur-adhyāyō Vallabh-āryya-sutō vaśi | bhattō Nārāya-
85 ṇō bhāgi karmamathō dha(rma-va*)tsulaḥ | 16 | Kausikō Yajur-adhyāya-pātadipo(r*)jya-
parāya-
86 ṇaḥ | Kāman-āryya-sutō bhāgi bhatt-Āditya-divij-Ottamaḥ ||17|| Bhāradvājō Ya-
87 jur-vēda(h*) |¹ Karchoan-āryya-sutō mahān | bhāgi syāt-Kasavan-āryyas-tu²
88 sabhya=sāṁsat-priyō vaśi ||18|| Ātrēyō Yajur-adhyāya-pravīṇō
89 bhāgavān-iha | Aubha(ḥ)-āryya-sutas=sabhyaḥ sāsatri Tisamaṇa-kōvidah ||19*||
90 Śrīmat-Kāśyapa-gōtrō=pi bhāgi Viśvāvaras-audhīḥ | Nṛisīṁha-sūri-tanayō Yaju(r)-vē-
91 dī guṇ-śnataḥ | 20 | Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-nipuṇō bhāgavān-iha | Pedlan-āryya-su-
92 tas=sabhyaḥ |³ Krishṇa-bhattas=sabhā-priyaḥ ||21|| Kutsa-gōtrō Yajus-sākhi Viśvāvara-
93 tanūbhavavaḥ((bhavaḥ |) bhāgi syā(d*)=Dēvarō-bhattas-sāsatri(trī) lūḥaura-ḥa*)ttamaḥ
||22|| [Kaundinyō Ya]-
94 jur-adhyāya-nipuṇō bhūti-bhāsurah || |) Pōti-(bha*)tō bhava(vō)ḥ bhāgi Viśvāva(rā-tanō)-
bha-
95 vaḥ ||23|| Ā(trēyō) Yajur-adhyāya-nipuṇō La(kahma)ṇ-āt(majaḥ || (bhāgi) (Kā)mā(r)j(ya)-

*Fourth Plate, First Side**

- 96 bhatta(h*) syād-anna-dāna-pad-ōjya(jjya)lah ||24|| Kausikō Yajur-adhyāyi Kāmanāman-ā-
97 rya-tanū-bhavaḥ | bhāgi(gī) syād-Appal-āryō=pi Kalpasūtra-priyō vaśi ||25|| Kaundī-
98 nyō Yajur-adhyāya-nipuṇō Vallabh-ātmaḥ | bhāgi syān=Nāṣṇa-āryō ||(pātadipo)ya-
jña-pa-
99 rāyaḥ ||26|| Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-niśitō Malla(y-ā)ṭmaḥ | (Duḥḥgaṇ-ā)ryō
100 pi karmaḥḥa ||27|| bhāgi sabhya-manō-haraḥ ||27|| Śrī(vatas-gōtrō) Yajusī nūbhātaḥ
101 sūri-vallabhah || |) Aubhāṇ(i-ā)ryō nūbhān-atra Gōḥga(n-ā)ryya-sutō vaśi ||28||
Ā(trēyō).
102 yō Bahvricha-prashthō bhāgi nīlāṣa-ka(r*)ṇmāthaḥ ||() Śiṁgaṇ-āryya-sutas=sabhyaḥ(bhyō)
103 Bollan-āryyas=satāṇa priyaḥ ||29|| Hāritō Yajur-adhyāya-viśri(śru)taḥ
104 śrī(śru)ta-pāragah ||() Brahmānāśda-sutō bhāgi Bhākarō yajya-vallabhah ||30|| [1*]
105 Āvrā(trēyō) Yajur-adhyāyō Yaju-bhattō=pi bhāgavān | Aubha-āryya-su-
106 tas=sabhyas=sā-dharmmas=sōma-sut-prī(yaḥ ||31|| Ātrēyō Yajur-adhyāyi

* The danda is redundant.

¹ There is a redundant syllable in this foot of the stanza. Either *syāt* or *tanu* may be omitted to rectify the defect.² The figure 4 is incised in the margin near the beginning of lines 102-103.³ Read *Kāman-ō*.

TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA — PLATE II

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

iii, a

66	...	66
68	...	68
70	...	70
72	...	72
74	...	74
76	...	76
78	...	78
80	...	80

iii, b

82	...	82
84	...	84
86	...	86
88	...	88
90	...	90
92	...	92
94	...	94

Scale : One-Half

96	...	96
98	...	98
100	...	100
102	...	102
104	...	104
106	...	106
108	...	108
110	...	110

112	...	112
114	...	114
116	...	116
118	...	118
120	...	120
122	...	122
124	...	124

- 107 Dēchi-bhaṭṭō=pi bhāgavān | Ādityasya sutas=sabhyah(bhya)s=su-āpi(aru)taḥ karmmaṭha-
priyaḥ
108 ||32|| Hāritō Mallanō=py=arddhā(rddha)-bhāgi(gī) | Śrīgi¹-nāridanaḥ | Bhāradvājō=
py=arddhā(rddha)-bhāgi 33-
109 mō Mallana-nāridanaḥ ||33|| Kāśyapō Yajur-ādhyāya-paṭu(r*)=bhāgi satām ma-
110 taḥ || (|) Appalō-bhaṭṭa-tanaya¹ Aubha-āryya=sabhāh(bhā)-priyaḥ ||34|| Śrī(Śrī)vatsa-
gōtrō

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 111 Yajushī prasiddhō(dhō) bhāgavān=iha | Narasimhā(h-ā)ryya-tanayō Yajur-āryya-
na-
112 tām mataḥ ||35|| Hāritō=pi Yajur-vēda(h*) Peddi-yajva-tanūbhavaḥ ||(|) bhāgi jyō-
113 tirvidām śrēṣṭhō Rāmachandra-budh-āgrāṇi ||36|| Kaundinyō Bahvricha-śrēṣṭhō Ya-
114 jñan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi Śingana-viprō=pi sat-saṅga-sika-parāyaṇaḥ ||37|| Gau-
115 tamō=pi Yajus-śākhā-paṭur=bhāgi satām mataḥ | Narasi(h*)hva(ha)s=sabhāya(h*)svād=
Anna-
116 m-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ ||38|| Kāśyapō=pi Yajus-śākhī(khī) Mallan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ ||1*||
117 sat-saṅga-niratō bhāgi Sūra-ā(r*)yyaḥ priyaḥ(ya)s=satām(tām) ||39|| Śrī(Śrī)mat-Kau-
118 śika-Kuts-ākhyā-gōtrau Mādhava-Vissanau | Yallana-Bhāskara-sutau Yajushā-
119 v=śika-bhāginau ||40||²

Section III

- Siddham³ ||*|| Etad-vipra-nivāsaaya Gautamī-ti(tī)ra-śōbhinaḥ | Raghudēva-
120 puraśy=ś(s)ya śi(sī)mā-chihnaṭh vilikhyatō || 1*|| Raghudēvapur-ōdīchyām vāyavyām
Vri-
121 dhāha(dhā)-Gautamī | tat-prāg-diśy=amtaripaś=cha tad-agrē Laghu-Gau(ta*)-
mī || (| 2*) Tat-prāchyām ma-
122 hāti(tī) kuyā Gautamyā nirgatā spuṭam(sphuṭam) | tat-prāchyām tāja-pa⁴n(k*)tiś=cha
tad-agrē sthūla-
123 pipa(ppa)ḥ || 3*|| Tad-adhvani vāta sthūla=tat-sētau tāja-bhūruhāḥ | tadi(d-ai)śān-
yām vaiśa-ku-
124 śjan tat-prāchyām chintriṇi⁵-tarū || 4*|| Itōvi(Tad-ai)śānyāni bahā-vriksha(s=ta)t-prā-
chyām chī(n*)triṇi⁵-taruḥ |
125 palāśau cha tadi(d-ai)śānyā(mi(m=ai))śānyām [plakshaka)s=ta(th)ā || 5*|| Gō(dināni)-
ta(tā)kaś=cha [tat-sētau] pi-

¹ The name requires one more syllable to suit the metre. It may have been Śrigiri.

² There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing list of donses from the following description of the boundaries of the gift village.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ This letter had been originally omitted and was later inserted in the small space between ja and ai.

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 126 ppa[⁶] va[^{an}] | silā-stambha[¹]=tad[¹](d-ai)sānyān[¹] silā-stambhō[¹]=tha pūrvata[¹h*] || 6*]
Tad=ārabhya mana-sētu[¹] prā-
- 127 chyām[¹] dakṣiṇa-diśmukha[¹] | s[¹th]ūla[¹] ppa(pa)lāsas[¹]=sētusthō Muḍikāva-mahā-tata[¹]h
|| 7*] Tad-dakṣiṇa-diśi[¹] ērāpi-ka-
- 128 damba-dhara[¹pi(nī)-ruhā[¹] | ājñā(gnō)yyāth[¹] madhubibhūra[¹] ppā(pā)chāpa-stambha-sa[¹thi-
gata[¹] || 8*] Kāśava[¹] tata[¹]kō[¹]=pi
- 129 dakṣiṇasyā[¹] diśi[¹] sthita[¹] || 9*] Ta[¹]āka-paschā[¹d*]-diśi[¹] vakra-mārggō Kō[¹]apunta[¹]saya
ā[¹]āgra-lakṣmā[¹] | tata[¹]=cha
- 130 tatr[¹]=ādhvan[¹] ghōṣa-tā[¹]a-vrikshā[¹h*] prāsiddhā[¹(ddhā) diśi[¹] nī[¹r*]pitās[¹]=cha || 10*]
Prati(t)chyām[¹] diśi[¹] Muggu[¹]ju-mā-
- 131 r[¹gga(rggō) ppi(pi)ppala-yugma[¹] | tata[¹] u[¹ttā]ra[¹ta[¹h*] sthūla[¹] ppi[¹pa(pippa)la[¹] Sā[¹mka-
ālaya[¹] || 11*] Tatpu(t-¹pi)sh[¹tha-bhāgam[¹]=ā-
- 132 rabhya[¹] prati(t)chyām[¹] diśi[¹] Gautamī[¹] | Chintalan[¹am-ālaya[¹] sthūla-pippalō[¹] Gautamī-tata[¹]h
|| 12*]
- 133 Tat-pratyag-ṛi[¹u-mārggō[¹] sūka[¹]ma-vāhā[¹] cha[¹] Gautamī[¹] | pratyag-diśi[¹] tatō[¹] lakṣā[¹] athā-
- 134 la[¹]-vāhā[¹] cha[¹] Gautamī[¹] || 13*] Vāhā[¹(ha)yō[¹]=ubhayō[¹]=madhyō[¹] yō[¹]=nī[¹tari(rī)pas[¹]=tatō-
dhvanā[¹] || 14*]
- 135 Gautamyā[¹]=ch[¹]=ōttarō[¹] bhāgō[¹] Raghudāvapuras[¹] hi || 14*]

Section IV

Grāma[¹] sil[¹](a)m-āsh[¹ta-chihna-

- 136 spr[¹](spha)ta-vij[¹](dī)ta-lasat[¹h*]-ksh[¹]trān[¹]=vān[¹] dvij[¹] aughat[¹]=āki(kī)ra[¹]n[¹] Gautamī[¹]y[¹]ai(yai)r[¹]-
am[¹]r[¹]a[¹]ala[¹] samā[¹h[¹h*] suā-
- 137 na-pān[¹] sū[¹]r[¹]tō[¹]m[¹](lōm) | datvā[¹(ttv[¹]=ā)man[¹] śrī(śrī)-na[¹](rē*)ndrō[¹] nikhila-n[¹]ri[¹]pa-varān[¹]=bhāvinō
yāchatē[¹] avān[¹] [dha]rma-
- 138 m[¹] m[¹](ā) pa[¹]yan[¹]ma[¹] prakā[¹]m[¹]=iti[¹] chira[¹]m[¹] prā[¹]h[¹]jā[¹] brahma-kalpam[¹](nam) || 1*] Lakṣmī-
vibhrama-darppa[¹]nā[¹](nō)
- 139 Ravi-kula-kā[¹]li(kshī)rō[¹]da-kal[¹]padrumō[¹] nānā-bhū[¹]pa-kiri(rī)ta-rad[¹]jita-pada[¹] śrī(śrī)-vira-Chō-
dō[¹]svara[¹]h[¹] madh[¹]dha(d-dha)-
- 140 rma[¹h*] ppa(pa)tipā[¹]yatām[¹]=ayan[¹]=iti[¹] ksh[¹]ō[¹]pi(nī)aurān[¹]=bhāvinō bhū[¹]yā[¹] 1* prā[¹]dh[¹]dha-
(rttha)yat[¹] tad[¹]
- 141 yya(ya)-chara[¹]ṇa-dvā[¹]m[¹]dva[¹]apriā[¹] mau[¹]linā || 2*] Sāmānyō[¹]=yam[¹] dharma-sētu[¹h*]=n[¹]ri-
pā[¹]ṇām[¹] kālō
- 142 kālō[¹] pā[¹]ṇā[¹]nyō(yō) bhā[¹]v[¹]d[¹]bh[¹] | i[¹ttā]m[¹] sarvān[¹]=bhā[¹]vina[¹h*] pā[¹]r[¹]dh[¹]dhi(rtthi)v-ō[¹]m[¹]drān[¹]bū-
(n=bhū)yō bhū[¹]yō

¹ The figure 5 is not clear in the left margin.

² The intended reading may be *ta* or *ta*.

³ There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing description of the boundaries of the gift village from the concluding part of the inscription that follows.

⁴ The *darppa* is redundant.

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 143 yāchatē Rāmacha[m]draḥ || 3*] Ēk=aiya bhagini(n) lōkē sarvēśhām=ēva bhūbhujāch-
(jām) | na bhōjyā na ka-
- 144 ra-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasumdhārā || 4*] Sva-dattā[d*]=dvi-guṇam puṇyam pa[ra*]-
datt-ānupālana(nam) |
- 145 para-datt-āpahārēṣa sva-dat[t]am nishpa(sūpha)lam bhavēt || 5*] Dāna-pālanayō[r*]=
madhya(dhyē) dānā[chehrē(ch=chhrē)]-
- 146 yō=nupālana(nam) | dānāt=[s*]varggan=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutam padam(dam)
|| 6*] Sva-dattām pa-
- 147 ra-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhārām(rām) | shashtir-varaha-ashaarāṇi viṇṭhāyām
jāya-
- 148 tē krimiḥ || 7*] Raghudēvapurasī=ai[tad=Ra]ghudēvas[y]a [śāsa]nāt | Āḍuṇḍila-
Nṛisimhvē(hē)na [ka*]-
- 149 dhi(thi)tam dharma-śāsanam(nam) || 8*]

2 Dōrapāleṣ Grant of 1455-56 A.D.

This is a **stray plate** inscribed on both sides. It is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and 5 inches in height and contains altogether 26 lines of writing, 14 lines on the obverse and 12 on the reverse. There is a hole (about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter) nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ inch inside from the left border of the plate. The hole was no doubt meant for a ring bearing the seal of the donor of the grant in question, on which several inscribed plates including the one under study must have been strung. But the ring with the seal and the other plates of the set are now lost. The plate weighs $33\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The inscription is fragmentary and represents only the central part of a charter. The whole record was probably incised on three plates. The last line on the reverse of the extant plate shows clearly that only a few lines more were required to complete the document which must therefore have ended on the inner side of the next plate. The writing on the obverse of the plate begins with a complete stanza introducing the father of the donor (Raghudēva) as the younger brother of one who must have been mentioned in one or more verses engraved in the lower part of the inner side of the previous plate. The stanza in question is also found in the Raghudēvapura grant of which it is the seventeenth verse. Considering the fact that the present plate contains about $7\frac{1}{2}$ stanzas (engraved in 14 lines) on the obverse and $5\frac{1}{2}$ stanzas (incised in 12 lines) on the reverse, the entire matter of the first sixteen stanzas of the Raghudēvapura grant (running upto a little more than 30 lines and almost entirely covering both the sides of plate I which is slightly bigger in size than the present plate) would have covered a little above two faces of one plate of the size of the plate under study. But it is interesting to note that the description of the donor in the present charter (verses 3-6, i.e. four stanzas only) is much shorter than in the other record (verses 18 ff. in lines 33 ff. more than ten stanzas). It therefore looks very probable that the number of stanzas in the introductory part was considerably smaller in this record than in the Raghudēvapura grant. In any case, only one plate, with the beginning of the document inscribed probably on the inner side, seems to be lost.

* This is followed by three floral designs. There is also an ornamental design in the right hand part of the space below the writing. This was the symbolical representation of the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.

The inscription is written in **Telugu** characters and in the **Sanskrit** language, the composition being in verse throughout. As regards **palaeography** and **orthography**, the present epigraph closely resembles the Raghudēvapura grant, although there are a few minor differences in the shape of some of the characters and signs. The medial signs for *ḍ* and *ḍh* have been used for the corresponding short signs in the name of the village *Dōrapālem*; cf. lines 18 (verse 10), 21 (verse 11) and 24 (verse 12). The date of the charter is quoted in verse 11 in lines 19-23 as the **Śaka year** counted by *rasa* (i.e. 6), *śaila* (i.e. 7), *rāma* (i.e. 3) and *śaśin* (i.e. 1), i.e. **1376**, the year being **Yuvan** of Jupiter's 60 year cycle as prevalent in South India. There is no other detail of the date but that the grant was made on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse**. It may be pointed out that the year Yuvan of Jupiter's Southern Cycle actually corresponded not to Śaka 1376 (i.e. 1454-55 A.D.) but to the **expired Śaka year 1377 (i.e. 1455-56 A.D.)**. There occurred two lunar eclipses in the year, one on the 1st May 1455 A.D. and the other on the 22nd March 1456 A.D. The charter seems to have been issued on either of the two dates.

Verse 1 on the plate, as already indicated above, introduces **Paraśurāma Harichandana**, the father of Raghudēva, as the younger brother of one whose name must have occurred on the lost first plate of the set. From the Raghudēvapura grant, we know that the immediate elder brother of Paraśurāma was the great **Kapilēśvara** who occupied the Gaṅga empire in 1334-35 A.D. Verse 2 of our record speaks of Paraśurāma's younger brother whose name was **Rāma**. It may be noted that Rāma's name was omitted even in the fairly elaborate genealogy of the family found in the Raghudēvapura grant. The next two stanzas represent **Raghudēva-narēndra**, who enjoyed the title *Pūtra* and acquired fame for conquering the quarters, as having been regarded, owing to his prowess, as one of his sons by **Kapilēśvara Dantirāja** (i.e. Gajapati). Verse 5 states how, when Raghudēva-narēndra was ruling the earth like king *Kārtavīrya* of old, his enemies fled to the hills or made their resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs. To make one's resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs of course refers to one's death. The representation of the governor of a small territory as a ruler of the earth like *Kārtavīrya* is an interesting instance of the exaggeration to which the *prastāvikāras* attached to medieval Indian courts were used. Verse 6 again refers vaguely to the military prowess of Raghudēva-narēndra.

Verses 7 ff. introduce the donee of the grant. The first of these stanzas mentions **Sūri-bhaṭṭa** who belonged to the *Kauṭika gōtra* and resided at **Bhīmavara**. His son **Śiṅga-āchārya** is mentioned in verse 8 and **Śiṅga-āchārya's** son **Tirumala-bhaṭṭa** in verse 9. Verse 10 states that the **narēndra-bhūnātha** (i.e. the ruler Raghudēva) made a grant of the village of *Dōrapālem* in favour of the *Paurāṇika* (exponent of the *Purāṇas*) **Tirumala-bhaṭṭa**. The next stanza states that, in the **Śaka year 1376**, called **Yuvan**, and on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse**, Raghudēva granted the village of *Dōrapālem* situated on the bank of the **Kauntēya-gaṅgā** to the **Brāhmaṇa Timmaya**. *Timmaya* is a modification of *Tirumalaya*. The name *Kauntēya-gaṅgā* is no doubt applied to the *Gōdāvarī* or one of its mouths. Although the association of the river with any of the sons of *Kuntī* is not wellknown from Indian mythology, there may be a local tradition to this effect current in the area in question. Verse 12 states that, after having given *Dōrapālem* to the learned **Tirumala**, Raghudēva-narēndra entreated the future kings for the protection of his *Dharma*, i.e. the gift made by him by means of the charter in question.

The last two lines of the record (lines 25-26) contain more than three-fourths of the well-known stanza, *sāmānyō-yam dharma-sīta*, etc., generally found in the imprecatory and benedictory part about the conclusion of a charter.

The inscription mentions only three **geographical names**. They are the locality called **Bhīmavara** where the donee's family resided; the village of *Dōrapālem* which was granted by Raghudēva to the **Brāhmaṇa Tirumala** or **Tirumala-bhaṭṭa** or **Timmaya**, and the **Kauntēya-gaṅgā** on the bank of which the gift village was situated. There are several places called **Bhīmavaram** in

TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA—PLATE III

I. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

v. a

126
128
130
132
134
136
138
140
142



126
128
130
132
134
136
138
140
142

v. b

144
146
148



144
146
148

Scale : One-Half

2. Dorapalem Grant of 1455-56 A.D.

i, a



i, b



Scale : One-Half

the East and West Godavari Districts. Of these, Bhīmāyāram, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the West Godavari District, is the most important and may have been the place intended by the writer of the document. As already indicated above, the Kauntēya-gaṅgā is no other than the river Gōdāvarī or one of its mouths. I am not sure about the location of the village of Dōrapālem. There is no such name in the list of villages in the East or West Godavari District, although there is one called Dōrachintalapālem in the Chodavaram Division of the West Godavari District.

TEXT¹

[Metres: verse 1 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 2 *Upajāti*; verses 3-4, 9-10 *Giti*; verses 5-6 *Mālabhāriṣi*; verses 7-8 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 11 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 12 *Āryā*; verse 13 *Śālinī*.]

First Side

- 1 Tasy=ānujaḥ Paraśurāma iti prasīdhādhō(ddhō) nāmnā padēna Harichanda-
- 2 na ēva sākāḥāt | yam prāpya yānti vibudhāḥ paripūrṇa-kāmāḥ
- 3 samprārthit-ārdha(rtha)-pa(pha)ladam harid-anta-k[ī]rtim(rttim) || 1* Tasy=ānujō
Rāma iti
- 4 pratīḥō Rāma-trayaṁ yad=guṇa²-vaibhava[ī] svaiḥ | guṇaiḥ pratāpāḥ-cha ya-
- 5 śōbhīr-uchchai[ī] smritēḥ³ kaṭākāraṁ nayatē janānār(nām) || 2* Abhavad=amalō
guṇ-au-
- 6 ghair-uditaḥ ki(kī)rtiḥ cha Paraśurāma-vibhōḥ | Uday-āchalād=iv=ēndus=su-
- 7 dhayā Raghudēva-rāja-kula-tilakaḥ || 3* Putrikṛitō mahimnā Kapilē-
- 8 āvara-damitirāja-simbhēna | dig-vijay-ārjita-yaśasā Raghudēva-narē-
- 9 ndra-pātra-simbhō-yam(yam) || 4* Raghudēva-narēndra-rāja-simbhō vipulām śāsa-
- 10 ti Kārtavīrya-kalpē | girayaḥ paripamdhī(thi)nām=abhūvann=uta sarv-āsa(psa)rasām
ku-
- 11 chā nivā[s]āḥ || 5* Raghudēva-narēndra-bhūtalēndrē rapa-sannāha-vidhāyi-
- 12 ni pra[kā]mam(mam) | śaraṇam cha rapē tadhā(thā) bhajantē charaṇē vā maraṇam ripu-
pra-
- 13 vi(vī)rah | || 6* Asti Kauśika-vathāyānām=agraṇiḥ(ṇi) kula-śēkharaḥ | khyātō Bhī-
(Bhī)mavara-stā(sthā)-
- 14 nō Sūri-bhaṭṭu(tṭa)s=sudhīśvaraḥ || 7* Tat-putraḥ Śiṅgaṇa(ṇ-ā)chāryō veda-vēd-ārttha⁴-
pā-

¹ From impressions.

² This is verse 17 of the Raghudēvapura grant with slight change in the last foot.

³ Better read *yō guṇa*.

⁴ Read *smritiḥ* or *śrutaiḥ*.

⁵ This stanza introducing a new name in the Gajapati genealogy is not found in the Raghudēvapura grant.

⁶ This is verse 18 of the Raghudēvapura grant, although there is some difference in the wording of the second half of the stanza.

⁷ This is verse 20 of the Raghudēvapura grant with some difference in the wording of the last foot.

⁸ This is verse 23 of the Raghudēvapura grant.

⁹ This is verse 24 of the Raghudēvapura grant with slight difference in the first foot.

¹⁰ Better read *cād-āga*, although the reading *vād-ārtha* can also be supported.

Second Side

- 15 ragah | sva-dharma-nirataḥ śāntaḥ smṛiti-śāstra-purāṇa-vit || 8*] Tasy-āpi
 16 sūnur-abhavat-Tirumalu-bhaṭṭas-sudhī[ḥ*] śruti-smṛitiḥ | Kauṭika-va-
 17 śa-vataḥśo Vyāsa-vachas-sarapī-jāṁghika-śreṣṭhaḥ || 9*] Paurāṇikāya
 18 ch-āmai Tirumalu-bhaṭṭāya dharma-śāstra-vidā | Dōrapāle-samjñam-uchita-
 19 grāmaṁ vyataraṁ(ran)-narēndra-bhūnāthaḥ || 10*] Śāk-ābdō rasa-śaila-rāma-śaśi-gō
 20 varshē Yuv-ākhyē śubhai(bhō) vi(vi)ra-śrī-Raghudēva-bhūpa-tilaka[ḥ*] [śrī].
 21 [mā]n-narēndrō vibhuḥ | grāmaṁ śrī-Dorapāle-nāmakam-adā-
 22 t-Kauriṭēya-gaṅgā-taṭṭē viprēya prathitāya Tiṁmaya-sudhī-sa-
 23 mājāya sōma-grahā || 11*] Śrī-Raghudēva-narēndras-Tirumala-vidushē vi-
 24 tṛya Dorapāleṁ | iti nāthatē mahātmā bhāvi-nṛpān pa(pre)ṛsakhya-
 25 tām dharmaḥ || 12*] Sāmānyō-yam dharma-sētur-nṛpāṇāṁ kālē kālē pā-
 26 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | itam(ttham) sarvān bhāvīnaḥ pārtthiv-āndraṁ bhūyō¹

¹ The rest of the stanza, viz., *kādyō pūchāt Rāmāśāstrāḥ* || 13*, must have been engraved on the next plate.

No. 2—TIPPASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17

(1 Plate)

J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.1.1958)

The inscription¹ edited below is engraved on a stone set up on the bund of the lake at Tippasamudram in the Vellore Taluk of the North Arcot District. The language of the record is Tamil and the characters used are Tamil and Grantha. The use of the archaic form of *n* in *Viḷuppēraiyar* in line 13 is interesting.

This inscription is dated in the 17th regnal year of Kō-*viśai(ja)ya-Kampavikramavarman*. Its object is to commemorate the digging of a channel called *Viḷuppēraiyar* from the river to the lake at Valivalakkamaṅgalam by *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* (*Prithivigaṅgaraiyar*), the chief of the (*nāḍu i-nnāḍ-uḍaiya*), and his wife *Ilāḍapperundēviyār* for the merit of *Ayyakkutti-aḍiga* who may have been their daughter.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in the mention herein of a *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* in the 17th regnal year of *Kampavarman*, apparently as a *Paṅḡala-nāḍu* chief, since he is described as the chief of 'this *nāḍu*', i.e. *Paṅḡala-nāḍu* in which the findspot of the record is situated. The identity of *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* can be established with reasonable certainty. An inscription from *Śōlavaram*,² dated in the 8th regnal year of *Kampavarman*, mentions one *Rājādittan Mahādēva* who is stated to have built a tomb (*atiyagaram* or *paḷḷi-ppaḍar*) and a Śiva temple at the place where his father *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar* was buried. The name of this person implies that the son was called *Mahādēva* and his father *Rājādittan*.³ Probably *Prithivigaṅgaraiyar* was *Rājādittan*'s surname. The chief in our inscription also calls himself *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* and the interval between the *Śōlavaram* inscription and the present record is very short. These facts appear to suggest that *Mahādēva*, who should have succeeded his father in the chiefship in the ordinary course, also assumed the title *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar*. This assumption is supported by the occurrence of the same or a similar title along with the names of the later chiefs of this family.⁴

If the identification of the chief of the present record with *Mahādēva* and the supposition that the members of this family assumed the title *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* are correct, then we can say that some of the *Prithivigaṅgaraiyars* occurring in inscriptions of about this period and region may have belonged to this family of chiefs who ruled over *Paṅḡala-nāḍu*.⁵

The above identification again helps us to fix the period to which this *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* and his overlord *Kampavarman* belonged. An inscription⁶ dated in the 26th regnal year of *Rājākēsarivarman*, who on account of the high regnal year and the palaeography of the record has been identified with *Chōla Āditya I*, refers to one *Mahādēva* as the father of *Gaṅgamā[r*]ttāṇḍar alias* *Śembiyan Prithivigaṅgaraiyar*. Again we hear of other sons of possibly the same *Mahādēva* in

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 174.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 193.

³ The son's name was taken to be *Rājāditya* while *Mahādēva* in *Rājādittan Mahādēva* was interpreted to mean 'the great king' (op. cit.). But we have many other instances of a son prefixing his father's name to his own, e.g., *Nandi Kampavarman* (*Ibid.*, p. 196), *Aṭṭiḷḷiya-Pirāntakadēvar* (*A. R. Ep.*, 1920, No. 572), etc. The Sanskrit portion of the first of these inscriptions seems to support this view.

⁴ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 139; 1930-31, No. 177; *SIH*, Vol. XIII, No. 319. It is not certain if *Śōlavaraṅgarayan*, son of *Amaṅgaṅgaraiyar*, figuring in an inscription dated in the 2nd year of *Nandippōttaraiyar* (*Nandivarman III*) was an earlier member of the family (*SIH*, Vol. XII, No. 45).

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 ff.; cf. Vol. XXIII, pp. 145-46.

⁶ *SIH*, Vol. XIII, No. 319.

the reign of Parakēsarivarman.¹ One Kāmaḍiga, son of Mādēvar of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, is mentioned in an inscription of this king's 8th year.² Another of the same person's sons named Pṛithivigāgaraiyar, figures in an inscription dated in the [11]th regnal year of that king.³ Probably he is identical with Alivin Kaḷḷaraṣi alias Śembiyan Bhuvaṇigaṅgaraiyar figuring in another inscription⁴ of Parakēsarivarman. If it can be assumed that Mahādēva, son of Rājāditya of the Śōḷavaram record, whom we have identified with the Pṛithivigāgaraiyar of the present inscription, and Mahādēva, mentioned as the father of the Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu chiefs in the inscriptions of Āditya I and Parakēsarivarman, are identical, it will follow that Mahādēva was at least a senior contemporary of Āditya I. The acceptance of the suzerainty of Āditya I by these chiefs goes to show that the Chōḷa king succeeded in consolidating his position in this part of the former Pallava dominion.⁵

The channel which was dug for the merit of Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ was named Viḷuppēraraiyaṅ. This leads us to suppose that the title Viḷuppēraraiyaṅ was connected with the name of Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ. Two inscriptions⁶ dated in the 19th and 26th regnal years of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) mention one Viḷuppēraraiyar Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ and her mother Puḡaḷttuṅai-aḍiyār. The former may be identified with the person of that name mentioned in our record. It is likely that Puḡaḷttuṅai-aḍiyār (or aḍigaḷ) was the real name of Ilāḍapperundēvi.

The above discussion would suggest that Kampavarman, who was the overlord of Mahādēva, was a predecessor of Āditya I in this territory or at least their reigns were not far removed from each other in point of time.⁷

Ilāḍapperundēvi, the title of the wife of Pṛithivigāgaraiyar, could have been only a surname indicating that she was the daughter of a Lāṭa chief. These chiefs, who called themselves variously as Lāḍarāyar or Lāḍappēraraiyar, and sometimes also as Virāṭarāja, find mention in a number of inscriptions of the time of the early Chōḷas.⁸ Many inscriptions refer to their matrimonial connections with the families of local chieftains and, in one instance, Chōḷa Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I, is said to have had a wife who was the daughter of Ilāḍarāyar.⁹ They seem to have held sway over some parts of the Chittoor District and portions of the North and South Arcot Districts.

Two inscriptions¹⁰ of the reign of Pārthivēndrādhipativarman mention a member of this family named Āṇaiyamman alias Paramaḍalādittan. They state that the family of the Lāṭa chiefs belonged

¹ This king may be identified with Parāntaka I owing to the proximity of his reign with that of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) mentioned above. The palaeography of the record seems to support this.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, 1928, No. 138. Parakēsarivarman of both the records must be identical.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1930-31, No. 177. The date portion of the inscription is damaged. Only the figure 1 as the second digit is discernible.

⁵ The chiefs of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu were used to the transference of their allegiance to new masters. They submitted to the Rāshtrakūṭas during the occupation of this part of the Chōḷa territory by Kannaradēva (above, Vol. VII, pp. 195-96).

⁶ *SI*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 285 and 317.

⁷ Cf. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, lxxxvi-lxxxix. The arguments for assigning Kampavarman's rule to about the middle of the 10th century are not convincing. In the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-chōḷa (*SI*, Vol. III, No. 128), the record of the previous transactions is confusing and it is difficult to take them in chronological order and deduce that Kampavarman flourished later than Parāntaka I. It is also not safe to identify Aṭṭi (varman) of the Śōḷapuram record, who is merely mentioned as born in the line of Mādava (above, Vol. VII, p. 193), with Hastimalla, the son of Vayiri-Aḍiyar and feudatory of Kannaradēva (*ibid.*, 195-96). As regards Niraṅjanaguru mentioned in an inscription of the 19th year of Kampavarman (*SI*, Vol. XII, No. 105), Venkatacandra Aiyar's views appear to be reasonable (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 145, note).

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 141; *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. 63; *ibid.*, 1912, No. 168, etc.

⁹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 134.

¹⁰ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 267 and 324. While in the former the chief is called Virāṭarāja in the Sanskrit portion and Ilāḍarāyar in the Tamil portion, in the latter he is simply called Virāṭarāja. Their identity is discussed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, para. 63; see also *Proc. IHC*, 7th session, Madras, pp. 203 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 267 ff.

to the solar race, in which Guṇaratnasindhu of the family of Sagara-Virāṭa was born. His son was Aṇigōpa, grandson Kampadiga], great-grandson Taṭṭālar and great-great-grandson Āṇaiyamman. We get a Śaka date, viz. [88]9, for this last chief in an inscription¹ from Puṇṇanūr. With the help of the date in this inscription, we can assign Aṇigōpa and Kampadiga],² the great-grandfather and grandfather of Āṇaiyamman, to the period of the inscription under study. An undated record³ attributable to the 9th century, mentions one Aṇigōvan Orriyūr-pirāṭṭi, daughter of Vilāḍarāyar and wife of Vayiramēga Vāṇakōvaraiyar.⁴ The first name Aṇigōvan and her being the daughter of a Vilāḍarāyar seem to indicate that she was the daughter of Aṇigōpa. Probably Ilāḍapperundēvi of our record was a daughter of one of these two chiefs.

Peṇṇaḷa-nāḍu seems to have included portions of the present taluks of Polur and Velur in the North Arcot District. The village of Tippiasamudram appears to have been originally called Valivalakkamaṅgalam. An inscription⁵ belonging to the Vijayanagara period refers to the place as Valiṇṇattimaṅgalam *alias* Tippiasamudram. It is fairly certain that the name Valiṇṇattimaṅgalam itself is a corruption of Valivalakkamaṅgalam. The modern name of Tippiasamudram might have been derived from the lake referred to in the inscription.

TEXT*

First Side

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō-viśaiya-Ka-
- 2 mpavikkiramaparumaṅku yā-
- 3 nḍu paḍiṇ-āḷāvaḍu
- 4 i-nnāḍuḍaiya Prithiya-
- 5 ṇgaraiyarum ivar-dē-
- 6 viyār Ilāḍapperundē-
- 7 viyārum taṅgaḷ maga[|]
- 8 Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷukku

Second Side

- 9 i-vviruvatum śeyda
- 10 dha[r]mmam Valivalakkamaṅga-

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 267 ff.

² The name Kampadiga] may suggest that the chief had some connections with Kampavarman.

³ A. R. Ep., 1934-35, No. 233; see plate facing page 75.

⁴ It is possible that this Vayiramēga Vāṇakōvaraiyar was identical with the homonymous person mentioned as the son of Perumāṅgai *alias* Sāmi Akkaṇ figuring in two inscriptions dated in the 4th regnal year of Aparāṇṇi (SII, Vol. XII, Nos. 87 and 88).

⁵ A. R. Ep., 1939-40, No. 173.

* From impressions.

- 11 lattu ērikku-kkaṇḍa ā-
- 12 rruk-kāl [i*] i-kkāl Viḷu-
- 13 ppērararaiya(n)¹ i-dha.
- 14 [r]mmam [i*] idu irakahippāṇ².
- 15 [u-ə]ḍi eṇ-muḍi-mēl [i*]

¹ Read pēraraiyāṇ.

² This letter is superfluous.

TIPPASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17
First Side



Scale: One-Fourth

Second Side

10

10

12

12

14

14

No. 3—DONGALASANI INSCRIPTION OF VANKEYA-CHOLA, YEAR 41

(1 Plate)

K. H. V. Sarma, Ootacamund

(Received on 6.2.1958)

The subjoined inscription,¹ edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied in the year 1939-40 from **Dongalasani**, a hamlet of Kuruguntapalle in the Siddhavatam Taluk of the Cuddapah District. It is engraved on two faces of a large slab measuring about 3.25 feet in height and 1.25 feet in width and lying in front of the Āṇjaneya temple in the village. There are altogether thirty-five lines of writing.

The record is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters of about the 9th century and its palaeography very closely resembles that of other records of the period and area in question. The letters *bh* and *dh* still retain their archaic forms while *b* occurs both in its archaic form (cf. *varanbhu* in line 12) and its more developed open form (cf. *samvatsarambhu* in lines 8 and 9). The cursive form of the letter *y* can be seen in the words *yokaṇṭi* (lines 9 and 10) and *yella* (line 18). The initial vowels *ā*, *i* and *u* are used in the inscription. The use of the sign of *anuvāra* above a letter and the archaic forms of *r* and *l* as found in early Telugu records² is noteworthy.

The inscription is in **Telugu** prose and verse with an imprecatory verse in **Sanskrit** at the end. The rules of *sandhi* are observed and the consonants associated with *r* are doubled. The number forty-one is indicated by *nalvādy-ādi-yokaṇṭi*, literally 'one preceded by forty'. The word *peṭipuna* (lines 10-11) is used in the sense of *atibaya* and *garuṣu* (line 14) in the sense of 'boundary'. The expression *ajina-vāṇḍu* (lines 27-28) is similar to that of Tamil *ajitu-vaṇḍu* and Kannada *ajisid-aran*, for all of which the common root is *aji*, 'to destroy'. The royal epithets *Tenkaṇḍityu*, *Puṣṭi-lad-ātman* and *Komarara-Bhīma* appear to be of Kannada origin.

The inscription is dated in the fortyfirst regnal year of the king, Chitta (Chaitra) Śu. 10, Sunday (lines 9-12). But in the absence of the corresponding Śaka or cyclic year, it is difficult to fix the exact period of the record. The Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōḍa,³ considered to be the earliest charter so far known of this branch,⁴ are assigned palaeographically to Śaka 850-80 (928-38 A. D.).⁵ The later forms of the letters *b*, *j*, *s* and *k* and the *anuvāra* in the form of a circle placed almost to the side of a letter in the above charter bear close resemblance to the Madras Museum plate⁶ of the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-trinētra, dated in Śaka 893. These palaeographical features are also noticed in other Vaidumba records from Upparapalli⁷ and Animals⁸ in the Cuddapah District, which are dated in Śaka 894 and 898 respectively. On palaeographic grounds, the present inscription has to be assigned to a date in the proximity of that of the Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōḍa, i.e., c. Śaka 850.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1939-40, App. B, No. 13. Cf. M. Venkatarāmāya in *Telugu-saṁskṛta-saṁgraha*.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 347; Vol. XXVII, pp. 221 ff.

³ A. R. Ep., 1935-36, App. A, No. 8.

⁴ JAHRS, Vol. XXIII, p. 90 ff.

⁵ A. R. Ep., 1935-36, Part II, para. 8. Dr. F. Sreenivasachar assigns the record to 1106-07 A. D. and identifies Balliya-chōḍa with Chōḍa Balliya-chōḍa of Kōpideṇa (JH, Vol. XV, pp. 48-49). Neither the date nor the identification is acceptable.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 67 ff.

⁷ A. R. Ep., 1905 App. B, No. 325.

⁸ Ibid., 1938, App. B, No. 198.

The object of the record is to register a gift of a piece of land to the goddess *Ruruva-bhattārikā* by king *Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja* in his forty-first regnal year. The eulogy *Charaṇa-sarōruha-vihāra-vilāhana*, etc., with which the record commences, clearly indicates that the king belonged to the Telugu-Chōḷa lineage. This is the earliest of the known Telugu-Chōḷa records with the *Charaṇa-sarōruha* eulogy and happens to be the only record mentioning *Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja*.

Two inscriptions¹ copied from Mannēpalli in the Darsi Taluk of the Nellore District mention *Veṅka-bhūpāla*, son of Pottapi Nanne-chōḷa, as the grandfather of Balli-chōḷa-mahārāja. They are dated in Śaka 1067 and 1088 respectively. On the basis of these dates for Balli-chōḷa, we can assign *Veṅka-bhūpāla*, the former's grandfather mentioned in the records, to a period not earlier than Śaka 1000. As has been discussed above, the record in question is palaeographically earlier by at least two centuries than the approximate date of *Veṅka-bhūpāla* of the Nellore epigraphs. Therefore *Vaṅkeya-chōḷa* of the Doṅgalasāni inscription under study cannot be identified with king *Veṅka-bhūpāla* of the Mannēpalli records.²

Two more records³ from Boppūdi and Kopidena in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District give the genealogy of the Telugu-Chōḷas who ruled from Kopidena. We gather from these that Daśavarman, the son of Mahimāna-chōḷa, conquered Pāka-rāshṭra and ruled over Rēnāṇḍu from his capital at Pottapi⁴ (in Pullampet Taluk of the Cuddapah District). The Chōḷas of Kopidena, Nellore and Pottapi, all claim Daśavarman as their ancestor; but so far none of his records has come to light and little is known about him. The record from Boppūdi mentions king *Veṅka*⁵ as the son of Daśavarman. It is tempting to identify the chief *Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja* of the record under review with *Veṅka*, the son of Daśavarman. But his relationship with the later members of the family is not clear.

Teṅkaṇḍitya occurs as one of the epithets of *Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja*. Nanne-chōḷa, author of the *Kumārasambhavam* (Telugu), also claims this title.⁶ He is assigned by scholars to about the end of the 11th century.⁷ The poet-king must have derived this epithet from his ancestor of the record under study.

The early Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu, whose territory appears to have extended over almost the whole of the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts and parts of the Chittoor District, seem to have ruled undisturbed for more than two centuries from about the last quarter of the 6th century. Afterwards their territory was subjected to the incursions of the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas.⁸ By about the 9th century they appear to have been pushed northwards by the latter and later still we find records of a branch of this family as far east and north as Nellore and Guntur.⁹

¹ *NDI*, Part I, Darsi Nos. 48 and 49; *Srinat. Pottapi. Nannechōḷa-lanayakārt. Veṅka-bhūpālaka-sat-puṭṭāri-paḍ-āchāl-āpāka-paṭiś Kāma-kṣātrī-āyakaś* [1*] *cūṇaś Sūrya-kul-antay-āmbudhi-lakṣī ārt-Balli-bhūpālakaś Gauri-nātha-yad-āḍya-nandita-guṇaś saṅjanyā-raja-ākaraś* [11*].

² *A. R. Ep.*, 11039-40 to 1942-43, Part II, para. 65.

³ *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 631 and 628.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 631: *Tēḷaṁ trayāṇām Daśavarma-dīdēti-patiś sa-śauryyād-utha Pāka-rāshṭram* [1*] *ākra-mya tīra-pravarāś sarakṣaś lakṣmānām Pottapi-rājadhānyām* [11*].

⁵ The published text (*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 631, text lines 33-34) gives the name as [Pāṇ]ka; but a re-examination of the impressions shows that the correct reading is *Veṅka*.

⁶ *Caṇṭa I*, verse 54: *śeṭṭhūm-Orayūrik-aḍāipatin-alagha-paḍārumuḍa-Deṅkaṇḍityuḍaṇ*.

⁷ *JAHRS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 52 ff.

⁸ *Above*, Vol. XXIV, p. 186 ff.

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, Part II, para. 8.

TEXT¹*Front Side*

- 1 [Sva]sti [i*] Chara[ṇa-sarōru]-
- 2 [ha]-viha(hi)ta-vi[lōchana-Tri]-
- 3 lōchana-pramukāki(kh-ākhi)la-[pṛi]-
- 4 thivīśvara-kārita-Kāvē[ri-ti]-
- 5 ra-Karikāla-kula-ratna-pradi(dī)p=ā-
- 6 hit-āhikusa(śa)-śrī-Vaṇkeya-chōla-
- 7 mahārājula paṭṭa[m̐bu]gaṭṭina
- 8 pravardda(rddha)māna-vijaya-rājya-[sari]-
- 9 vatsara[m̐bu]-nalvādy-ādi-yoko-
- 10 ṇṭi yagunēṇṭi [Chittā]-[su]di peru-
- 11 puna Dasa(śa)mīyu [Ā]ditya-
- 12 va(vā)ra[m̐bu]nāṇḍu Kuṇḍa-
- 13 bhaṭṭāriki reṇḍu rē[vu]lu
- 14 pola[m̐] garusugānu
- 15 paḍumaṭam goṇḍa[ṇu] ga-
- 16 rusugānu uttara[m̐]buna.
- 17 ku kuṇḍa dāṇika lōpali[nē]-
- 18 la yella sarvva-parihāru[vu] iḥoḥe [i*].
- 19 Śrī-Vaṇkeya-chōla-mahā-
- 20 rāju [Teru]kaṇ-ādityuṇḍu Komara-
- 21 ra-Bhīmuyḍu pusi-illad-ātma-
- 22 n=ī dharmmuv=ī-chandr-ārka-tārakambu i²
- 23

Back Side

- 24 idda
- 25 vāṇḍu [Baraṇṣi]

¹ From impressions.² The last four lines seem to be in verse.

- 26 navāṇḍu śrīpa(r)bbā(rvva)taṁbuna-
 27 [ṁ ga]la līṁgāmbulan-aḷi[ai]-
 28 [na] vāṇḍu [vāvura mu].
 29 galaṇ i-sta(āthā)-
 30 [naṁbu]galavāru l[ā]-
 31 naṣivulu || Bahubbir-vvasu-
 32 dā(dhā) dattā bahubhiś-ch=ānpā-
 33 lītā[] *] a(ya)sya a(ya)sya
 34 a(ya)dā bhūmīś-tasya ta-
 35 sya tadā phalaṁ(lam)¹ []*

¹ There is a floral design to indicate the end of the writing.

DONGALASANI INSCRIPTION OF VANKEYA-CHOLA, YEAR 41
Front Side



Scale : One-Fourth

Back Side



No. 4—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.9.1957)

Both the inscriptions edited below are inscribed on stone slabs which are at present preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The first of them was found at Baraudi and the second at Narwargarh, both in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State. The first record was noticed by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V. S. 1979, No. 26, and the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 187. The notices of the record in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, No. 597, and H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh*, No. 132, are based on Garde's note. The second epigraph was noticed by Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V. S. 1971, No. 9, and in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 242. His views were similarly quoted by Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 603, and Dvivedi, op. cit., No. 141. Unfortunately the published notices of both the inscriptions are based on incomplete and inaccurate transcripts. Some of the important details are omitted in the notices which contain several errors of omission and commission. They are edited here with the help of impressions prepared under my supervision about the end of 1952 when I visited Gwalior with a view to attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress and examining the inscriptions preserved in the Gwalior Museum. Both the inscriptions, which were registered as Nos. 141 and 139 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, Appendix B, belong to the reign of the Yajvapāla or Jajapāla king Gōpāla (known dates between 1279 and 1289 A. D.) of Nalapura. They contain each a *prastāvi* recording the excavation of a *vāpi*. The eulogies were composed by the poet Śivanābhaka belonging to a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior.

1. Baraudi Inscription of V. S. 1336

There are 29 lines of writing, which cover an area about 22 inches in length and about 18½ inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory as a number of letters are damaged here and there. The characters belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble other contemporary inscriptions discovered in the area in question.¹ The letter *ḍ* has been indicated by the sign for *e*. The orthography of the inscription is also similar to that of other records of the age and area. Reduplication of a consonant after *r* is noticed only in a few cases. *Anusvāra* has been used for class nasals excepting some cases while it has taken the place of final *m* at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas in all cases. The language is Sanskrit and the whole composition, excepting a few passages at the beginning and end, is in verse. It is a *prastāvi* composed in 30 stanzas. The verses are numbered, although there is a mistake in the numbering. The twentyfourth stanza is wrongly numbered as the twenty-third and the mistake is continued in numbering the following verses. The date of the record is quoted in the last line as V. S. 1336, Mārgaśīrṣa-vadi 8, Friday. It regularly corresponds to the 27th October 1279 A. D. The month was Pūrṇimānta.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham followed by the passage *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow the 30 stanzas of the *prastāvi*. The first two of them (verses 1-2) contain adoration to

¹ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 145 ff. and Plate; Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 367 ff. and Plates.

the god Śambhu (Śiva) and to both Gīṛṣa (Śiva) and his consort Śailasutā (Pārvatī). Verse 3 introduces the city of Nalapura (modern Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapāla kings, while verse 4 speaks of king Chāhaḍa of the Yajvapāla family. Verse 5 mentions king Nṛivarman, son of Chāhaḍa. He is described as a devotee of *Deitpārāti*, probably meaning here the god Śiva. Verse 6 mentions Āsalladēva, son of Nṛivarman, as well as his queen Lāvāpyadēvi, while the next stanza (verse 7) continues Āsalla's description. Verses 8-9 describe the reigning monarch Gōpāla who was the son of Āsalladēva apparently from the queen Lāvāpyadēvi.

Verse 10 introduces a Kshatriya family, to which the hero of the *prastāvi* belonged, as resembling a family of Brāhmaṇas and the next stanza (verse 11) gives its name as Gauḍahara and states that it belonged to the Vatsa gōtra. It is possible that Gauḍahara is the same as what is now called the Gaur-Rājput.¹ Verse 12 says that the family of the Gauḍahara Kshatriyas worshipped three forms of the Mother-goddess, viz. Chāmunda, the nine-formed (*nava-vidhā*) Dēvi and Gauḍaharā. The *Nava-vidhā* Dēvi is no doubt the same as Nava-Durgā or Durgā having nine forms, viz. Kumārikā, Trimūrti, Kalyāṇi, Rōhini, Kālī, Chāṇḍikā, Śāmbhavi, Durgā and Bhadrā. Of the three goddesses, Gauḍaharā was apparently the family deity of the Gauḍaharas.

Verse 13 says that Tribhuvanagiri was the capital of the Śūrasēna king and that there lived one Dāmōdara. It appears that Dāmōdara was a Gauḍahara Kshatriya and that the original home of the family in question was Tribhuvanagiri, capital of the Śūrasēnas.² The ancient capital of the Śūrasēna country was Mathurā; but our inscription appears to speak of a place where a Śūrasēna family was ruling at the time when Dāmōdara flourished. The reference may be to a dynasty like the Śūrasēna royal family known from the Kama (Bharatpur District, Rajasthan) inscription³ of about the eight century A.D. The name Tribhuvanagiri suggests that it was a hill-fort named after a king called Tribhuvana. But it is difficult to indentify it without further evidence.

Verse 14 speaks of Dāmōdara's son Nāgādēva, who seems to have been the minister of an unnamed king, and the next stanza (verse 15) of the latter's three sons, viz. Pīthana, Jalhapa and Mālādharma, while verse 16 describes Jalhapa who was the second of the three brothers. This importance accorded to Jalhapa is due to the fact that he was the most famous amongst the brothers. Verse 16 tells us that Jalhapa was reliable and commanded the confidence of the people and that, having learnt this fact, the *Hammīra* himself appointed him as one of his officers at Gōpāṭāla (i.e. Gwalior). The word *hammīra*, derived from Arabic 'amir, was generally used in early medieval India to indicate a Turkish Muslim king, although it gradually came to be adopted sometimes by the Indians as a personal name. The stanza seems to refer to the conquest of Gwalior by Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi (1210-36 A.D.) about the beginning of 1233 A.D.⁴ It appears that, after the conquest of Gwalior, the Sulṭān appointed Jalhapa in order to create confidence in the minds of the recently subdued Hindus of the area. It was no doubt a wise step. But it is interesting to note that, even if Jalhapa was an officer at Gwalior under the Muslims, many members of his family appear to have migrated to the Yajvapāla kingdom and settled there.

Verse 17 again refers to Pīthana, elder brother of Jalhapa, while the following stanza (verse 18) gives the name of his wife as Champā. Pīthana is described as a devotee of the god Paśupati (Śiva). Verse 19 mentions Dēvadharma, son of Pīthana and Champā, and verse 20 says that he was the *Adhikāri-mukhya* (i.e. chief minister) of king Āsalladēva. The known dates of the Yajvapāla

¹ Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v.

² Bhattacharya's List, No. 1342.

³ See above, Vol. XXX, p. 147.

king Āsalla, father of Gōpāla, range between 1254 and 1279 A.D.¹ Verse 21 refers to Dēvadhara's wife whose name is given as Nīlā.

Verse 23 refers to the village of **Vaṭapatra** which is stated to have been formerly granted to the Brāhmanas by a ruler named **Nāniṅga**. The village is no doubt the same as modern Baraudī (Burhī Baraudī) where the record was discovered; but no ruler named Nāniṅga is known from any records. He seems to have been a subordinate ruler of the district round Baraudī under the earlier Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura. Verse 24 speaks of the excavation of a *vāpi* or step-well by Dēvadhara, apparently in the said village of Vaṭapatra. The next stanza (verse 25) continues the description of the *vāpi*, while verse 26 contains a prayer to the effect that it might last for ever. Verse 27 speaks of the three sons apparently of the said Dēvadhara. They were Harirāja, Mahārāja and Śivarāja.

Verse 28 mentions the poet who composed the *prastāvi*. This stanza is found in several Yajvapāla records including the Narwar inscription of V.S. 1339 edited below. The poet was Śivanābhaka described as the son of *Kōśādhipa* (treasurer) Lōhaṭa and the grandson of Dāmōdara of a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gōpādri (Gwalior). The king whom Lōhaṭa served as a treasurer is not mentioned. But it appears that the family migrated from Gwalior to the Yajvapāla kingdom on the fall of Gwalior in to the hands of the Muhammadans in the reign of Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi. Lōhaṭa was therefore an officer of the Hindu king either of Gwalior or of Narwar.²

The person who was responsible for writing the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver was another member of the Māthura Kāyastha community. He was Vikrama, son of Bhiṅgaka (verse 29). Verse 30 mentions the engraver. He was *Sūtrabhṛt* (*Sūtradhāra*) Bhīmadēva. The same stanza also states that a Kātriya named Sōmadēva was the superintendent of the whole work, probably meaning the excavation of the *vāpi*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Nalapura and Gōpādri or Gōpāchala are well-known. The location of the village of Vaṭapatra where the *vāpi* was excavated has been indicated above. We are not sure about the location of Tribhuvanagiri which may, however, have been a hill-fort in the Gwalior region.

TEXT³

[Metres: verses 1, 8, 11, 18-19, 21 *Upajāti*; verses 2, 14, 25, 27-28 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 3-4, 20, 22, 26 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 5-7, 10, 13, 15-16 *Mandākrāntā*; verses 9, 12, 23-24, 29-30 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 17 *Mālinī*.]

- 1 Siddham⁴ Ōṅ nama[h] Śivāya || Vi(Bi)jāni kalyāṇa-lat-āṅkurāṇāṁ dīpās-trilōki-timir-āvali-
nām(nām) | puṇyātmakānām-apī pāvanāni jayanti Śambhōḥ padayō
- 2 rajātsai || 1 Drasṭūni manmtha-manthar-ēkṣaṇa-bhāvās-tās-tā vilā[śa](sa)-kriyāḥ pātun
ch-ādihara-vimva(bimba)-janma-madhuram pīyūṣham-atyadbhutam(tam |) vakṣaḥ-
pīṭha-vimardda-kharvita-ku[cha]m la-

¹ Cunningham read the latest date on the coins of Chāhaḍa and the earliest on those of his grandson Āsalla as V.S. 1311=1254 A.D. while B.D. Banerji speaks of the former's coins of V.S. 1312 and 1316 and the latter's issues of V.S. 1315 and suggests that, since their reigns overlapped, Āsalla's father Nṛvarman did not reign at all (*Nomismatic Supplement*, No. XXXIII, pp. 80-83). The matter requires further examination.

² No. 146 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Lōhaṭa's master was Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa of Nalapura. See below, pp. 68, 69 and note 2.

³ From impressions. This is No. 141 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B. I am indebted to Mr. P. B. Desai for some suggestions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

- 3 vdhun(bdhum) tad-āliṅganam kāy-alkyē-pi Girīśa-Śaila[su]tāyōr-utkam manaḥ pāṭu
vab || 2 Saurājya-bhāsura-manō-hara-bhūti-pātram-āstō puram Nalapur-ākhyam-ananya-
- 4 chāru | yatṛ-ādhvara-prachita-pāvaka-dhūma-[bhū]mā tāpaṁ ravēr-api para(rā)sa rti-
(ti)raśchakāra || 3 Tasminn-abhūt-sahaja-śaurya-nivāsa-bhūmiḥ śrī(śrī)-**Chāhaḥ** kahiti-
patih sukṛi-
- 5 t-ādhivāsaḥ | dōr-damḍa-chamḍa-charitō vilāsa-nitānta-tivra-pratāpa-śikhi-dagdha-vipa-
kahya-kakhyah(kahah) || 4 Tasmād-āśid-anavadhi-guṇah śaucha-Gāhgēva(ya)-vṛittō
Daityārā¹
- 6 ti-prapati-nīrataḥ śrī-Nṛivarmā mahīśah || Yēna cēchhinnaḥ ripu-nripa-śraḥ-paṭi-
hajair-aroḥhit-śyam mūrtiḥ Sambhō rapa-vasumatī ta[n]vatā Śaiva-vṛittih(ttim)
|| 5 Tat-putrō-bhūch-chhikhi-mi-
- 7 ta-nripa-ekamdhilāḥ kēśhināthaḥ śaury-ōdagrō guṇa-gaṇa-nidhiḥ śrīma(d-A)**śailadēvaḥ** |
Gaurī Sambhōr-iva Jaladhīś Kēśavasy-ēva sādhiḥ nirvyāḥ-aika-prajaya-va-
- 8 satir-yaśya **Lāvapyadēvi** || 6 Yan-nistṛiṇ(striṇ)śam harita-majam māncham-ārūhya
tigmair-vairi-a[t]rīpām sva(ēva)śita-pavanair-vijvamānā jaya-śrīḥ | antah-pāthōnidhi-
chalad-u-
- 9 r-ūllōla-saṁghatṭa-nir[ya]d-vibhū-ārēp-pari[cha]lya-milaj-jādyā-duḥkham jahāti || 7 Ta-
[sm]āt-Sudhāśr-iva Rauhīpēyah Pinākāpār-iva Kārttikēyah | nidhir-guṇānām cha
su-tējasām cha
- 10 **Gōpāla**-nāmā jayati kēhīśah || 8 Tasminn-avati bhūpālē dharām-uddā[ma-dh]āma-
[ni] aśvīrānta-makh-āhūta-Purūhūta-kṛit-ālayām(yām) || 9 Yasy-ōtpatti(h*) Sarasija-
[bh]jvāḥ pāvanā-
- 11 bhyām bhujābhyām dēvaḥ sākāhād-ajani bhagavān-ādīmō ya[tra] Chamdraḥ | iahṭaiḥ
p[ū]r[ī]t[ī]tair-a[vatī] jaḡgatih karmabhiḥ samtatam yah kahātrō vamaḥ sa jayati mahi-
dēva-sādhārāṇa-śrīḥ || 10 Tatṛ-ā-
- 12 pi Vata-ākhyā-mun-īndra-gōtra-vibhūśhapam **Gauḍahar**-ānvavāyah | pāṭh-ādi-kar[ma]-
tritaya-pravi[ṇa]ḥ [ś]rēyasvi(n)ām [k]ṛttiva(ma)tām dhuripah || 11 **Chāmuhā** paramā
śaktir-**Dēvi** nava-vi-
- 13 dhā tathā [i*] puṇyā **Gauḍahar**-ākhyā cha tīrō-mūr-yatra dēvatā[h] || 12 Asti khyātas-
Tri[bb]huvanagīrīr-vīśrutō rājadhānī kīrtti-ārēp-dhavalita-dīśah **Śūrasa(śe)n**-ādhipāya
[i*] puṇya-śrī-
- 14 kaḥ śuchitara-guṇō yatra tad-vamśa-muktā-ratnam tanvan-ruḥam-avikalām-śa Dāmōda-
r-ākhyah || 13 **Āś(ś)**t-sad-guṇa-vāridhir-nripa-tarōḥ kamōḥ yaśah-k[au]mudī-chamdras-
taśya śu(śu)taḥ paṭur-vyavahṛitau śrī-
- 15 Nāgādēv-ābhidhaḥ | mā[rgē] sajjana-sēvitē vicharatā vīśrānta-vīśrāṇanair-yēn-āmūr-
bhavi bh[ū]tayaḥ [su]-kṛitā nīś[h] parām-unnatim(tim) || 14 Trayō va(ba)bhūv[ā]s-
tanujās-[t]ādīyā dharm-ārtha-

¹ There is an unnecessary *desā* at the end of the line.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA—PLATE I

1. Baraudi Inscription of V.S. 1336

पुत्रोऽयं विवादा ॥ लीलातिकलापलतां कुर्यात्पीकमिलोकोतिनिर्भलीतां पुण्यामकानमपि पारुणानि जगति रोनां ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥

Scale: One-third

- 16 kāmā iva mūrti-bhāṣaḥ | śrī-Piṭhanō Jalhapa¹kaś=cha dhīmān-Mālādharas=cha prathitā
guṇai[ḥ] svaiḥ || 15 Śaury-āmbhōdhir=jagati chaturō niti-śāstrēś[ḥ]=adhī[ḥ] sad-vyā-
pāra-pragupita-matir=Ja-
- 17 lhaṣaḥ puṇya-kīrttiḥ | **Harṣamfrēṇa** svayam=adhikṛitō Gōpa-śailō viditvā sarvv-āchāra-
kharma-[pa]richayō viśva-viśvāsa-[dhā]ma(mā) || 16 Amita-guṇa-garishṭhaḥ Piṭha-
n-ākhyō varishṭhaḥ Panu(ṣu)pati-
- 18 pada-bhaktāḥ puṇya-charyāsu śa(ea)ktāḥ | sa jayati śita-kīrtti[r*]=lōchan-ānamdi-mūrttiḥ
paribṛita-[pa]ra-[hina]śaḥ kahatra-varṣā-āvatariśaḥ(eaḥ) || 17 Champ-ābhidhā tasya su-
dharma-patni va(ba)bhūva sāmā[n]ya-bhīṣa-praviddha[b.]*]
- 19 Vidēha[ḥ]-āpāya-nirāśrayaḥ sat-pati-[v]rata[śe=tat-pri]yatām-iyāya || 18 Tēn-ājani kahatriya-
śā[kha]rē[ṇa] tasyāśm śu(su)tō Dēvadharah kṛita*]jāḥ | ānamdit-śāśha-jau-āntarēṇa
yathā ghan-āntēna
- 20 divi prasādaḥ || 19 Sarvv-ōpakāra-nira[tō] naya-pāra-driśvā dharm-ōday-ābi[ta]-mati[ḥ]
kṛita-vit-kṛipālūḥ | **Avalladēva**-nripa[t]r=adhikāri-mukhyaḥ kasy-āntaram na haratē
sa guṇair-udāraḥ || 20 Nil-ā-
- 21 bhidhā ti²abḥati tasya kāntā sūdhvi-śi(śi)rō-ratnam-ānamita-kīrttiḥ | vimuchya patynā-
charuṇa-dvayam yā na dēvam-a[n]iyam khala manyatē-tra || 21 Tēn-āvalōkya pa[ta]l-
ānta-gat-ōda-viṇadu-lōlam vayaś=cha
- 22 vasu ch-āpagha[na]m va(cha) lōkē | dharmā kṛitā matir-ananta-guṇē samasta-jam-
t-ōpakāra-para-[p]ūrita-bha[v]rē-na[vadyē] || 22 Asti **Nānīnga**-bhūpēna dvijēbhyō dakṣha-
(kahi)pūkritaḥ | **Vatapatr**-ābhidhō grāmaḥ puṇya-
- 23 sadpatti-bhājanam(nam) || 23 Adhvaga-śrama-nāśāya sukṛit-ōpachayāya cha | karuṇ-
āmbhōdhinā tēna [vā]pi nirmāpitā śubhā || 23(24) San-maitr-iva su-samhitā su-kavit-eva
ātī-prasann-ōjva(jjva)lā sad-vādi-pra-
- 24 tībḥ=eva bharṅga-rakitā kām=eva nētr-ōtaavā | puṇya-śrīr=ī[va] bhūri-[sar]va-phaladā
jyōtan=eva tāp-āpahā yasyās-tungā-śilā-vibharṅga-ghaṭitā ramy-ādri-varṣ(bam)tha-
ethitīḥ || 24(25) Yāvad-vi(bi)bhartti Girīśō Gi-
- 25 ri[ḥ]-ārdham-aṅgari yāvat-punāti bhuvanāni cha Jahnukanyā | tāvat-payōbhīr-amalair-
iyam=astu vāpi samtarpuṇāya bhavinām bhuvi bhinnā-tāpā || 25(26) Dhanyāḥ pāvana-
kīrttayaḥ sukṛitiṇō nihāt(śi)ma-tat-tad-gu
- 26 pa-śrēṣṭhīr=guṇinām haranti hṛidaya[n] tasya trayāḥ sūnavāḥ | ādyāḥ śrī-Harirājakas-
tad-ann cha śrīmān-Mahārājakas-tad-bhakta[ḥ] Śivarāja ity-ādihiguṇā viśvamābhārā-
bhūṣhapāni(nam) || 26(27) Gōp-[ā]-
- 27 drau Līpikṛit-kulē samabhavad=Dāmōdarō Māthuraḥ sūnna-tasya visu(ṣu)ddha-kīrtti-
anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōhataḥ | putras-tasya manīṣi-mānasa-mudātā vistāra-kētum
vyadhāt-ēnām śrī-Śi-

¹ There is a cancelled visarga sign after this letter.

² There is a cancelled ś-mutrad with this letter.

³ The letters śh/ānti were incised and cancelled by the engraver after this.

- 28 [va]nābhakō nirupamair-vṛittaiḥ praśastiḥ śubhām(bhām) || 27(8) Māthur-ānvaya-
Kāyastha-Bhīṣṇakasy-āṅgasambhavaḥ | līlākha Vikramō dhīmān-satām-agrāsarō-
naghaḥ || 28(29) Utkirṇavān-i-
- 29 mārḥ Bhīmadēvaḥ sūtrabhṛitām varāḥ | kahatriyaḥ Sōmadēvō-bhūd-adhyakṣaḥ sarva-
karmmasi || 29(30) Sahrvat 1336 Mārggaśīrsha-vadi 6 Śukra-dinē ||¹ | śrī śrī śrī śrī

2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1339

The inscribed space on the squarish stone slab measures about 22½ inches in length and 22 inches in height. There are in all 27 lines of writing in the inscription. The preservation of the epigraph is not quite satisfactory. A number of letters are damaged especially in the central part of the record. The characters belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of the Baraudī inscription edited above. In several cases, the distinction between the forms of *ch* and *v* is not clear. The sign for *avagraha* is once used in line 14 in order to avoid the possibility of the personal name Ajayadēva being read as Jayadēva. As regards orthography also, the inscription resembles the Baraudī record. We have the use of *anustūpa* in the place of class nasals and of final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. Reduplication of a consonant after *r* is noticed only in the cases of *t*, *d*, and *dh*. There are some cases of the wrong use of *s* for *ś* and vice versa. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end, the whole epigraph is written in verse. It is a *praśasti* composed in 27 stanzas in various metres. The verses are numbered consecutively. The date, quoted in the last line, is V. S. 1339, Pausa-vadi 10, Thursday. It regularly corresponds to the 26th November 1282 A. D. The month was *Pūrṇimānta*.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the word *siddhiḥ*, which are followed by the 27 stanzas of the eulogy. The first two stanzas (verses 1-2) contain adoration to the gods Śiva or Sadāśiva and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). Verse 3 introduces a hill or hill-fort called Ratnagiri, while verses 4-5 state that the goddess Mahārūpā created there a hero named Jayapāla who became the progenitor of a family named after him, although it was pronounced as *Jajapāla* by the common people. Jayapāla was no doubt the mythical progenitor of the Jajapāla (often Sanskritised as *Yajapāla*) dynasty of Narwar. But the interesting fact supplied by this description is that the original home of the Jajapālas was at Ratnagiri and that their family deity was Mahārūpā, no doubt a form of the Mother-goddess worshipped originally at Ratnagiri and later possibly also at Nalagiri or Nalapura (Narwar) which the Jajapālas afterwards made their capital. Ratnagiri mentioned in this connection cannot be satisfactorily identified. But it may be the same as the modern town of Ratangarh Khiri (lat. 24° 49', long. 75° 13') in the former Gwalior State, situated on the route from Nimach to Bundi, 36 miles north-east of the former and 73 miles south-west of the latter.

Verse 6 introduces king Chāhaḍa born in the Jajapāla dynasty. He is stated to have captured from his enemies a number of forts including Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura, modern Narwargarh). Chāhaḍa thus seems to have transferred the Jajapāla capital to Narwar which he had conquered. The next stanza (verse 7) speaks of Chāhaḍa's son Naravarman (called Nṛivarman in verse 18 and in several other records including the Baraudī inscription edited above) and verse 8 of king Āsalladēva, son of Naravarman. Verses 9-10 describe the reigning monarch Gōpāla who was the son of Āsalladēva. An interesting information in Gōpāla's description is that he defeated king Viravarman, lord of Jājābhukti in a battle fought on the bank of the river Sikatā (*Sikatā-nimnagā-kachchā-bhūmau*). King Viravarman seems also to be compared with the epic hero

¹ There is a heart-shaped design between the double *śrī*s.

Lakshmana and described as 'the Chandra king of kings' (*Chandra-kshatidhara-pati*), the name Chandra here indicating the Chandella family claiming descent from the Moon-god and often called Chandr-śreya. The passage in question may, however, also suggest that, along with Chandella Viravarman, Gopala also defeated king Lakshmana of the Chandra hill (Chandragiri). But, in such a case, it is difficult to identify the ruler, although Chandragiri may be the same as Chanderi in the Guna District of the former Gwalior State.¹

The word *sikātā* is a synonym of *bālukā* and the Sikātā river is no doubt the same as the Bālukā mentioned in the Bangla inscriptions, according to which the Chandella king Viravarman of Jējābhukti or Jējāhuti was defeated by Gopala's forces on the bank of the said river in V.S. 1338 (current) or 1337 (expired), Chaitra sudi 7, Friday, corresponding to the 28th March 1281 A.D.² The river has been identified with the small stream of Barua which flows within a few miles from the fort of Narwar, the capital of Gopala. Since Chandella Viravarman actually besieged the Jajapalla capital, his repulse was no doubt a memorable event to the people of the Jajapalla kingdom. The present inscription was inscribed within two years after the battle. It was therefore quite fresh in the people's memory. Moreover, as will be seen below, the hero of the eulogy under study himself took part in the said battle.

Verse 11 introduces the family to which the hero of the *prastāvi* belonged. It is stated that one Anayasidhi was born in a family of physicians and was famous for his exploits in many battles. He is further described as a devotee of the god Paśupati (Śiva). The next two stanzas (verses 12-13) speak of his heroic son Vijayadēva who is credited with a victory over the armies of a king named Visvala in a battle fought at Hastināpura. The name Visvala is a variant of Visala. It is not impossible that Visala mentioned in our record is the Chāhamāna emperor of the same name, otherwise called Vīgraharāja IV whose known dates range between 1153 and 1164 A.D. As Vijayadēva's grandson was the hero of the present record of 1282 A.D., he might well have been a later contemporary of the Chāhamāna king. The only Hastināpura known to us is the old capital of the Kuru country, identified with a locality on the Ganges in the present Meerut District of U.P. This place was within the dominions of the Imperial Chāhamānas of Ajmer and Delhi. It is, however, difficult to determine the circumstances that led to the battle of Hastināpura, in which Vijayadēva claims to have fought against the forces of the Chāhamāna king. It has to be noticed that we do not know who Vijayadēva's master was. The problem is easily solved if he was an officer of a ruler like the contemporary Gāhājavāla monarch Vijayachandra (c. 1255-70 A.D.) who is reported to have come into conflict with the king of Delhi.³

Verses 14-15 mention Vijayadēva's son Ajayadēva and verse 16 the latter's wife Saubhāgyadēvi. Ajayadēva is stated to have fought with the *Mischchha* army. The *Mischchha* referred to were no doubt the Turkish Muhammadans who are often referred to in the epigraphs of the contemporary Indian rulers. But under whom and what circumstances Ajayadēva fought with the Muhammadans can scarcely be determined without further light on the subject. It should, however, be remembered that king Chāhāda, great-grandfather of Gopala, is known to have come into conflict with the Turks. According to Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, in 1234 A.D., Chāhar-i-Ajar (i.e. Chāhāda) is stated to have come into conflict with Nugratuddīn Taysāl, general of Sultān Iltutmish of Delhi, on the banks of the river Sindh (Kalisindh) and in 1251 A.D. again with Ghiyāuddīn Balban.

¹ An inscription of V. S. 1331 from Bughavā in the Shivapuri District is said to mention Kirtidurga (identified with the Chanderi fort) and Paramahasthika Padmarāja (Drivedi's List, No. 173). The king mentioned in the record is, however, Yajvapala Gacapati (cf. below, pp. 163 ff.).

² Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 326 ff.

³ See Ray, *DBNI*, Vol. I, p. 535.

general of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn.¹ But it has to be pointed out that, if the father was a contemporary of Chāhamāna Visala or Vīgraharāja IV (c. 1154-63 A.D.) and the son of Jajapālla Chāhaḍa (c. 1234-54 A.D.), both of them must have enjoyed very long lives.

Verses 17 ff. describe Gāṅgadēva, the son of Ajayadēva and Saubhāgyadēvi and the hero of the eulogy under study. An interesting information about him is that he claims to have been a *sachiva* (minister) of the son of Nṛivarman (i.e., of Gōpāla), who defeated Vīravarmān in the battle on the Saikata river. It is difficult to say whether the stanza uses the word *jayanta* in the sense of 'victorious' or as a secondary name of king Gōpāla. Gāṅgadēva is stated to have himself taken part in the battle on the Saikata, apparently the same as the Sikatā or Bālukā mentioned above. The Bangla inscriptions mention Gōpāla's partisans who died in the said battle with Chandēlla Vīravarmān. Here we have one who escaped death in that sanguinary conflict to enjoy the fruits of victory. Verse 19 states that Gāṅgadēva repaired the dilapidated temples in the Pādōnalaksha viśaya (district or territory), with the administration of which he was possibly associated. This district of Pādōnalaksha, probably forming the whole or part of Jajapālla Gōpāla's kingdom, reminds us of the two Sapādālaksha countries, one of which extended up to the valley of the Siwalik² and the other lay in the present Karimnagar region of the former Hyderabad State.³ The expressions *sa-pāda-laksha* and *pād-ōna-laksha* literally mean respectively 'one lakh and a quarter', and 'one lakh minus a quarter'. The number in these geographical names refers to the traditional number of villages contained in the geographical units although it is generally exaggerated.⁴ Unfortunately the Pādōnalaksha territory mentioned in our record cannot be identified with precision.⁵

Verses 21-23 state that Gāṅgadēva excavated a *vēpi* or stepwell while verse 24 mentions an *upavana* or pleasure garden, full of fruit trees and flowering plants, which was also created by him apparently around or in the vicinity of the *vēpi*. Verse 25 contains a prayer that the *vēpi* might last for ever.

Verses 26-27 mention the author of the *prastāvi* and the person who wrote it on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver. The poet responsible for the composition of the eulogy was Śivanābhaka born in a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gōpādri (Gwalior). He was the son of Kōśādhipa (treasurer) Lohata and the grandson of Dāmōdara. The same stanza is found in some other *prastāvi* composed by Śivanābhaka, including the Baraudī inscription edited above. The person responsible for writing the letters of the epigraph on the stone was another member of the Māthura Kāyastha community. His name was Mahārāja and his father was Sōmarāja. The name may not be a mistake for *Mahārāja* since the stanza mentioning the person is known from other inscriptions in which also it is spelt as *Mahārāja*.⁶ But it is difficult to be definite in this matter as *hā* could have been changed to *ka* for the requirement of the metre.

The location of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been already discussed above. As we have indicated, some of them cannot be satisfactorily identified.

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 1103; *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 57, 133; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323-24.

² Ray, op. cit. pp. 1081 ff.; cf. pp. 1054, 1067.

³ JOR, Vol. XVIII, p. 40.

⁴ Cf. JERS, Vol. XI, Part I, March 1954, pp. 8 ff.

⁵ No. 146 of A. B. Ep., 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Pādōnalaksha was the name of the district round Narwar. See below, p. 68. It may thus have been the name applied to the Jajapālla kingdom just as the name Sapādālaksha was used to indicate the dominions of the Chāhamānas of Sākambhār.

⁶ Cf. A. B. Ep., 1952-53, App. B, No. 145; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 339.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1 *Upajāti* (*Vasāntashā*, *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*) ; verses 2, 6-7, 19 *Vasāntatilaka* ; verses 3, 5, 14-17 *Upajāti* ; verses 4, 21, 23, 25, 27 *Anuśṭubh* ; verses 8, 11-12 *Mālinī* ; verse 9 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 10 *Paśkti* ; verse 13 *Rathōddhatā* ; verse 18 *Āryā* ; verses 20, 22, 26 *Sārdūlavikrīṭa* ; verse 24 *Āpachchhandasika*.]

- 1 Siddham¹ || Siddhi² || Na yatra rūp-ādi-vivēkitā-grahō visva(śva)sya nirmāga-vidhau cha na
kramah | adhīritas-tām para³mām-avaasthām sadā Śivō⁴ vaḥ śiva⁵
- 2 m-ātanōta || 1 Driṣṭv-āstast-kṛtā(sa)ma-kōmala-kānti-kantam-aṅgam rahasy-apamala
prativih(bhū)vi(bi)taṁ svam(kvam) | Lakṣmī-kapōla-phalakō⁶ jana-śmika⁷
- 3 yā tad-utprōhohchhu(chhi)tam dīśata vaḥ śivam-Achintasya || 2 Gamyō na vidvēhi-manōra-
thānām ratha-syadām bhānumatō nirubhdhan | vāsah satām-astī vi-
- 4 bhūti-pātram ramy-ōdayō Ratnagirir-gir-Indrah || 3 Tatra su(śau)rya-mayaḥ kaśchi(n*)-
nirmu(t)ō Maha⁸-rumbdayā | Jayapālō-bhavan-nūnā vidvishāni duratikra-
- 5 mah || 4 Tad-ākhyayā prākṛita-lōka-vṛttidair-ucchhāryamā(ṣah) śuchi(r-ar)ji(ta)-rīṭh | va-
(ba)l-āvadān-ō(r)jita-kānta-kīrttir-vaiśaḥ parō-bhōj-Jajapālā-samjñah || 5 Tatr-ā-
- 6 [bha]van-nipatir-u(g)ratara-pratāpah śri-Chāha(ḍa)śa-tribbhayana-prathamāna-kīrttiḥ | dō-
rddam(ḍa)-chaḥḍima-bharēṣa purah parō(bh)ya(u)bhayō yēn-ā(hi)jā Nalagiri-pramu-
khā garī-
- 7 śhṭāh(śhṭhāh) || 6 Tasmād-anēka-vidha-vikrama-lavdha(bdha)-kīrttiḥ pu(ṇ)ya-śrutih samabha-
van-Naravarmadōvah | bhūbhūjī-vyudāsa-pajimā ripu-uāga-dānti-dakṣah śriyā pari-
vī-
- 8 tō-tra yathā Murārīḥ || 7 Ajani jagat-anarghy-ōddāma-jjāgrat-pratā(pas)-tad-ānu va(s)u(ma)ti-
śah śrīmad-A(śa)lādōvah | praguṇita-guṇa-rāḥi-raḍjit-āsā(ā-ā)-
- 9 vakāśō nirupadhi-nidhir-ōkō [v]jārutah śreyasām yah || 8 [Śrī]-Gōpālāḥ samajani tatō bhūmi-
pālāḥ kalā(v)jānta(a-ta)nvān-kī(r)jti(h*) samiti Śikatā-ni-
- 10 mṇagā-kachohha-bhūman | Jōjābhukti-prabhūm-a(vi)-va(ba)llah Virava(r)mā(ṇam)-
piddhō jivā [Cha]ndra-kaha(kahi)tidhara-patim Lakṣh(m)jānā sāmyu(g)hām(nam) || 9
Rakṣa(t)jī bhūmim tatra mahi⁹
- 11 śē | vāridhi-stmā-mṭi-vimuktām(kām) || 10 A)bhavadi-Anayā(im)hō [Vaidya]-vairāśō-
navadyō vividdhā-samara-śīmā-lavdha(lāha)-visphāra-kīrttiḥ | Paśupati-pada-śō(śō)-
- 12 vā-dhūta-pāpō vadānyah satata-vidalit-ārthi-vānata-samtāpa(vahnih) || 11 Ajani
Vijayadēvas-tas(ya sū)cus-(ta)rasvi [su]kṛiti-sukṛita-ni(śh)hō vīra-charyā-dhu-

¹ From impressions. This is No. 139 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1932-53, App. B. I owe a few suggestions to Mr. P. R. Desai.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ An anusvara above this letter seems to be wanted.

⁴ We may also read *Sadāśivō*.

⁵ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* with a uncollation mark at the end of the line. This was meant to cover a little vacant space.

⁶ It seems that mahā⁹ has been made mahā⁹ to have a short fifth syllable in the particular foot of the stanza. The name is found as *Mahāvandī* elsewhere (cf. No. 145 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1932-53, App. B; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 338).

⁷ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* at the end of the line to cover a little space.

- 13 rīṇaḥ | apahṛta-guṇi-duḥkṣō dig-vadhū-vaktra-sōbhā-karaṇa-chaṇa-vi[sarpa]t-kīrtti-karpū-
[ra-rō]ṇaḥ || 12 Hastinā[pura-ṇa] maḥ-sujasō Visvala-prabhu-va(ha)lā-
- 14 nī nigūmataḥ | vaktum-asti vibhur-atra vikrama[m] yasya vaktra-sata-ā[ō]bhitaḥ phaṇi || 13
Tatō-[bha]va[eh-chhatru]-vi[bhōda-mān] dhar-āvatamsō-'jayadēva-samjñah ||*
- 15 yō Mlēcchchha-sō(sā)nā-kasha-pattikāyā[ni] chakrō par[īksh]ām nija-da[ṇḍa]-hē[m]naḥ || 14
N-āri[g]ṇa kēn-āpi param [spṛśa]nti vimukta-kāmā jagad-eka-mānyā | lōka-
- 16 trayam yasya viuddha-vēshā kīrttiḥ paribhrāmyati tāpas-iva || 15 Tasy-ānurūpā kula-vṛtta-
sthaiḥ Saubhāgyadēvi dayitā va(ha)[bh]ūva | yayā su-chāritra-mayēna.
- 17 śasya(śva)t=eva-tē[asā] visva(śva)m-akāri pītam(tam) || 16 Āstō tayō[h*] sūnur-udāra-karmā
ari-Gāṅgadēvō bhāta-mauli-ratnam(tnam) | yōn-ā[r]j[ī]ta[m] Saikata-sin[dh]u-samkhyē
yad=navadyam su-
- 18 bhaṭ-ātiśō(sā)yi || 17 Sai(Sai)kata-tatint-samkhyē bhūja-va(ha)le-jita-Vīravarmaṇaḥ kṛti-
naḥ | sa[eh][va]tayā yāḥ prathitō Nṛivarma-sūnūr-jayaditasya¹ || 18 Pādōnala-
- 19 ksha-vishayō chira-kāla-bhagnān-dēv-ālayān=[g]amayit-ābhinavām-ava[stb]ām(stlām) |
yōn-ārjitam sukritam-akshayam-apramēyam-ēkam padam tri-jagati-jana-vāmchchhi-
(chhi)tānām(nām) || 1[9]
- 20 Dināna-tōshayatō guṇān-prathayataḥ śrēyaḥ samūchinватаḥ pāpam nirddahatō dhanam
vitaratō yasy-ānavadyam yasaḥ | pīyūshair-iva pūritam hima-karaiḥ kā(ki)ṇṇam nṛiṇā-
- 21 Il-lavāśchchha(ś-chha)ṇaḥ hāra-latābhīr-ūchitam-idam chakrō trilōky-antara[m](ram) ||
20 Upāyair-itariḥ [ś]ūbhān kshiyamānaḥ(ṇam) vilōkya saḥ | puṇyam vaddhi-
[ś]j[ū] tat-kurvan-vāpim-ētām-a²
- 22 kārayat || 21 Tāp-āpāya-paṭ-ādayaiḥ samudayatā(ś-chha)rm-ōrmi-saṁpa[eh-oh]itaiḥ [ś]au-
rabhyam paramam vāhadbhīr-amalair-āmōdibhir-bhūribhiḥ | yā [pu]ṇyair-iva mūrtta-
tām-upagataiḥ pu³
- 23 ny-ām[ta]r-āri[ṇa]yā pūrṇā [svā]dn-varaiḥ payōbhīr-amitair-varddhishṇubhiḥ[ḥ] samitatan-
(tam) || 22 Manasavi(svi)t-ēva gambhīrā sad-[vī]ttir-iva nirmalā | abh[ō]dyā sādhu-maitra-
iva bhāsātē yā
- 24 manō-harā || 23 Kuru(su)ma-phala-bhar-ābhīnamra-sākhair-vijapibhir-unmada-bhṛṅga-
kōkilai(l-au)ghaiḥ | ruchiram-upavasanā vyadhāpi(yi) tēn-āhi[ta-tō]ḥam pītī-dēvat-
ādihvānām(nām) || 24
- 25 Yāvad=vasati Lōkēśō nābhī-vāriṇhē Harēḥ | tāvad-bhūyād-iyam vāpi śrēyasē-sya mah-
āmanah || 25 Gōp-ādrau Lūpikṛit-kulē samabhavad=Dāmōdarō Māthura[h*] sūnus-tasya
visu(su)-
- 26 dāha-kīrttir-anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōhaḥaḥ | putras-tasya manāhi-mānasa-mudām vistāra-
hētun vi(vya)dhād-ēnām ari-Śivanābhakō nirupama[r*]=vṛttaiḥ prasastim subhām(bhām)
|| 26 Māthu-
- 27 r-ānvaya-Kāyastha-Sōmarāḥ-Āngajanmanā | likhitā Maharājēna prasastir-iyam-uttamā ||
27 Samvat 1339 Pausa-vadi 10 Guru-vāsarē || subham=astu || chha⁴ ||

¹ The word seems to be used in the sense of 'victorious'. Otherwise we have to suggest that Yajvapāla Gōpāla was also known by the name Jayanta.

² There is an unnecessary *daya* here with a cancellation mark.

³ This indicates the end of the writing. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1339

Scale : One-third

No. 5—KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.3.1958)

The Śikharēśvara temple stands on the **Kapilās** hill at a distance of about sixteen miles from Dhankanal, headquarters of a District of that name in Orissa. The name *Kapilās* or *Kapilāsa* is a local modification of Sanskrit *Kailāsa*.¹ There is a stone *kalāśa* or vase now lying in the precincts of the temple. It must have originally adorned the top of an older temple, on the site of which the present temple of Śikharēśvara was built at a later date. On receipt of information that the said *kalāśa* bears some writings on it, I visited the temple on the Kapilās hill in November 1957 in order to examine and copy the inscriptions.

There are three small inscriptions engraved on the *kalāśa* which measures about 27 inches from the top to the bottom excluding the projection below (about 8½ inches long) meant for fixing it up in the hole of a stone slab. The first of the three inscriptions is written in two lines incised around the side of the top of the vase. These lines are about 30 inches in length and the inscribed space is a little less than 2 inches in height. Individual *akṣaras* are slightly less than one inch high. The second inscription in six lines is engraved around the belly of the vase. As the nature of the space would permit, the lines in the central part of the epigraph are longer than the preceding and following ones. Line 3 of this record contains the largest number of letters (40 in all) and is about 43 inches long. The height of individual *akṣaras* is about one inch and that of the inscribed space a little above 7 inches. The last of the three inscriptions is written in two lines which are incised on the pedestal of the vase. Owing to the tapering nature of this part, the first line is about 28½ inches long and the second about 36½ inches. The height of the inscribed space is about 3 inches and that of individual *akṣaras* a little above one inch. The beginning and end of the lines in the case of all the three inscriptions are separated by a vertical line.

The characters of the epigraphs belong to the Gaudīya alphabet as prevalent in Orissa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. They resemble the letters of other Orissan epigraphs of the said period such as the Sonapur inscription of Bhānudēva published elsewhere in this journal.² An interesting point of palaeography is offered by the form of *l* in the word *laka* (Inscription No. 2, line 6) which looks like *llaka* and reminds us of the diacritically marked *l* of the Oriya alphabet. It is interesting to note that Oriya *l* resembles *l* of the other alphabets of the Gaudīya class while its *l* is distinguished from *l* by a diacritical mark. The use of this diacritically marked letter is noticed once in an inscription³ of Narasimha II (c. 1278-1305 A.D.); but it is used in a large number of cases in later records like the Bhubaneswar epigraph⁴ of the time of Narasimha IV (c. 1379-1403 A.D.). The rare use of the letter in the earlier epigraphs suggests the possibility of its standing for *l*. Otherwise we have to suppose that it was *l* which was very rarely employed and this seems to be very unlikely especially in view of the fact that the simpler form of the letter stands for *l* in the other cognate alphabets. It therefore appears to us that originally the diacritical mark was used as the distinguishing sign of *l* but that, at a later

¹ Cf. the personal name *Kavilāsa* occurring in the Nagpur Museum plates of the Śōmavamśi king Mahābhavagupta I Janantījaya, line 44 (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143 and Plate). Hultzsch read it as *Kavilāsa* and suggested the correction *Kailāsa*. But the correct reading seems to be *Kavilāsa*.

² See above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 323 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 127, text line 192.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 329 ff.

date, it came to be generally applied to *l* instead of *l̥* through confusion. We shall therefore transcribe the letter as *l* in the present record as we have done in the case of the inscription of Narasimha II.

The language of Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 3 is Oriya as in the Sonapur inscription referred to above, but that of No. 2 is corrupt Sanskrit greatly influenced by the local dialect. Of grammatical interest seem to be the expressions *Kailāśasikharāśvare* (Inscription No. 1, lines 1-2) and *Kailāśasikharāśvarai* (No. 2, line 5). The affixes *i* and *ai* appear to be old dative-locative case-endings. But Inscription No. 3 uses the usual old Oriya dative suffix *kai* in *Kailāśadēvakai* (lines 1-2). Interesting from the orthographical and linguistic points of view are words like *ja(ju)gē* (Sanskrit *yugē*), *Vaiśākha* (Sanskrit *Vaiśākha*) and *trāḍasī* (Sanskrit *trayōḍasī* for *trayō-dasyām*) in No. 1, and *māhā* (Sanskrit *mahā*), *Gajattī* for *Gajaptī* (Sanskrit *Gajapati*), *Kailāśasikharāśvara* (Sanskrit *Kailāśasikha*), *sarga-lōka* (Sanskrit *svarga-lōka*), *jāti* (Sanskrit *yāti*), *Narasimha* (Sanskrit *Narasimha*) and *vijai* (Sanskrit *vijayā*) in No. 2. Inscription No. 1 uses the verbal form *dhlā* (Past Tense). The expected spelling is *dhlā*, although the said form also occurs in line 26 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Narasimha IV referred to above. The ordinary meaning of the word is 'gave'; but it has been used in our record in the sense of 'constructed'. The verb is used in this sense also in Bengali.

All the three inscriptions refer to the reign of king **Narasimha** who no doubt belonged to the imperial branch of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. As will be seen from our analysis of Inscription No. 2 below, the king is called in line 4 of that record the supporting pillar of the **Gaṅga** family. Inscription No. 2 does not bear any date; but Nos. 1 and 3 are dated. Inscription No. 1 is dated **Monday, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 10 of the reign of Narasimhadēva**. No. 3 quotes only the **year 18** of the same king's reign without any astronomical detail. Considering the age of the records, the years have to be referred to the *śaka* reckoning. But there were four Gaṅga kings named Narasimha who ruled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and it is not easy to single out the king to whom our records belong. The Gaṅga kings Narasimha I, II, III and IV are supposed to have ascended the throne respectively about 1238, 1278, 1328 and 1379 A.D. The 10th *śaka* year or 8th actual regnal year of these kings thus corresponded respectively to about 1245-46, 1285-86, 1335-36 and 1385-87 A.D. Among these years, the details of the date as given in our Inscription No. 1 suit only the **30th April 1246 A.D.** and the king therefore may have been **Narasimha I**. Even though it is not possible to be definite on this point, this identification, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by the internal evidence of Inscription No. 2. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the 18th year of the same king's reign apparently according to the *śaka* reckoning and corresponding to his 15th actual regnal year.

Inscription No. 1 begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and states in lines 1-2 that **Narasimhadēva** constructed a temple (*dēula*) for the god *Kailāśasikharāśvara* and that [it was a remarkable achievement] in all the four *yugas*, viz. Satya, Dvāpara, Trētā and Kali. In the order of enumeration of the four ages, Trētā should have properly preceded Dvāpara. Line 2 quotes the date when the temple was built (i.e. completed or consecrated) as **Monday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year 10** when the illustrious **Narasimhadēva** was ruling. This date has already been discussed above. If this Narasimha was the same as Gaṅga Narasimha I, it may be pointed out that the record under study furnishes the second epigraphic reference to the building activities of that king. It is well known that a stanza quoted in the records of his successors credits him with the construction of a temple for the Sun-god at *Kōṇākōṇa* which is the modern *Kōṇārak* in the Puri District of Orissa.¹ The god *Siva* now worshipped in the *Kapilās* temple is called

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 123, text lines 124-25.

KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA — PLATE I

No. 1

Left Half

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Right Half

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Scale : One-Half

No. 2

Top Part—Left Half



Top Part—Right Half



Middle Part—Left Half



Scale : One-Third

Sikharēśvara; but the earlier name of the deity was Kailāsaśikharēśvara according to Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 and Kailāsa, apparently a shortened form of the same name, according to Inscription No. 3.

Inscription No. 2 is the most interesting of the three records. Its style reminds us of that of the Kanchipuram inscription¹ of Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.), father of Narasiṅha I, and this fact lends some colour to the identification of Narasiṅha of our records with Narasiṅha I. As a matter of fact, some of the passages are common to both the inscriptions which may have been drafted by the same person.² Our inscription begins with the word *saxati* and states in lines 1-2, in the style of the Kanchipuram inscription, that the king succeeded in subduing by the power of his arms the pride of his enemies in numerous battles at the command of the god Puruṣhōttama, the lord of the fourteen worlds. This god is no other than Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha worshipped in the celebrated temple at Puri, to whom Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated the Gaṅga kingdom and to whom that king and his successors owed theoretical allegiance.³

The above passage is followed in line 2 by the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* (i.e. devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara or Śiva) and the imperial title *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*. It has to be noted that, although the king was a devotee of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha identified with Viṣṇu, he claims at the same time to be a worshipper of Śiva. The following two epithets of the king in lines 2-3 are still more interesting. In these he is described at the same time as the son of the goddess Durgā, called the true cause leading to the creation of the universe, and also as the son of the god Puruṣhōttama. It is clear from these statements that Narasiṅha I was devoted to Mahēśvara and his consort Durgā as well as to Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha (i.e. Viṣṇu). We know that the Gaṅgas were staunch Śaivas till the earlier part of the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) who became a Vaiṣṇava (i.e. a devotee of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri) after his conquest of the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning of the twelfth century, and that, although for sometime he claimed to be devoted to both Mahēśvara and Viṣṇu, in his later years he called himself a devotee of Viṣṇu alone.⁴ The devotion of the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga to the god Viṣṇu in the shape of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri received a great impetus at the dedication of the Gaṅga kingdom to that god by Anaṅgabhīma III. It is therefore very interesting to note that our inscription represents Narasiṅha I as *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Durgā-putra* and *Puruṣhōttama-putra* and as the builder of the Śiva temple on the Kapilās hill. But it is not surprising in view of the fact that his father Anaṅgabhīma III himself is also called both *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Paramamāhēśvara* as well as *Puruṣhōttama-putra*, *Rudra-putra* and *Durgā-putra* at the same time in one of his inscriptions in the Śiva temple at Draksharama, which records the grants made by him in favour of that Śaiva shrine in his 8th *śaka* or 6th regnal year.⁵ These facts point to the catholicity of the religious approach of the Gaṅga kings Anaṅgabhīma III and Narasiṅha I.

The next epithet in line 3 compares Narasiṅha I with the Great Boar (i.e. Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation) that raised up the Vēdas and worlds from the ocean. This is followed in lines 3-4 by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and an epithet representing the king as the pillar of support to the Gaṅga dynasty. The following passage in line 4 calls the ruler both *Anantavarman* and the victorious *Vīra-śrī-Narasimhadēva* and seems also to endow him with the title *Gajapati*. We know that the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga enjoyed the

¹ See above, XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

² This seems to suggest that the Kanchipuram inscription was drafted at the Gaṅga capital. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 22 and note 2.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 19; *JIH*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 75 ff.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.

⁵ *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 1329; *JIH*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 78-79.

secondary name Anantavarman.¹ Our inscription seems to show that the title *Gajapati* which is known to have become a distinguishing epithet of the later rulers of the Gaṅga family, was enjoyed by Narasimha I about the middle of the 13th century.²

The next sentence in line 5 contains the main purpose of Inscription No. 2. It records that the king granted the village of *Nāganā-Bhīmapura* in favour of the god *Kailāśaśikharēśvara*. This is followed in lines 5-6 by the imprecatory and benedictory statements that a person acting against the king's meritorious deed, no doubt meaning the grant of the village for the maintenance of the temple, would go to hell after death while one maintaining the grant would go to heaven. The last sentence of the inscription in line 6 again speaks of *Vīra-śrī-Narasimhadēva* as one who was always victorious. It seems that it was intended to write this sentence in the form of a prayer and that a word like *bhāvatu* was left out through oversight.

Inscription No. 3 also begins with the word *svasti* and records the grant of the village of *Rayī-grāma*, demarcated by recognised boundaries on all the four directions, in favour of the god *Kailāśadēva*, no doubt the same deity called *Kailāśaśikharēśvara* in Inscriptions Nos. 1-2. But this grant was not made by the king himself. Its donor was the *Sēnāpati* or general named *Tulaśī* who was apparently an officer of the Gaṅga king *Narasimha I*. The grant was made in the year 18 of the reign of *Narasimha I*, which, referred to the *aṅka* reckoning, would correspond to the king's 15th actual regnal year and to 1252-53 A.D.

Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 speak of two geographical names, viz. the villages of *Nāganā-Bhīmapura* and *Rayī-grāma*. There is a village called *Nāganā* in the Dhenkanal District, which is well-known for the temple of *Nāganāthēśvara*.

TEXT³

No. 1

- 1 Svasti [1*] Satya⁴-Dvāpara-Trētā-Kali-jagē⁵ Narasiṅghadēva⁶ dēula dhīlā⁷ Kailāśaśikharēśva-
 2 ri⁸ [1*] Vaiśākha-sukla-traṭṭasi⁹ Chandra-vārē Brāhī dasa 10 v[ī]ra-śrī-Narasi-
 ṅghadēva¹⁰ rājā¹¹ [1*]

No. 2

- 1 Svasti [1*] Cha[tu]rdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati-śrīmat-Puruṣhōttama-charaṇ-ādēśate¹² [śa(sa)]māra-
 mukh-āṅka-

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 3. The name Anantavarman is applied to *Narasimha I* in two inscriptions from *Skikurman* (*SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1272, 1293).

² *Bhānu I*, son of *Narasimha I*, is called *Gajapati* or *Gajaghaṭapati* in a *Draksharama* inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, p. 361, No. 1084). For the title *Gajapati* applied to *Narasimha III*, *Narasimha IV* and *Bhānu IV*, see *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 731, 752, 753, 1040, 1113. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 236; above, p. 4, note 2.

³ From the original and impressions.

⁴ Read *Satya*.

⁵ The word intended is *jagē-yugē* (Sanskrit *yugēśu*). Better read *Satya-Trētā-Dvāpara-Kali*.

⁶ Sanskrit *Narasimha*.

⁷ For *dēul dēul* in Bengali, meaning 'to construct a temple', see *J. M. Das, Bāgāḍā Bhāskār Abhidhān*, s.v. *dēul*.

⁸ Sanskrit *Kailāśaśikharēśvara*; Oriya *rakṣa*. In old Oriya, the expected form was *rakṣa* or *rakṣaṇi*. But cf. *śauri* in line 5 of Inscription No. 2 below.

⁹ Sanskrit *Vaiśākha-sukla-traṭṭasi*.

¹⁰ Sanskrit *Narasimha*.

¹¹ The intended expression may be *rājyē*.

¹² Read *śaśa*. The same passage occurs at the beginning of the *Kanchipuram* inscription of *Anaṅgabhīma*.

KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA —PLATE II

No. 2

Middle Part—Right Half



Lower Part—Left Half



Lower Part—Right Half



Scale : One-Third

No. 3
Left Half



Right Half



Scale : One Third

- 2 ripu-darpa-mardana-bhujā¹-va(ba)la-parākrama[h*]² paramamāhēśvara[h*] para[ma*]bhāṭṭa-
raka[h*] jagan[mu](n-mū)la-kāraṇa-śi(śri)-Du-
- 3 rgā-putra[h*] śi(śri)-Puruṣōttama-putra[h*]³ trayī⁴-vasundharā -samuddharāṇa-pracharḍa-
dōrdaṇḍa-mā(ma)hāvarāha[h*]⁵ mahārājādhi(dhi)rāja-
- 4 para[m]ēśvara[h*] Gaṇ(Ga)ṅg-ānvay-āvalāma(mba)na-stambha[h*]⁶ śrīmad-A[na*]
ntavarma-[Ga]japati⁷-vīra-śi-Narasīṅghadēva⁸ vijay[ī] [h*]
- 5 Kailāsaśikharēśvara[ī]⁹ Nāgaṇā-Bhīmapura mayā data¹⁰ [h*] śtada-dharma-virōrtham
narakam jāti¹¹ [h*] &
- 6 tada-dharma-pālanam sarga-ḷōkam gachchhati¹² || vīra-śi-Narasīṅghadēva sadā vijai¹³ [h*]

No. 3

- 1 svasti [h*] śrī-vīra-Narasīṅghadēva-rājyē 18 srāhi Kailāsa-
- 2 dēvakai Tulasi-sēnāpati Rayi-grāma chātura-simā¹⁴ [pra]data [h*]

¹ The akṣara ja has been incised on another letter originally engraved.
² The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anaṅgabhadra III; but there the follow-
ing epithet is paramavaiśdeva.

³ The Kanchipuram inscription has jagannātha-kāraṇa-śi-Puruṣōttama-putra.

⁴ The word trayī means the Vedas.

⁵ The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anaṅgabhadra III.

⁶ This passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription.

⁷ The intended reading seems to be Gajapati for Sanskrit Gajapati.

⁸ Read vīra-śi-Narasīṅghadēva.

⁹ In the place of 'śrī', early Oriya inscriptions generally have 'śrīrakai', 'śrīrakai', etc. But cf. 'śrī' in line 2 of Inscription No. 1.

¹⁰ In correct Sanskrit: Kailāsaśikharēśvaraṇa Nāgaṇā-Bhīmapuram mayā dataṁ.

¹¹ In correct Sanskrit: śtad-dharma-virōrtham narakam jāti.

¹² In correct Sanskrit: śtad-dharma-pālanam sarga-ḷōkam gachchhati.

¹³ In correct Sanskrit: vīra-śi-Narasīṅghadēva sadā vijayī. The intention may have been to add a word like bhavatu here.

¹⁴ Sanskrit chātura-simā-bodha.

No. 6—JALORE INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA CHACHIGADĒVA, V.S. 1331

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.3.1958)

The inscription which is published here for the first time was copied by me in December 1957 at Jalore, the head-quarters of the District of the same name in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan. It is engraved on a pillar in the building called *Tōphkhānā* or a shed for artillery. It is believed that this structure was originally a mosque built by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khajji out of the materials from the local Hindu and Jain temples and that it was later converted into a *Tōphkhānā* by the Rāsthōjās.¹ Three inscriptions found in this building were published by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.² The present inscription is engraved on one face of a rectangular pillar, the other three sides containing three records of Sāmāntasinhha who was the successor of Chāchigadēva.

The present inscription covers a space 5½" broad and 18" high and contains 31 lines of writing. It has suffered damage in some places, resulting in the loss or obliteration of several letters. The characters are Nāgarī. As regards orthography, it may be observed that *b* appears to have been distinguished from *v* by a minute dot inside the loop of the former (cf. *baddha* in line 5). The language is Sanskrit. The abbreviated forms *ṭha* (lines 8, 12 and 21), *dra* (lines 17 and 21) and *pu* (line 12) are found in the record. For the first two, their full forms, *ṭhaktura* (line 7) and *drammāḥ* (line 20) are also met with. And *pu* appears to stand for *putra*. In the Bāli inscription of Āśvāka dated V. S. 1200, we have *pā* *Mahānanda* and Bhandarkar could not explain the contraction *pā*. It seems to stand for *pūjya* which is used in our inscription in *pūjya Dhanāvatasūri* (lines 18-19). Of lexical interest is the use of the *dēśī* word *vyōja* (line 21). It is used in the sense of 'interest' on money and is the same as Marāṭhī *vyōj* and Hindi *vyōj*.

The date is given at the beginning of the record as *Sarhvat 1331, Āśvina śu [11]*. The portion giving the *tithi* and the first *akṣara* of the week-day is badly damaged. But the second *akṣara* of the week-day can be read as *rau* so that the word can be restored as *Gurau*. Apparently the same month, fortnight and *tithi* are mentioned again in lines 14-16 of the record, thereby supporting the reading of the *tithi* as 11 in line 1. Thus the date of the record would be V. S. 1331, Āśvina śu. 11, Thursday. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, this date would regularly correspond to the 13th September 1274 A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārājakula* Śrī-Chāchigadēva ruling at Jāvāhpura. This Chāchigadēva is no doubt the king of the Jalore or Songira branch of the Chāhamānas.³ Only a few records of this king have been discovered so far and the known dates for him are V.S. 1319, 1323, 1332, 1333 and 1334.⁴ Bhandarkar doubtfully ascribes the damaged Blīnmal inscription of V.S. 1330 to his reign.⁵ Another record,⁶ found in the same building as the present inscription and dated V. S. 1320, belongs to his period.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of 150 *dramma* coins to the god Mahāvīra in the (Chandana-vihāra) in the Jain monastery attached to the Nāgakiya-gachchha. Nāgakiya-gachchha, Chandana-vihāra and god Mahāvīra are mentioned in two of the inscriptions of the

¹ See *Archaeological Reports, Western Circle*, 1908-09, p. 55.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 52-53, 60-62.

³ Ibid., pp. 32-33, No. V, text line 4.

⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List Nos. 581, 586, 588, 587 and 592.

⁶ Ibid., No. 581., p. 383, Table No. 13.

⁷ Ibid., No. 583. For another inscription of the king, dated V. S. 1328, see *JBR*, Vol. XI, pp. 341-42.

time of Chāchigadēva referred to above.¹ The *viḥāra* is called there *Mahārāja-srī-Chandana-viḥāra*. This Jaina *gachchha* Nāpakīya is evidently called after the place Nāpaka or Nāpā in the Bāli District of the Jodhpur Division.² An inscription from Nāpā, dated V.S. 1290 (1243 A.D.), gives the ancient name of the place as Nāpaka³ from which the name of the *gachchha* is derived. The Chandana-viḥāra was apparently named after king Chandana of the Jalore branch of the Paramāra. This branch is known from the only record of Visala who was sixth in descent from Chandana. It is found at Jalore and is dated V.S. 1174.⁴ Chandana, the son of Vākpatirāja, was the first prince of this branch.⁵

The occasion for the grant was the *Ashṭāhnikā* festival conducted on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Āvayuja. It is mentioned as *Ashṭāhnikapadi* in the record of V.S. 1320 referred to above. This Jain festival is usually conducted in the months of Āshāḍha, Kārttika and Phālgua.⁶ But the present record shows that it was conducted in the month of Āvina also.⁷ The last eight days of these months were observed as days of *Ashṭāhnikā-parva* when special worship was conducted in the Jain temples. Since the months were *Pūrvimānta*, Āvina śu. 11 falls during the last eight days of the month.

The description of the donor and his relatives is given in lines 7-14. The name of the donor which occurs in line 11 cannot be read satisfactorily as the first letter is too much obliterated. It seems to consist of three letters, the second and third of which are *raī*. The first letter appears to be *Nā* or *Nāh* so that the name may be *Nāhrai*. The same name seems to occur again at the beginning of line 22 where also, unfortunately, the first letter is damaged and lost. The inscription describes him as the son of Dēdō and the brother of Dhanasīha (Dhanasinhha) and as belonging to the Kāyastha lineage. By his charitable acts he became celebrated in his own family. He accompanied by his brothers Vishnu, [Phū]ḍā and Harichandā (Harichandra), his sons [Rai]-vaśīha (Raivasinhha) and Bhuvanaśīha (Bhuvanasinhha) and his mother, made the above-mentioned grant. The money was entrusted to the Superintendent of the monastery (*Maṭhapati*) and the members of the assembly (*gōshṭhikas*)⁸ in the presence of Dhanēśvara-sūri. It is stipulated that the interest on the granted money amounting to 15 *dramma* coins should be spent on worship, offering and supervision. It may be noted that the interest works out to be 10 per cent of the principal. Apparently this interest was realised annually. The gift was made in order to promote the welfare of the donor. If the *maṭhapati* and the *gōshṭhikas* would not conduct the worship and failed to observe the ceremonies on the *ekādaśī* day, then they would incur the curse of Pārva-nātha and Mahāvīra and would not obtain any merit as long as the moon and the sun would endure. The record ends with the words *śubham bhavatu* followed by *chha* written three times between double *danḍas* indicating the end of the writing.⁹

¹ Bhandarkar's List Nos. 563, 569. For the texts of these records see P. C. Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, Pt. I, p. 240 (Nos. 901-02).

² There are several instances in which the Jain *gachchhas* are called after the names of places in Marwar; e.g. Sandēraka-gachchha is called after Sandēra or Sandēraka, identified with modern Sāḍḍrāv near Bāli (cf. above, Vol. XI, p. 31).

³ *Archaeological Survey, West. Circle*, 1907-08, pp. 48-49.

⁴ Bhandarkar's List No. 194. Another inscription at Jalore informs us that Chaulukya Kumārapāla constructed a temple called Kumāra-viḥāra (above, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55).

⁵ D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 343.

⁶ Mirji Annarno, *Jaina Dharma* (Kannada), p. 572.

⁷ This Jaina festival is referred to in the Halei plates of Kadamba Ravivarmān (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 26, text lines 15-17; *Soc. Sci.*, p. 271). The record states that the king ordained that the festival of Jinendra's glory, lasting for eight days, should be celebrated every year on the full-moon day of Kārttika. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Bhoosar for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁸ The expressions *maṭhapati* and *gōshṭhika* should have to be taken separately. Cf. *maṭhapati* and *gōshṭhika* in the record of V.S. 1320 of Chāchigadēva referred to above.

⁹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note.

The place-name Jāvālipura mentioned as the seat of the royal residence is, of course, modern Jalore where the record is found.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham²[i*] Sam³1331 varshē Aśvinē⁴ [su 11]⁵ *
- 2 [ra] ady=āha śri-Jāvālipurē
- 3 Mahārājakula-śri-Chāchiga-
- 4 dēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rā[jyē]
- 5 śri-Nāpakiya-gachchha-pratibaddha-
- 6 Jin-ālayē śri-Chandana-vihā-
- 7 rē Kāyasth-ānvayē thakkura Dēdō-
- 8 putra-tha⁶-Dhapaṣṭha-bhrāṭṭi(trā) sakala-
- 9 dharmm-ārā[ma]-kuly-ātulyē[na] *
- 10 ja-ku[la]-nabhas-tala-sasāmkē[na]
- 11 tha⁷-[Nān]vaī-nāmadhēyēna bhrāṭṭi-
- 12 [Vi]śṇu-[Phū]⁸dām-Harichand⁹sa¹⁰-pu¹¹-tha¹²-[Rai]-
- 13 va[śi]ha-Bhuvā[na]śha-mātara¹³ *
- 14 pramukha-sabha[sama]jvītēna Asauja¹⁴
- 15 [mā]sē āu[ku]¹⁵-pakshē ēkādaśi-ti-
- 16 [thau] Aṣṭāhnikā-mahōtsavē śri-Ma-
- 17 .¹⁶vīradēvasya pūj-ārthan dā 150 sa-
- 18 [tuis pati]cha(chā)śad-ādhikam pradattam(ttam) [i*] pūjya-śri-Dha-
- 19 [uō]vara-sūripān samakshā[śha] mathapati-
- 20 [gō]shṭhikānām¹⁷ drammūḥ samarpitās-cha [i*]

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Read Aśvina.

⁴ The number 11 appears to have been incised here.

⁵ The last akshara may be restored as *ōv*.

⁶ The last akshara may be restored as *et*.

⁷ The reading of this letter is not certain.

⁸ The intended reading of the name may be *Harichandra*.

⁹ Read *śātri*.

¹⁰ Read *Aśauja*.

¹¹ It appears that the engraver first carved *la* and then added *sa*.

¹² This akshara can be restored as *lā*.

¹³ Read *śakshikāyō*.

- 21 [ē]śēhā[m] drammā¹śm vyājēna dia lō [thā*]
 22 [Nām]²vaī-ārēy-ōrtham pūjā-naivēdya-prā-
 23 [ksha]³q-ādika[m](kam) ā-chaṇḍr-ārka[m] yāvat
 24 kārāpaniyam(yam)*|| yadi tē maṭhapa-
 25 ti-gōshṭi(shṭi)kāḷ pūjām na kurvvaṁti
 26 śkādaś-tithi-kārya-[ka]raṇā-
 27 [ni] lōpayanti tadā śrī-Pāravanā-
 28 [thā]-śrī-Mahāvīradōvayōr-dōshē-
 29 ṇa dūahyam[tō] | [chha]* | tāvad ā-chaṇḍ-
 30 dr-ārka[m] yāvat⁴ [punyē]na [na*] grīhyam-
 31 tō || śubham bhavatu || chha || chha || chha ||

¹ This śkāra seems to be the same as suggested in the name in line 11 above.

² The form *prāṇapāda* occurs in the same context in two Bhamal inscriptions (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 482, 485).

³ Read *brāhmaṇam*.

⁴ This damaged letter which is read as *chha* is unnecessary here.

⁵ The order of *ghat* and *śat* has been reversed here.

No. 7—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.2.1958)

9. Creation of Rent-free Holdings

There are some copper-plate charters¹ which record the sale of Government land to an applicant paying the usual price and the Government's acceptance of his proposal to create a rent-free holding out of the purchased land in favour of Brāhmanas or religious institutions. In such a transaction, it was believed, according to an ancient Indian convention, that five-sixths of the religious merit for the creation of the revenue-free holding would go to the purchaser of the land and one-sixth of it to the king of the country, whose government alone could create such a holding.²

There is another kind of charters which, instead of speaking of the sale of the land that was created into a rent-free holding by the king in favour of Brāhmanas or religious institutions, merely state that the particular holding was created at the request of a certain officer or feudatory of the king or some other persons.³ In spite of the absence of any reference to sale in such records, some of them appear to be based on a transaction involving sale.⁴ Thus the Nālandā plate⁵ of Dēvapāla records a grant of five villages by the Pāla king to a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā at the request of *Mahārāja* Bālaputrādēva who was the lord of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) and was responsible for establishing the monastery. The five villages were apparently purchased by Bālaputrādēva from Dēvapāla as otherwise the whole of the religious merit accruing to the pious act of endowing the monastery with a rent-free holding for its maintenance would go to Dēvapāla and nothing at all to Bālaputrādēva.⁶ This was no doubt an undesirable position for the king of Sumatra. If he really purchased the villages, as he no doubt did, five-sixths of the merit would be his and only one-sixth would go to Dēvapāla according to the convention referred to above.

But as regards the land made a rent-free holding at the request of an officer or feudatory of the king, it was no doubt in many cases lying within his *jāgīr* or *fief* or estate. In the case of land forming part of *jāgīr* which royal officers of ancient India enjoyed temporarily,⁷ their occupants lost the rent of the land in question so long as they were in their possession. But the king's

¹ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 337 ff., 343 ff., 346 ff., 350 ff., 359 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 344, text line 13; p. 348, text line 16; p. 352, text line 13; p. 362, text line 11. See also *Marsden's*, VIII, 304; *Vikramaditya*, III, 12-13. The same idea is also referred to in other records like the *Dāmodarapur* plates, No. 2, line 7 (above, Vol. XV, p. 136), and No. 6, line 12 (*op. cit.*, p. 143). The texts of most of the inscriptions have often been misunderstood. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 352, note 5.

³ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 331, 375, 421, etc. It may be pointed out that the feudatory's name was mentioned in royal charters in this fashion only when he was regarded as of some importance. When he grew more powerful, he issued charters himself with the permission of his master (cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.). With further growth in his power, his charters were issued without reference to his master's permission but without concealing his subordinate position or indicating it somewhat vaguely (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 291, 266, 332; Vol. XXX, p. 139; etc.). When still more powerful, he issued his grants without any reference to his master and endowing himself with a combination of subordinate and imperial titles which could in some cases be so interpreted as to indicate either his subordinate position or independent status (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 329; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 109, 284; Vol. XXIX, p. 186). The next stage of course is represented by his charters issued as a full-fledged independent ruler.

⁴ The sale of land was generally represented in ancient India as a gift. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 48, note 2.

⁵ *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1613.

⁶ Cf. R. D. Banerji, *Bengal's History*, Vol. I, B.D. 1330, p. 310.

⁷ Cf. Watters, *On Yang Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 177.

loss of revenue was greater as the land was rent-free even when the fief reverted to him or was subsequently allotted to some other officer. It therefore seems that the occupants of *jāgirs* had to compensate the king's loss at least partially for the creation of revenue-free holdings within their fiefs, as otherwise they could scarcely expect the full religious merit accruing to the pious act. We have also cases¹ where a king is found to ratify the rent-free holdings created in their *jāgirs* by members of the royal family.

But it appears to us that a number of grants of rent-free lands issued by the kings were really made on behalf of persons whose names are not mentioned in the documents. This seems to be suggested by the fact that, in a few cases, even though the grants are recorded in the king's name, an endorsement at the end of the documents says that they were made by others and in reality there is a contradiction between facts as stated in the charter proper and in the endorsement. An important document of this type is the Bangaon plate² of Vīgrahapāla, which purports to record the grant of a village by the Pāla king in favour of a Brāhmaṇa, although in an endorsement at the end it is summarily stated that the grant was made by an officer of the king named Ghaṇṭiśa out of his own *jāgir*.

Another interesting fact is that the indication of a particular grant being actually made by one of the king's officers or feudatories but represented as one made by the king is not clear in the documents though some of them appear to suggest the fact vaguely. There are many records which introduce a person without any ostensible relation with the charter stated to have been granted by the king. Such an introduction is often found at the end of the documents exactly in the position of the endorsement in the Bangaon plate of Vīgrahapāla III, referred to above. In a few cases, such an enigmatic name is also met with in the body of the charter without any justification for its introduction. Since it is inexplicable why persons without anything to do with the grants should be mentioned in royal charters at all, we suspect that they might have been the real donors of the grants in question and the fact was intended to be rather vaguely indicated in the said way. It also appears that there was an amount of reluctance on the part of the Government to admit such a fact.

The Mēhār plate³ of Dāmōdara records a grant of lands in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. But at the end of the king's description in verse, there is one stanza introducing Gaṅgādhara-dēva who was the officer in charge of the royal elephant force. The introduction of this person, as we have indicated elsewhere, cannot be explained unless it is supposed that he was the real donor of the grant although the king was not eager to mention the fact explicitly in the document.⁴

The Andhavarāma plates⁵ of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman record the grant of a village as an *agrahāra* or rent free holding in favour of several Brāhmaṇas. The king is mentioned as the donor. But, at the end, the record is stated to have been written under orders of Śrī-Lōkārjuna-dēva who vanquished many foes. The editor of the inscription says, "These plates furnish us with a new Gaṅga name—Lōkārjuna." But he admits that the identity of this person cannot be determined without further evidence.

The charter was issued in the Gaṅga year 133. But, instead of describing it as the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* or *Gāṅgēya-vaiśā-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* as we

¹ See the cases of such holdings created by Prince Śūryasēna and Puruṣhōttamasēna and ratified by king Viśvarōpasēna in his Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad plate (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147; *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 206-07).

² Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 48 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 182 ff.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 52-53.

⁵ Ibid., p. 37 ff.



find in other Gaṅga records, the inscription in question calls it *Tumburu-vaṁśa-rājya-samvatsara*. This reminds us of the Santa-Bommali plates¹ issued by a Kadamba feudatory of a Gaṅga king, which describe the Gaṅga era as *ṭāṅga-Kadamba-vaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* even though the Kadambas had nothing to do with the establishment of the era. It appears to us that the grant recorded in the Andhavarani plates of Gaṅga Indravarman was really made by his feudatory Lōkārṇava of the Tumburu dynasty. Unless such was the case, it is difficult to explain why he was introduced as ordering for the writing of the document and the Gaṅga era is described only in this record as associated with the Tumburu dynasty.²

There is a stanza about the end of a charter issued by the Śailōdbhava king Sainyabhatta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa.³ The inscription was edited by N. G. Majumdar who believed that the date of the grant, viz., year 50, should be referred to the Haraha era so as to yield 656 A.D. There is, however, little doubt that the inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the Śailōdbhava king. The stanza in question has been read by Majumdar as follows :

Jayati Jayama-pratimah pravabha-samākṛishṭa-ripu-uripa-śrīkaḥ |

Śrīdhara(jāḥpau)rah kshitipō varadikṛita-lōkanātha-sakhaḥ ||

Since another verse in the inscription states that king Mādhavavarman made the grant from his camp at Mādhavapura (probably named after himself), Majumdar suggests that the expression *Śrīdhara-pura* refers to the king's stay, at the time of making the grant, at Śrīdhara-pura which is identical with Mādhavapura. He also says, "It further describes him (i.e. king Mādhavavarman) as a friend of the *lōkanātha* who was graciously disposed towards him. By the term *lōkanātha* we are probably to understand the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance." We are sorry that we cannot agree either with Majumdar's reading or with his interpretation. In the first place, what has been read as *śrīdhara-pōrah* and corrected to *śrīdhara-puraḥ* has been read by S. N. Rajaguru, who has recently edited the inscription without noticing that it was previously published, as *śrīdhara-pōrah*.⁴ In regard to the reading *ra* for *tha*, Rajaguru seems to be right since the *akṣara* has a clear top *mātrā* which is expected in *e* and not in *dh*. The other disputed *akṣara* looks more like *mā* or *pa* than *pō*. The reading of the expression thus seems to be *śrī-Varamārah* or *śrī-Varama(pu)rah*. Secondly, the reference in the verse can hardly be to the Śailōdbhava king as the feudatory of a certain *lōkanātha*, 'a king'. He was no doubt a feudatory of king Śaśāṅka of Gauda in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.). But his later records including the said epigraph are dated in his regnal reckoning and most of them (including the inscription in question) describe him as the performer of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.⁵ There is thus little doubt that these charters were issued after Sainyabhatta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa had thrown off the yoke of the Gauda king. In our opinion, *lōkanātha* mentioned in the stanza quoted above is no other than the Śailōdbhava king himself and the illustrious Varamāra or Varanara was his feudatory who was the real donor of the grant. The word *varadikṛita* refers to the favour shown by the king to the feudatory by agreeing to the creation of the rent-free holding recorded in the inscription no doubt at the feudatory's request.

While re-editing the Balangir Museum plates⁶ of the 8th regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, we did not fully realise the implication of the endorsement at the end of it referring to Prince

¹ Bhandarkar's List No. 2053.

² A. B. Ep., 1931-32, p. 5.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 148 ff.

⁴ *Cr. Hist. Res. Jour.*, Vol. II, Parts 3-4, p. 19.

⁵ See *IIQ*, Vol. XXVII, p. 168 ff.

⁶ *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XIX, p. 117 ff.

Durgarāja, described as the son of Svabhāvatūga whom we identified with Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I himself. The introduction of the prince is really inexplicable and it now appears to us that he was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by his father.

Similarly, the real implication of the enigmatic endorsement at the end of the Mahada plates¹ escaped us while re-editing the inscription. It appears to us now that Yasūgaja, who seems to be described in the endorsement as a ruling chief born in the family of the issuer of the charter, i.e., king Sōmēśvarādēvavarman III, was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by the king. If this was not the case, the endorsement is quite meaningless.

10. Khajjana-Khajjana-Khajjana-Khajjanaka

The word *khajjana*, also spelt *khajjaya*, *khajjāna* and *khajjanaka*, occurs in several inscriptions of the western part of South India. In the Argā (Karwar District) plates² of Kāpālivarman, which may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, the word *khajjāna* is found in the following passage in lines 3-6: *Śivapuraka-grāmē Aditya-śrīśthi-Pukkollī-khajjānaḥ . . . dattam*. We have also the following three passages mentioning *khajjana* in the Bandora (Goa) plates³ of Prithivīmalla-varman who seems to have flourished in the seventh century A.D.: (1) *utā grāma-simē Kapāli-khajjanam ammi Brāhmaṇya . . . sampradattam* (lines 3-4); (2) *khajjana-mādhyasthē-pi yūpakāḥ Brāhmaṇya-siva datta itī* (lines 7-8); (3) *khajjana-parimāṇam* (line 10). The word *khajjaya* is thrice used in the Panjim (Goa) plates⁴ of king Jayakēśin I of the Kadamba family of Goa, dated Śaka 981 (1059 A.D.), in the following three passages: (1) *Pāvara-khajjaya* (line 48); (2) *Kalp-ākhyā-khajjaya* (line 49); (3) *Pratīva(ba)la-khajjaya* (line 50). A copper-plate grant⁵ of Tribhuvanamalla of the same dynasty, dated Śaka 1028 (1107 A.D.), uses the word *khajjanaka* in verse 31 in lines 31-32, which runs as follows:—

Nannapayyān-namasyaṁ cha Hōḍḍa-khajjanakam krayāt |
kṛitāḥ Nāyyēna tasmāt-tat-kṛitē prādāch=chhatais-tribhūḥ |

The word *khajjana-khajjana-khajjana-khajjanaka* has not yet been satisfactorily understood. While editing the Argā plates, Mr. A. M. Annigeri admits that the expression *Pukkollī-khajjāna* occurring in the record 'cannot be explained',⁶ while Mr. P. B. Desai suggests in an editorial note that the word *khajjāna* and its variants may denote 'a specific area of cultivable land or locality'.⁷

There is, however, no doubt that *khajjana*, etc., are the same as the Marāṭhi word spelt both as *khājan* and *khājan*. According to Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, this word means 'a salt-marsh or meadow; land lying along the shore of the sea or of inlets, and exposed to be flooded; ground recovered by embankment from sea'. The *Mahārāṣṭra Śabdakōśa* also explains the word as 'the area [near the sea-shore] on which a thin layer of sand and mud accumulates after the ebb-tide coming through inlets; a rice field created out of such an area near a hillock by erecting embankments on the three other sides; a field created by reclamation of the river bed'.⁸ It will thus be seen that *khajjana* and its variants really mean a particular type of cultivable land or a plot of land of the said type. That it does not mean a specific area of land seems to be indicated by the mention of an object standing within a *khajjana* as found in the Bandora plates and of a *khajjana* called by the name *Kalpa* in the Panjim plates, both quoted above.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 223 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 232 ff.

³ See below, pp. 293 ff.

⁴ G. M. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 397; M. G. Dhakrit, *BISMQ*, Vol. XXXI, Part IV, pp. 27 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 233. Annigeri reads *Pukkollī-khajjāna*.

⁷ Ibid., p. 234, note 4.

⁸ This meaning is clearly supported by the Bandora plates speaking of *lavanajalāṁ ātunā nīdṛyga* *kaḥāram-nīpādya* (lines 8-9).

It has to be seen that the word *khajjana* and its variants are often used together with another expression as in *Pukkōlli-khajjana*, *Kapōti-khajjana*, *Pāvāra-khajjana*, *Kalp-ākhyā-khajjana*, *Pratibala-khajjana* and *Hōḍḍa-khajjana*. The possibilities are that Pukkōlli, Kapōti, Pāvāra, Pratibala and Hōḍḍa are names of persons or localities or that the words in question indicate particular types of the land styled *khajjana-khajjana-khajjana-khajjana*. Of the three suggestions, however, the one that Pukkōlli, Kapōti, Pāvāra, Pratibala and Hōḍḍa are personal names appears to be better than the other two. Kalpa may have, of course, been the name of the field in question.

In line 15 of the Sirsi (North Kanara District) plates¹ of Kadamba Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.), we have the expression *Bamdu-Pukkōli-khētra*.² *Pukkōli* may be a variant of *Pukkōlli* of the Argā plates. Another variant of the same appears in the passage *chaturvīṃśati-nivartanāṃ Pukkōli-khētram* in lines 4-5 of the Kuntagani plates³ of the same Kadamba king. The occurrence of the same expression in several records seems to suggest that it is not the name of a locality since that would indicate that there were too many different localities bearing the same peculiar name. If this is regarded as a particular type of *khajjana* land, *Kapōti*, *Pāvāra*, *Pratibala* and *Hōḍḍa* should also have to be taken to mean similar other types. That would make too many types of the land indicated by the word *khajjana* and its variants. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to suggest that Pukkōlli, Pukkōli and Pukkōli are the variants of a personal name. In such a case, the expressions *Ādityaśrēṣṭhi-Pukkōli-khajjana* would indicate a plot of the *khajjana* type of land in the possession of two persons named *Ādityaśrēṣṭhin* and *Pukkōli*, while *Bamdu-Pukkōli-khētra* would similarly mean a plot of land in the possession of two persons called *Bamdu* and *Pukkōli*. Since, in *Ādityaśrēṣṭhi-Pukkōli*, *Ādityaśrēṣṭhin* seems to be a complete personal name and *Ādityaśrēṣṭhi-pukkōli* does not appear to be a single name, *Bamdu* and *Pukkōli* in the passage *Bamdu-Pukkōli-khētra* should better be taken to mean two personal names rather than *Bamdu-pukkōli* as one such name.⁴

It seems that *khajjana* of the Argā plates is a wrong spelling of *khajjana* or *khajjana*.

11. Paṅga-Pāṅga-Paṅga

The earliest reference to the word *paṅga* is found in the *Hijasahebbāgilu* plates⁵ of the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja* śrī-vijaya-śiva-Mṛigēśavarman (c. 470-90 A.D.) of Vaijayanṭi. In this case, a village was granted in favour of a Brāhmaṇa with a number of privileges, one of which is indicated by the expression *parihṛita-paṅg-ōkṣa* (lines 17-18). In a similar context, the expression *sarva-paṅga-parihṛita* is used as an epithet of the gift village in the Goa plates⁶ of Chālukya Satyaśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, dated Śaka 532 (610 A.D.). The passage *Vaṅḍa(Vaṅḍa)vaṅḍa...* *udaka-pūrvvakam sarva-paṅga-parihṛita datta* occurs in lines 11-12 of the Kāpōli (Belgaum District) plates⁷ of king Aśāṅkitavarman of the Bhōja family, who seems to have flourished in the sixth or seventh century A.D. The same word occurs in the form *pāṅga* in the following passage in lines 26-27 of a copper-plate grant⁸ (Śaka 1028-1107 A.D.) of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla : *śatāt-kṛtvā datta sarva-paṅga-ādī-varjita*. In a similar passage in line 42 of the Panjim plates⁹ (Śaka 981-1059 A.D.) of Kadamba Jayakēśin I, it is stated that the donee was to pay *pāṅga* at a fixed rate every year for the village that was granted to him by the king.

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 294 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 217 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 267, note 9.

⁴ Can *pukkōli* be derived from old Telugu *poṅḍu*, 'arc-anut', in the sense of an arecanut plantation? Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 197, note 3.

⁵ Ep. Carn., Vol. IV, p. 136, Hunsur No. 18, and Plate.

⁶ JBRRAS, Vol. X, pp. 348 ff. and Plates; above Vol. VI, p. 13, note 3. Cf. also *sarva-paṅga-pa-īrṇa* *parihṛita* in line 7 of the Bandora plates (below, p. 295).

⁷ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 234 ff.

⁸ Cf. QJMS, Vol. XLV, p. 66.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 77 ff.

The word *paṅga-pāṅga* has not been properly interpreted. B. L. Rice while translating the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates admitted his inability to interpret the expression *paṅga-śikṣa*.¹ K. T. Telang while editing the Goa plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman read *sarva-paṅgu-parihīta* and translated the expression as 'free from all lame people', although Kielhorn later pointed out that the correct reading is *paṅga* and not *paṅgu*.²

Mr. P. B. Desai offered several suggestions on the interpretation of this word. In a note published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, he explained *pāṅga* as 'form' or 'shape' and interpreted the passage *Bhairavāḥ pāṅgā Gadyānakāḥ* occurring in the Panjūm plates as 'Gadyānakas (i.e. coins of that name) of the Bhairava type', although an alternative suggestion offered was that *pāṅgā* may be a mistake for *paṅgā* derived from *pon* meaning 'gold'.³ But later he gave up the above interpretations of the word and offered the following suggestion: "The expression is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit. It may, however, be connected with the Kannada *paṅgu* meaning 'obligation' or 'indebtedness'. This suggestion is supported by the context which shows that the ground for the collection of *pāṅga* or fee was obligation. The word has passed into the Marāṭhi language and is used in expressions like *pāṅga phēḍaṇē* (to discharge the debt)."⁴

The word *paṅga-pāṅga* as found in the inscriptions referred to above is no doubt the same as Telugu *paṅgamu* recognised in Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* in the sense of 'a tax in the shape of one-fourth of the produce collected in olden times by the government on lands in the possession of gods and Brāhmanas' (*dēva-Brāhmaṇa-ṛittula mīda pūrvapu sarkārvāru ḥiṣṇaṇē chaturth-āṁṣam-ayina kappamu*). It may be connected with Tamil *paṅgu* and Malayalam *paṅka* recognised in Wilson's *Glossary* in the sense of 'a share'. Dr. R. Narasimha Rao has drawn my attention to the use of the word in a large number of Telugu inscriptions of the medieval period.

Inscription No. 588 in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, dated Śaka 1189 (1267 A.D.), contains the passage *āya-sukkamū paṅga lēkumḍān-istimi*, "we have made this grant with the exemption of *āya-śulka* and *paṅga*". No. 257 of Vol. X of the same work, dated Śaka 1133 (1211 A.D.) has similarly: *ṛtliki paṅgānu lēdu*, "there is no *paṅgā* in respect of this gift land". No. 405 (Śaka 1187-1265 A.D.), No. 422 (Śaka 1191-1269 A.D.), Nos. 449 and 450 (Śaka 1202-1280 A.D.), No. 488 (Śaka 1221-1299 A.D.), No. 492 (Śaka 1225-1303 A.D.), No. 499 (Śaka 1233-1311 A.D.), No. 520 (Śaka 1238-1316 A.D.), No. 527 (Śaka 1241-1319 A.D.), No. 539 (of the time of Kākatīya Rudra) and No. 540 (of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra) of the same volume have the following passages respectively: (1) *duṁṁvūṛikim baṅggamu lēdu* (the cultivators of this land are exempted from *paṅga*), (2) *evvāru duṁṁvūṛiṇānu paṅga-tappu paṅga-sukkamū pannu kānika dāṛiṇānu ē mēṛalavāṛūnu ēmim gona-lēdu* (*paṅga-tappu*, *paṅga-śulka*, *pannu*, *kānika* and *dāṛiṇa* are not levied from the cultivators anywhere), (3) *paṅgamu sarva-māṅgamu* (a free holding which is *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅgu*), (4) *paṅga* (not *paṅgu* as in the printed text) *kānika māṇṇa āchāṇḍ-ūṛikkamḍānu* (we have permanently exempted it from *paṅga* and *kānika*), (5) *ṛ chēṇiki paṅga-tappu-sukkamū aḍigū-vāṇu(vāru) paṅchcha-mahāpātākānam baḍuduru* (the collectors of *paṅga-tappu-śulka* will be committing the five great sins), (6) *paṅgamu lēkumḍānu sarva-māṅgamugūnu mūṇitimi* (no *paṅga* will be levied by us on the free-holding), (7) *ellāṇṇṇikiṇi upakṣiti paṅgamu paṭi mādulu kānika dāṛiṇānu māṇṇiṇistimi* (we exempt from *upakṣiti*, *paṅga*, *putti*, *mādulu*, *kānika* and *dāṛiṇa* for ever), (8) *paṅga-sarva-māṅgamu... ichiri* (made

¹ *Ep. Cern.*, Vol. IV, translation, p. 85. We also failed to explain the expression while discussing the inscription in the *Successors of the Śaṅkhaṇas*, p. 266.

² *JBRAS*, op. cit., pp. 363-66; above, Vol. VI, p. 13, note 3.

³ *QJMS*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 75; cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 236, note 2.

the grant of a free-holding as *paṅga*, i.e., exempted from *paṅga*), (9) *paṅga-mānyamu* (a free-holding which is *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅga*), (10) *paṅgamu vēttina paḍupāpālam baḍu-rāru* (the collectors of *paṅga* from the cultivators of this land will be committing all sins), and (11) *paṅga-mānyamugā vidiche* (made the free-holding *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅga*). The passage *paṅggamu lēdu* (exempted from *paṅga*) also occurs in Inscription No. 7 from Ongole in the *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, Vol. II.

In these records *paṅga* or *paṅgā*, besides *paṅga-tappu* and *paṅga-śulka*, or *paṅga-tappu-śulka* in a single compound, is in some cases mentioned along with other levies called *āya-śulka*, *pannu*, *kānika*, *darśana*, *upakṣiti*, *puṭṭi* and *māḍalu*. In some cases, the word *paṅga* has been used as an adjective in the sense of 'free from *paṅga*'. The distinction between *paṅga-tappu* and *paṅga-śulka* is not clear. While *paṅga-śulka* may be the same as *paṅga* explained above, *paṅga-tappu* may indicate interest or fine on arrears of *paṅga*.

Of the seven other items mentioned in the records quoted above, *darśana* is the same as Persian *narrāna*, originally a gift or present from an inferior to a superior, a holy man or a prince. Both *āya* and *śulka* mean 'toll, tax, customs,' etc., and the compound *āya-śulka* may have been used in the records in the sense of 'customs duties'. Wilson's *Glossary* recognises *pannu* as a Tamil word meaning 'tax, tribute, custom, rent'. It is also recognised in Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* in the sense of 'a tax, rent, duties'. *Kānika* seems to be the same as Kannaḍa *kāyike-kāge* or *kāyike-kappa* recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a present from an inferior to a superior, a subscription, a donation'. Brown recognises Telugu *kānika* or *kānuka* in the same sense. *Puṭṭi* reminds us of Telugu *puṭṭi-dōṣiḷlu* recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a fee of two handfuls from each *puṭṭi* of grain paid to the village servants'. *Māḍalu* similarly reminds us of what Wilson says under *māḍa*: "a half pagoda; whence it is applied to a rate of rent or payment of 50 per cent." I am not sure about the real meaning of *upakṣiti*.

The Hiṭṭahebbāgilu plates of Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman uses the expression *parikṛita-paṅga-utkōṣa* (exempted from *paṅga* and *utkōṣa*), in which *utkōṣa* is another allied fiscal term like *paṅga*. The Sanskrit form *utkōṣa* is not found in the lexicons; but its Prakrit form *utkōḍa*, as used in the Jain *Vyavahārasūtra*, has been recognised by H. T. Seth in his *Pāṇasaddamahāṅgaṭṭa* in the sense of 'things to be offered to the *vājakula* (the king, royal officers and members of the royal family)' and 'presents made to the king and others'. The same lexicon recognises *utkōḍā*, which appears to be a feminine form of the same word, as found in works like the *Dāśināmanāḍā*, *Prāśnavyākaraṇasūtra* and *Vipākākruta*, in the allied sense of 'bribe'.

While the form *paṅga* may be a word derived from *paṅga* in the same sense, *paṅgā* may be a wrong spelling of *paṅga*. The expression *sarva-paṅga-parikṛita* (exempted from all the *paṅgas*) used in some cases would suggest that *paṅga* often indicated a levy in general and that there were various kinds of it. The use of expressions like *paṅga-śulka* and *paṅga-tappu* (cf. also *paṅga-tappu-śulka*) in the same context along with other taxes seems to suggest that *paṅga* was sometimes also used to indicate a particular group of levies.

No. 8—BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.1.1958)

Cunningham discovered the remains of the ancient Buddhist Stūpa at **Barhut** (also spelt *Bharhut* and *Bharaut*) in the former Nagaur State, of late merged in Madhya Pradesh, in 1873. The best and the most valuable of the sculptured remains were purchased by him for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and are now exhibited in the Archaeological Section of that Museum. The inscriptions incised on the stones pertaining to the said collection were studied by Cunningham,¹ Hoernle,² Hultzsch³ and Lüders⁴ as well as by Barna and Sinha.⁵ Some more relics of the same religious establishment, probably those rejected by Cunningham, were lying in a godown of the rulers of the Nagaur State. These were secured some years ago by Pandit Vrij Mohan Vyas for the Municipal Museum at Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh. There are altogether seven inscriptions in the Barhut collection of the Allahabad Museum. An unsatisfactory impression of one of these epigraphs reached me more than ten years ago and I published it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 113-14; but the impression was too flimsy for reproduction. About the end of 1957 I visited the Allahabad Museum and Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to copy all the inscriptions of the Barhut collection. The epigraphs are published in the following pages.

Like most of the published inscriptions from Barhut, the records under study are small epigraphs in one or two lines. The characters belong to the **Brāhmī** alphabet of about the **second century B. C.** The language of the inscriptions is **Prakrit**.

No. 1

The pillar bearing the inscription in one line near the representation of an acrobatic scene bears the Museum number Ac/2915.⁶ The line is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and individual *akṣaras* are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. The letters are smaller in size in the present epigraph than in any other in the Barhut collection in the Allahabad Museum. This inscription was published by me without illustration in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, referred to above. But, on a careful examination of the record, it is now found that there are some errors in the observations on the epigraph contained in my article.

I then read the inscription as follows:

Pusadattāyo nāgarikāyo bhikkhuniyo [sa].....

It was suggested that the epigraph, supposed to be fragmentary, records the gift of a pillar or rail by the nun Pusyadattā of the city where the ancient Stūpa was situated. I also suggested that Pusyadattā of this inscription is identical with the nun of that name mentioned in another Barhut inscription read by Barna and Sinha as:

Pusadattāyo nāgarikāyo bhikkhuniyo Sakāyo thabho dānam.

¹ See his *Stūpa of Bharhut*, 1879.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 118 ff., 255 ff.; Vol. XI, pp. 25 ff. Cf. Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum*, 1883.

³ *EDMO.*, Vol. XL, pp. 58 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 225 ff.

⁴ *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, above, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 687-903.

⁵ *Barhut Inscriptions*, 1926.

⁶ See S.C. Kala, *Barhut Vastu*, p. 30, No. 1.

⁷ Macron over *s* and *o* has not been used in the article.

The full text of our inscription was therefore restored as: *Pusadataye nāgarikāye bhikkhuniye Sakāye sūchi* (or *thabho*) *dānam* and translated as, "[A rail (or, pillar) which is the gift] of the [Buddhist] nun Pushyadattā, an inhabitant of the city."

It is now seen that there is no trace of any letter after the word *bhikkhuniye* and the epigraph is therefore not fragmentary. Of course a layer of the stone has peeled off about the end of the line; but, even if it may be supposed that there were some letters in this damaged part, they could not have been more than two in number since there is no space for more. At best therefore the word *dānam* may have been engraved after *bhikkhuniye*, although I feel that *bhikkhuniye* is the last word of the record. Indeed *Pusadataye nāgarikāye bhikkhuniye* (i.e. "[The gift] of Pushyadattā, the nun of the city") and *Sakāye thabho dānam* (i.e. "The pillar [which is] the gift of Sakā") are two different records as read by Cunningham and do not make a single record as suggested by Barua and Sinha.

The word *bhikkhuni* is found in the Barhut records in both the forms *bhikkhuni* and *bhikkhuni*.¹

No. 2

The cross-bar bearing this inscription in one line bears the number Ac/2972.² It is incised on the stone covering an area about 10½ inches in length. Individual *aksharas* are about ¼ inch in height. The inscription reads as follows:

[Na]garakshitaśu mātu Chakamuchukaye dānam.

It may be translated as: "[This pillar is] the gift of Nāgarakshita and [his] mother Chakamochikā." But the word *chu* seems to suggest that the present epigraph was the second of a set of two inscriptions, the first recording a gift of Nāgarakshita, while the inscription under study only the gift of his mother. The gentleman and the lady mentioned in the record are not known from any other inscription from Barhut. A Buddhist monk of Pushkara, named Nāgarakshita, is, however, known from an inscription³ of about the same period; but he appears to be different from the person of the same name mentioned in the record under study.

No. 3

The railing pillar on which this fragmentary inscription in one line is engraved bears the number Ac/2918.⁴ The writing covers a space measuring 5½ inches in length with individual *aksharas* slightly less than an inch in height. The epigraph reads . . . *girino bhānakasa bhātu*, after which there are traces of an *akshara* which may be *pa* or *ha*. The word *bhānaka* indicates 'a reciter [of sacred texts]' and a number of such reciters are mentioned in the Barhut epigraphs.⁵ Our inscription apparently records the gift either of Ha (or Pa), the brother of a reciter whose name ended with the word *giri*, or of both the reciter and his brother.

This inscription reminds us of another Barhut epigraph⁶ which reads: *Nandagirino bhānakasa Selpurakasa thabho dānam*. "The pillar [which is] the gift of the reciter Nandagiri, an inhabitant of Śailapura". It is not unlikely that the same reciter named Nandagiri is mentioned in the record under study. A person named Nandagiri is known from another Barhut inscription;⁷ but he was not a *bhānaka*.

¹ Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 11, No. 19; pp. 17 f., No. 43 (1 and 3), etc.; and p. 12, No. 22; p. 13, No. 28; p. 18 (4), etc.

² S. C. Kala, op. cit., p. 33, No. 19.

³ Lüders' List, No. 607.

⁴ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

⁵ Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 8, No. 15; p. 11, No. 20; p. 13, No. 27; etc.

⁶ Ibid., p. 16, No. 41.

⁷ Ibid., p. 27, No. 13.

No. 4

This inscription is engraved on a pillar bearing the number Ac/2914 as a label for the representation of a Nāga offering protection to the Buddha.¹ It is in two lines which cover a space measuring 9 inches by 3½ inches. The letters in the first line are somewhat bigger than those of the second. Individual *akṣaras* are between 1" and 2" in height in line 1 and a little less than one inch in line 2. The inscription reads:

1 *Muchūṇḍo Nāgarāja* [1*]

2 *Tis[ā]yā Benāka(ikāga dānā)(vash)* [2*]

It may be translated as: "[This is the representation of] Muchalinda, the king of the Nāgas (i.e. dragons). [This is] the gift of Tishyā, an inhabitant of Benākataka." If it is believed that *dānā* has been used in the plural number for Sanskrit *dānāni*, it has probably to be suggested that Tishyā's gift included more than one piece of stone.

The mention of Nāgarāja Muchalinda reminds us of two other Barhut inscriptions² speaking similarly of the Nāga-rājas *Erāputa* (Sanskrit *Airācata* or *Elāputra*) and *Chakravāka*. According to Buddhist tradition, when there was a great shower of rain at Uruvelā where the Buddha was spending the third week after his Enlightenment, the Nāga king Muchalinda sheltered him by winding his coils seven times round the Buddha's body and holding his head above the Buddha's head.³ The expression *Benākaṭikā* (Sanskrit *Bainākaṭikā*) has been derived from *Benākaṭaka* in the sense of 'a female resident of Benākataka'. The name Benākataka seems to indicate a town (*kaṭaka*) situated on the river Benā which may be a tributary of the Kṛishṇā bearing that name or the Wainganga which is a tributary of the Godāvari.⁴ But one of the Nasik cave inscriptions appears to locate a place called Benākataka in the district of Govardhana around modern Nasik.⁵

No. 5

This inscription in one line is engraved on a rail stone bearing the number Ac/2957. The writing covers an area of 6½ inches in length and individual *akṣaras* are between ½" and ¾" inch in height. The epigraph is both damaged and fragmentary. It reads . . . [*ye Ra*][*h*][*s*][*ta*]
thabho dānāni. The first *akṣara* seems to be the remnant of a word indicating a place name in the feminine gender and the fifth case-ending. We have other cases of this type among the Barhut inscriptions; cf. *Moragirimha Nāgilūyā bhikkhuniyā dānāni thabho*, "[This] pillar [is] the gift of the nun Nāgilā from Mayūragiri."⁶

No. 6

The fragment of the coping stone on which this inscription in one line is incised bears the number An/2925.¹ The writing covers an area measuring 2½ inches in length with individual *akṣaras* about ½ inch high. The record reads:

Haṃsa-jātakaṃ.

¹ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 31-32, No. 26.

² Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 71.

³ Mahāvaṃsa, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, pp. 638-39.

⁴ Cf. Do, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v. *Benā* and *Benī*.

⁵ Cf. *Select Inscription*, p. 191; Lüders' List, No. 1125.

⁶ See, e.g., Barua and Sinha, p. 13, No. 22. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 234, No. 81.

⁷ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 28-29, No. 35.

This reminds us of the numerous scenes from the Jātakas on the Barhut sculptures often bearing inscriptions mentioning the names of particular Jātakas. There is actually another Barhut inscription reading *Harisa-jātaka*.¹ Among the Jātakas mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions, we have *Maghādeviya-jātaka*, *Isimiga-jātaka*, . . . *niya-jātaka*, *Secha-jātakam*, *Nāga-jātaka*, *Sujatoghato-jātaka*, *Lutuvā-jātaka*, *Viḍalajatarakukūṭa-jātaka*, *Uda-jātaka*, *Kimnara-jātaka*, *Miga-jātaka*, *Bhisaharaniya-jātaka*, *Chhadamtiya-jātaka*, *Isirigga-jātaka*, *Vitrapunakiya-jātaka*, *Yavamujhakiyam-jātaka* and *Mugapakiya-jātaka*.² It may be pointed out that the names of the Jātakas as quoted in these inscriptions are in some cases found in different forms in the Jātaka collections.

No. 7

The coping stone bearing this inscription has the number Ac/2910.³ The record is in two parts. The height of individual *akṣaras* in this epigraph is similar to that of the letters in No. 6. The first part of the inscription reads *Gajā-jātaka Saso*⁴ and the second *jātaka* which, however, seems to be followed by traces of the letters *saso*. The two parts jointly mention the *Gaja-jātaka* and the *Sāsa-jātaka*. Although the *Sāsa-jātaka*⁵ is well known, it is difficult to identify the *Gaja-jātaka*. Among the Jātakas, we have stories in which both the *gaja* (i.e. elephant) and the *sāsa* (i.e. rabbit) are known to have some part to play.⁶

¹ Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 81; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 153.

² See *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 80-81, 83, 87, 87-89, 91-94, 97; Liders' List, Nos. 691: 694-95, 698, 700-01, 703-04, 708, 724, 730, 769, 783-86, 802, 807, 810, 825, 897. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 233, No. 72; p. 259, No. 165. For another Jātaka, see *ibid.*, p. 239, No. 157.

³ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 32-33, No. 7.

⁴ See Jātaka No. 316.

⁵ Cf., e.g., Jātaka No. 322 (*Daddattha-jātaka*).



No. 2



No. 6



No. 3



No. 7



Scale : One-half



No. 4



Scale : One-fourth

No. 9—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 23.4.1958)

Photographs of the two copper-plate inscriptions published here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India were obtained in his office during 1949-50.¹ The plates were found somewhere in the Goa territory but the details about their discovery are not known. Both of these inscriptions, called here **A** and **B**, belong to the reign of the king **Prithivimallavarman** of the **Bhōja** dynasty. The existence of this dynasty is known from a few copper-plate grants.² In all, six inscriptions, including the two published here, have been discovered so far.³ Of these, the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** are the earliest as they are assignable, on palaeographical grounds, to about the 4th century A. D., while the others belong to the 6th or 7th century A. D. The six inscriptions disclose the names of five rulers, viz. **Dēvarāja**, **Aśaṅkita**, **Aśaṅkitavarman**, **Kāpāli** and **Prithivimallavarman**. Unfortunately their relationship to one another cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The records refer only to the ruling kings and do not mention any of their predecessors. For this reason, it is even difficult to say whether **Aśaṅkita** of the Hīrogutti plates is the same as **Aśaṅkitavarman** mentioned in the **Kāpāli** plates. These **Bhōja** rulers seem to have held sway in the west coast area comprising the North Kanara District, Goa and portions of the Belgaum District. Among the charters of the family, the Siroda plates were issued from Chandrapura, the Argā plates from Pāmasā-khēṭa, and the present records from **Vaiśabhin-khēṭa** and **Prithivī-parvata**. Of these, only Chandrapura has been satisfactorily identified with modern Chandor near the city of Goa.

A

The set consists of two plates, each measuring approximately 6.5" by 2.2". In the middle of the left margin of each plate, there is a hole (about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter) meant for the ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal are not known. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second has writing on both sides. There are altogether eleven lines of writing, of which the first plate and the first side of the second plate have five lines each and the second side of the second plate only one line. Some letters in the third and fourth lines of the first plate are damaged. The rest of the writing is well preserved.

The characters belong to what is known as the southern class of alphabets. They generally resemble the characters of the early Kadamba grants and may also be compared with those of the Argā plates of **Kāpāli** and the **Kāpāli** plates of **Aśaṅkitavarman**. While these characters are box-headed, those of our record are what may be called hook-headed. They are definitely later than those of the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** and belong more or less to the same period as those of the other **Bhōja** grants referred to above. On palaeographical grounds, they may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A. D. Initial *a* occurs

¹ They have been registered as Nos. 8 and 10 of App. A., *A.E.E.*, 1949-50, and briefly noticed above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-40. See also *Summary of Papers*, All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949, p. 80.

² Though the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** were noticed as early as 1933 and published above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff., the record was assigned to the **Bhōja** dynasty at a later date. Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

³ The remaining four records are: (1) Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja**, referred to above; (2) Hīrogutti plates of **Aśaṅkita**, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.; (3) Argā plates of **Kāpāli**, above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 232-34; and (4) **Kāpāli** plates of **Aśaṅkitavarman**, *ibid.*, pp. 234-36.

in lines 1, 5 and 10 while initial *n* is found in line 6. Final *m* is written in two ways; cf. the diminutive form of the letter in *Daṭṭham* (line 1), *paṭṭikāyām* (line 2) and **ḍam* (line 6) and the form endowed with only a small hook in *Bhōjānām* (line 1). Final *t* is indicated by a diminutive form of the letter without the top *mātrā*; cf. **khētāt* and *cachāt* (line 1) and *khāyāt* (line 8). The early form of *āh* may be noted in **khētāt* (line 1) and **mukh-ā* (line 10).

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the entire text is written in prose. In respect of orthography it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is invariably reduplicated.

The inscription opens with the word *diṭṭham* which, however, is written about the beginning of the second line. This expression stands for Sanskrit *drishṭam*. The charter was issued from *Vṛishabhini-khēta* by king *Prithivīmalla-varman* of the *Bhōja* dynasty. The king is not introduced with any titles, imperial or subordinate. But since the charter is addressed to subordinate officials like the *Bhōjakas*, *Āyuktakas* and *Sthāyins* (lines 2-3),¹ we may assume that *Prithivīmalla-varman* was an independent king.

The object of the inscription is to record the king's grant of a field, probably surrounded by blue hills,² in the village of *Bhāgalā-pallikā* included in the *Kupalapakatāhāra-dēsa*. It is stated (lines 3-4) that the grant was made for the merit of the king's mother *Chētasādēvi* at the request of his brother *Śatrudama*. These two personages, viz. *Chētasādēvi* and *Śatrudama*, are not known from any other source. The donee was *Mādhvārya* (i.e. *Mādhavārya*) of the *Agnivārya* *gōtra*.

The record is dated (line 9) in the first year of the king's reign and the 13th day of the bright half of the month of *Jyēshṭha*. The executor of the grant was the king himself. A statement in line 10 shows that the gift was actually made by *Chētasādēvi* who was the daughter of *Nēllika*. From this it appears that the gift land was purchased by the king's brother *Śatrudama* on behalf of his mother *Chētasādēvi* and that the formal donation was made by the king himself.⁴ The charter was written by *Dēvaśarm-āchārya* of *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*.

There are three places mentioned in the record, viz. *Vṛishabhini-khēta* whence the grant was issued, and *Kupalapakatāhāra-dēsa* in which the village of *Bhāgalā-pallikā* was situated. I am unable to identify them. *Kupalapakatāhāra-dēsa* is, however, mentioned as *Kupalākata-dēsa* in inscription B below.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 *Diṭṭham** [1*] *Vijaya-Vṛishabhini-khētāt Bhōjānām Prithivīmalla-varmmaṇo vachanāt dēśe Kupala-*
- 2 *[pa]kat-āhārē grāmō Bhāgalāpal[1]ikāyām varttamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjak-ā-*
- 3 *yukt[j]aka-sthāy-ādayō [vaktavyāh] [1*] yath-āsmābhir-asamad-bhrātuh Śatrudamanasya*
- 4 *[vijhāpyāna] samad-amhāyāh] Chētas[ā]dēvyāh pūpy-āpachay-ārtham-asmai Brāhma-*

* In the Sirois plates (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145, text line 2), the passage containing the names of these officers has been read as *bhōjīk-āyuktaka-sthāy-ādayō*. But the correct reading there appears to be *bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthāy-ādayō* as in the present record.

* The expression used is *nīla-dāma-vyapakaḥ*. It may also stand for the name of the field granted.

* It has been inadvertently stated that *Chētasādēvi* was the queen of *Prithivīmalla-varman* (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 339).

* See above, pp. 50 ff.

* From photographs. This is No. 8 of App. A of 1949-50.

* This word is engraved about the beginning of the second line. Read *drishṭam*.

* Read *vijhāpyāna*.

TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN—PLATE I

A



ii, a



ii, b



Scale : Five-sixths

5 pāya Agni[vē]śya-sagōtrāya Mā[dh]vāryyāya kabētra-kalam(lah) nlla-dāma-vaprakah

Second Plate, First Side

6 satvva-parihṛita¹-parihārah udakēns sampradattaḥ [i*] tad-ēvam jñātvā na kēnachit

7 vyatsitavyah | yō amat-kul-āhhyantarō-nyō vā rāga-dvēsha-jōbha-mōha-mada-mātsaryyā-

8 [dā]hhi(hhi)-ddōshair-abhihūtō hih²-syāt sa-paṇcha-mahāpātaka-ōpapātaka-saṁyukta[h*]
syād-iti [i*]

9 datā patikā varddhamānaka-saṁvva³ prathama(mē) Jyēsthā-śukla-divasē
trayōdaśyām [i*]

10 atra sa⁴-mukh-ājñapti[h] [*] Nēlika-bālikāyāh Chētasulōvyāh dānam-iti ||

Second Plate, Second Side

11 Dō[va]sarmm-āchāryyōna(ṇa) Bharadvāja-sa(sa)gōtrāya⁵ li[kh]itau-iti⁶ ||

B

The set consists of **two** plates, each measuring about 8.2" by 2.2" and having a hole on the left margin (about 1" in diameter) for the ring to pass through. The ring and the seal are not found. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The first plate contains four lines of writing, the first side of the second plate five lines and the second side of the second plate three lines only. Thus there are in all twelve lines of writing. Some letters in lines 10 and 11 are damaged while the rest of the writing is well preserved. The characters are the same as those employed in inscription A above.

The grant is issued from the victorious **Prithiviparvata**. The charter is addressed by king **Prithivimallavarman** of the Bhōja dynasty, who is introduced without any royal title as in record A above, to the present and the future *Bhōjakas*, *Ayuktakas* and *Sthāyins*. The object of the charter is to record the grant of a field called Kapōti-khajjana, situated in the village of Malāra included in **Kupalākata-dēsa** made by the king for his own merit. The donee was one Dāmārya of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who is also called Agnivēśya. The word *khajjana* occurs in the Argā plates of Kāpāliyarman referred to above as *Pukkōlli-khajjana*. Apparently it is the same as the modern *Marāṣhi* and *Konkagi* word *khājan* which means 'a rice-field created out of the nullah of a sea-shore by putting embankments after the ebb-tide.' The inscription further states (lines 7-8) that a *yūpaka* standing in the midst of the field was also given to the donee. The word *yūpaka* may be a mistake for *kūpaka*.

The record is dated in the **year 25** (expressed in numerical figures), **Śrāvaṇa-śukla 15**. The year apparently refers to the king's regnal reckoning, thereby showing that Prithivimallavarman ruled for about 25 years at least. The charter was written by Buddhādāsa of the Kambōja gōtra while its executor was Nēlikavara.

The boundaries of the gift land are mentioned in lines 10-11 as follows : in the east the rocks ; in the south also the rocky path ; in the west a locality called Vōsimikā ; and in the north a river.

¹ Better read *parihṛita-sarva*.

² As *asidha* is engraved inside the loop of the medial i sign of *hi*.

³ Better read *samvatarā*.

⁴ Read *sa*.

⁵ There are traces of an unnecessary *śarga*-like mark after *sa*.

⁶ There is a *śarga*-like mark after it. It is part of the punctuation mark indicating the end of writing.

⁷ Cf. *Maṭarāśikha-Saṅkṛānta*, s.v. See also above, pp. 52-54.

At the end (line 12), the inscription once again refers to the grant of the field made by the king in the village of Malāra.

Prithivī-parvata, whence the grant was issued, Kupalākata-dēsa, which included the village where the gift land was situated, and the village of Malāra are the three localities mentioned in the record. It is not possible to identify them. Prithivī-parvata seems to have been named after king Prithivīmalla-varman. Kupalākata-dēsa is apparently the same as Kupalapakaṭāhāra-dēsa mentioned in record A edited above. There is a place called Malowli in the Goa territory, though it is not possible to say whether it represents the village of Malāra mentioned in the record.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Dīṭṭham (Driṣṭam) [1*] Vijaya-Prithivī-parvatāt Bhōjānām Prithivīmalla-varmmanō
vachanā[ṭ] dēśe
- 2 Kupalākataḥ grāmē Malārē su-grāmō² varttamāna-bhaviṣya-³ bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthāy-ā-
dayō vaktavyāḥ [1*] yath=āsmābhīr=asmāt-pu[ṇy-ō]pachaya-vivṛiddhy-arttham⁴=atra
grāma-st-
- 4 mō Kapōti-khajjanam=asmāi Brāhmaṇāya Bharadvāja-sagōtrāy=Āgnivīśyāya

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 Dāmāryyāy=śakēna sampradattam [1*] jñātv=aiṣaṁ na kēnachid=vyamsayitavyaṁ yō
v=ā[tra]
- 6 rāga-dvēṣa-lōbha-māda-ma(mā)tsaryy-ādibhīr=abhibhūt-ātmā vyamanāḥ kuryyāt=sa
pañcha-
- 7 mahāpātaka-ōpapātaka-samyukta[ḥ] syād=iti [1*] khajjana-maddhyasthō=pi [yō]paka[ḥ]⁴
- 8 Brāhmaṇāy=aiṣa datta iti [1*] dattam patrakam sarivva 20 5 Śrāvana-śukla divā
10 [5] [1*]
- 9 Ikṣitam=śtach=cha Kambōja-sagōtrēṇa Buddhādāsēn=ā[tra] ch=ā]ñōptir=
Nūdhivara[ḥ] [1*]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 10 [kha]jjana-parimāṇaḥ sētavaḥ=cha [1*] pūrvvata[ḥ] [pāshā]ṇa[ḥ] dukṣipatō=
pi [pāshāṇa-vitthi]
- 11 aparatō Vēsimikā uttaratō nadi . . . kha[lā]-sthā[na]-pari[māṇam]
- 12 avya[ṁ]it[ō] Malāra-sīmā=smābhīr=sampradattati⁵ ||

¹ From photographs.

² This word is unnecessary.

³ Better read 'apachay-ārtham'.

⁴ Can this be a mistake for rūpakā?

⁵ Read datta iti.

TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN—PLATE II

B



11, 12



Scale : Nine-tenths

11

12



10

12



No. 10—FRAGMENTARY YAJVAPĀLA INSCRIPTION FROM NARWAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, DOTALAMUND

(Received on 14.9.58)

The inscription, preserved in the Gwalior Museum, was copied by me when I visited Gwalior about the end of 1952 for attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress. It was registered as No. 146 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1952-53*, Appendix B. The record, stated to have been found at Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State, is as yet unpublished; but a short notice of it was published by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V.S. 1982, No. 1. Garde's note was utilised by H. N. Dvivedi in his *Gwalior Bāhyake Abhilekh*, No. 704. It has been supposed that the inscription was engraved during the reign of Āsallādōva of the Yajvapāla dynasty of Narwar. Actually, however, the record belongs to the time of Āsalla's son Gōpāla whose known dates range between 1279 and 1289 A.D.

The inscription is engraved on the excavated bed of a squarish stone slab, the four sides of which are raised. There are 18 lines of writing in the record, the inscribed area covering a space about 19½ inches long and about 14 inches high. The inscription is incomplete. The last line, which contains the concluding part of verse 22, ends with the first six syllables of a new stanza; but the rest of this verse was not engraved on the stone. It may be supposed that, as in the case of the Ajmer inscription edited above,¹ the writing was continued on a separate slab. But there is some evidence to show that such was not the case. It is interesting to note that there is enough space on the stone below the last line of the record to accommodate several lines of writing. It is clear therefore that the original idea was to engrave on the stone a complete *prastāva* of the type known from four other inscriptions of the Yajvapāla age, preserved in the Gwalior Museum and edited by us elsewhere in this journal,² and that, for some reason unknown to us, the engraver gave up the writing after finishing about three-fourths of the work. The reason of course may have been a sudden calamity that befell the persons concerned.

The inscription is not only incomplete but also fragmentary. A layer of stone has peeled off from a considerable area of the surface of the slab. This has resulted in the effacement of a number of letters in all the lines. The number of lost letters is the highest in lines 7-9. The record is a *prastāva* written in more than 22 stanzas in various metres. The verses are consecutively numbered. In the absence of the concluding part of the inscription, the purpose underlying the composition of the eulogy and its incision on the stone slab cannot be determined; but, considering the fact that the record closely resembles, in all respects, the four other *prastāvas* of the Yajvapāla age recording the excavation of step-wells, it may be suggested that the present inscription was also designed to serve a similar purpose. Indeed it is possible to think that the author of the eulogy was the Mithura Kāyastha poet Śivanābhaka who is known to have composed several other *prastāvas* of the reigns of the Yajvapāla kings Gōpāla and Gaṇapati. The known dates of these rulers range between 1279 and 1300 A.D. Verses 1-2 containing adoration to the gods Murāri (Viṣṇu) and Sambhu (Śiva) refer to the reflection of the former on the cheek of Lakṣmī and of the latter on the ear-ring of Śivā (Kālī). The idea contained in the first of the two stanzas is actually found in verse 2 of a *prastāva* composed by Śivanābhaka during the reign of Yajvapāla Gōpāla in V.S.

¹ *Vm*, XXIX, pp. 178 ff.

² See above, pp. 31 ff.; vol. XXXII, pp. 334 ff.

1339 (1285 A.D.).¹ Then again the expression *saurājya-bhāsura* occurs in the description of the city of Nalapura in verse 3 of another *prakṛiti* composed by the same poet during the reign of the same monarch in V.S. 1336 (1281 A.D.). The word *saurājya* occurs in a similar context in verse 9 (line 9) in the present record also. These facts coupled with the other that the eulogy under study was composed during Gōpāla's reign seems to suggest that the same poet Śivanābhaka was responsible for its composition.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of other Yajvapāla inscriptions.² The letter *ḥ* has been indicated by the sign for *ṛ*. The orthography of the record is characterised by the occasional use of the class nasal and final *ṃ* instead of *anuvāra*, and reduplication of consonants after *r*. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning, the whole record is written in verse.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the expression *siddhiḥ* and the passage *Gaṇapati-prasādhātū(dāt)*. The above is followed by two stanzas in adoration of the gods Murāri (Viṣṇu) and Śambhu (Śiva), which have already been referred to above.

Verses 5-9 describe the kings of the Yajvapāla dynasty of Nalapura from Chāhaḍa to Gōpāla. (Verse 3 apparently introduces the hill-fort of Nalapura (Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapālas since the days of Chāhaḍa.) Unfortunately the passage containing the name is lost; but the reference to *Naishadha-kāṭiṇya*, alluding to the epic king Nala of the Nishadhas, leaves us in no doubt about the author's intention. The stanza also contained the name of the *vishaya* (i.e. district or territory) of which the above fortress was the capital. The reference is to the Yajvapāla kingdom or the district round Narwar which seems to be mentioned as *Pādūn-lakṣa-vishaya* in another epigraphic record.³ The restoration *Pādūn-lakṣa* in the present epigraph suits the metre of the stanza in question.

(The name of king Chāhaḍa in verse 4 is only partially preserved; but the name of his son Nṛivarman in the following stanza (verse 5) can be clearly read. An interesting information about Nṛivarman, which is known for the first time from the present record, is that he defeated the king of Dhārā and exacted tribute from him. Since the latest known date of Chāhaḍa and the earliest of his grandson Āsalla have both been read as V.S. 1311=1254-55 A.D., Nṛivarman, son of Chāhaḍa and father of Āsalla, may be supposed to have ruled for a few months in 1254-55 A.D.⁴ He thus appears to have been a contemporary of the Paramāra king Jaitugi (known dates between V.S. 1292=1236 A.D. and V.S. 1300=1243 A.D.) or his younger brother and successor Jayasimha-Jayavarman (known dates between V.S. 1311=1256 A.D. and V.S. 1331=1274 A.D.) of Dhārā and Māṇḍu.⁵ There is a passage in verse 5, which seems to suggest that the Yajvapāla monarch was helped in his encounter with the king of Dhārā by three persons named Skanda, Chandra and Parita, who were possibly his generals.

(Verse 6 introduces Nṛivarman's son Āsalla although the name is not fully preserved. The stanza appears also to have contained the name of his queen who gave birth to his son and successor

¹ See above, p. 36, text lines 2-3, verse 2.

² See *ibid.*, p. 34, text line 3.

³ See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 334 ff. and Plates; above, pp. 31 ff. and Plates.

⁴ See No. 139 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B; above, p. 38.

⁵ R. D. Banerji speaks of Chāhaḍa's coins of V.S. 1312 (1255 A.D.) and 1316 (1259 A.D.) and concludes, "Nṛivarman did not reign at all, because the reigns of Chāhaḍa and his grandson Āsalla or Āsala overlap" (*Num. Suppl.*, No. XXXIII, p. 83). If this is correct, Nṛivarman's achievement has to be referred to the reign of his father Chāhaḍa. The language of the inscriptions, however, seems to suggest that Nṛivarman ruled between Chāhaḍa and Āsalla.

⁶ Bhandarkar's List, p. 397; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 140.

Gōpāla. Her name is lost; but another inscription¹ of the family gives it as *Lāvanyadēvi*. The next stanza (verse 7) refers to the person who succeeded to *Āsalla's* position [as king] (cf. *labbhē tasya padam*). The reference is undoubtedly to **Gōpāla** who was the son and successor of *Āsalla*. But the name cannot be traced in the extant parts of any of the three stanzas (verse 7-9) that describe the Yajvapāla monarch during whose rule the inscription was engraved.

Verse 10 introduces **Gōpagiri** (Gwalior) where the family, to which the hero of the *prāśasti* belonged, originally resided, while the next stanza (verse 11) speaks of a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from that place and belonging to the *Hārita gōtra*. Verse 12 describes *Śyāma* of the family mentioned in the foregoing stanza. He is compared with *Śyāma-vata* or the sacred banyan tree at Prayāga near Allahabad, U.P.² The next stanza (verse 13) speaks of *Bhuvanapāla* who seems to have been the son of *Śyāma*, although no word indicating the relationship between *Śyāma* and *Bhuvanapāla* can be traced in the extant parts of verses 12-13. An interesting information about *Bhuvanapāla* is that he is stated to have been seated on half of the throne of king **Bhōja** of **Dhārā**. The expression *mantra-batāt* used in this context seems to suggest that he was a minister of that monarch. It is difficult to determine whether the word *rukha* in a damaged passage of the stanza suggests that he was *Bhōja's* chief minister. As will be seen below, *Bhuvanapāla's* great-grandson was a contemporary of Yajvapāla Chāhāḍa (c. 1231-54 A.D.). *Bhōja* of *Dhārā*, contemporary of *Bhuvanapāla*, therefore cannot be identified with *Paramāra Bhōja II* who ruled about the close of the 13th century. He seems to be none other than *Bhōja I* (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of the *Paramāra* dynasty. But there is an interval of nearly two centuries between *Paramāra Bhōja I* and Yajvapāla Chāhāḍa. This seems to be too long a period to be covered by four generations only, even if it may not be altogether impossible.

Bhuvanapāla's son was *Vāṇḍēva* (verse 14) whose son was *Dāmōdara* (verse 15). The name of *Dāmōdara's* son is lost in verse 16; but he is stated to have been the *Kōśādhyakṣa* (treasurer) of king **Chāhāḍa**, apparently the Yajvapāla king of that name. Verse 17 states that *Dāmōdara's* son visited **Kāśī**, **Gayā** and other holy places, while the next stanza (verse 18) mentions his wife named *Dharmā* who was the daughter of *Pithana*. The lady *Dharmā* is stated in verse 19 to have given birth to five sons. The first of these five brothers is described in verses 20-22. Unfortunately his name is lost; but he is described as a poet and an expert in *vaśīṣṭa-vaśyaṇa* (i.e. description of families). He is further stated to have been a servant of king **Gōpa**, no doubt the description of *famīlās*. He is further stated to have been the great-grandson of *Chāhāḍa*. It is interesting to note that, Yajvapāla king **Gōpāla** who was the great-grandson of *Chāhāḍa*. It is interesting to note that, while the father was a contemporary of *Chāhāḍa* (c. 1231-54 A.D.), the son was serving under *Gōpāla* (c. 1279-89 A.D.).

The concluding part of the last line of the inscription, as already indicated above, gives us only the first six syllables of a stanza which was expected to be verse 23 of the eulogy under study. It was meant to introduce the younger brother of the eldest of *Dharmā's* five sons.

It seems that one of the five sons of *Dharmā* was the hero of the *prāśasti* under study. This is not only suggested by the fact that *Dharmā's* sons were contemporaries of the reigning Yajvapāla king but probably also by the mention of their mother in the eulogy. In the *prāśastis* composed during the reigns of *Gōpāla* and *Gagapati* generally the mother of the hero is mentioned and not his grandmother or great-grandmother.³ But who the hero was cannot be determined. A guess may, however, be hazarded in this connection. We have seen that the eulogy was possibly composed by the poet *Sivanābhakṣa* who is described in a stanza found in several records as a member of a

¹ Above, p. 34, text line 8.

² For the mention of *Śyāma* in literary works like the *Bhāṣya* (II, 53, 23), *Kālidāsa's* *Śaṅkharāmāyaṇa* (XIII, 43) and *Bhavarbhūti's* *Uttaradineśvarīya* (Aśka I), see *ABORI* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 67 ff.

³ There is only one case of the mention of the hero's grandmother and none mentioning his great-grandmother.

FRAGMENTARY YAJVAPALA INSCRIPTION FROM NARWAR



18

16

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- 5 **k[rttir-]**—[h śrīmā]n-Nrivarmanma-nripa[tiḥ] ———— [1*] [tri]-Śka[m]da-
Chandras-Paritah [aribh[ū]ya yēna Dhār-ādhipād=api karō jagrīhō-tidriptāt || 5
- 6 Tat[ō-bhū]ch-ehhri . . . [1]lab¹ simha-saṁhāra] . . . [1*] . . . [pa]vitr-ābhūd-yasya kīrttir-iva
priyā || 6 Lābhō tasva padam kīrtti-pūta-nihē-
- 7 aha . . . b² | [7*] . . . jal-ū[r]dra-kar-āgrah pratihata³-vigraha[ghna] sad-ōdit-
ākṣila-si-
- 8 ddhi[ḥ] | asti] [8*] . . . Itim nīti-sampannām sa-vanām-avan-ōjva[ī]vāhām
| alamkurdva(rvva)ti⁴
- 9 saurāja [9*] . . . [ās] [sa]rvvamarigalaḥ | asti Gōpagirir-nāma durgō
Durgāpatir-yathā || 10
- 10 Vamō dhar-āvata[m]⁵ nēna [cha | tēshām] Hār[ta]-gōtrāpā[ḥ] Māthurāpām
yasō-rthinām(nām) || 11 Guṇaib āchir api svāmō nāmā Śyā-
- 11 mō vaṭō yathā | [rū] [yō] bṛita-tāpō-rthinām-a[ḥ]ūt || 12 Adhyāsta Bhuvanapālō Dhār-
ādhiśasya Bhōja-bhūpasya | simhasanam-apy-a⁶
- 12 rddham masit[r]a-va(ha)lān mukh[ya] || 13 Va(Ba)lavān-oddhṛita-gōtrah [pa]ra-
hita-kṛtyō[ah]n samtatam nirataḥ | upasamit-āhita-nāgas-tasya sūtō Vā-
- 13 sudēvō-bhūt || 14 [Kṛi] prītir-gōtr-ānandī vṛisha-sthitih | Dāmōdarō-bhuvat-tamād-
apūrvvō-mita-vikramah || 15 Tataś-Chāhaḍa-bhūpāla-
- 14 koś-ādhyakahō viṣu . . . [1*] . . . [s-ta]nayō jajñō kutumva(ha)-bhara-sāsahih || 16 Kāśi-
Gay-ādi-tīrthēshu māna-pūm[ō]daka-kriyāḥ | kṛitv-āima(tmā)
- 15 mōchitō yēna [tri] [māt] || 17 T[ēna] Dharmm-ābhidhā dharmmayā sādhi Pīthana-
putrikā | upayēmō kutumvā(b-ārthi-dvij-ānanda-parā priyā || 18
- 16 Tasyām samāna-āpī [vō]-rthinām(nām) | utpādītāḥ sūtāḥ prājñāḥ pañcha Pañ-
chēshupā samāḥ || 19 Tēshām-ādyah kṛit-ābhyaśō vidyāśu saka-

¹ The damaged passage may be restored as śrīmā-Asallāḥ.

² The name of the queen is lost. But No. 141 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1932-53, App. B., gives it as Lāvayadēvi (cf. above, p. 34, text line 8). There is, however, no space for five syllables here. The passage may be conjecturally restored as Lāvayadēvi-pavitr-ā³.

³ The intended reading may be dīa-mukhāḥ.

⁴ The word kut here may be dāna.

⁵ There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.

⁶ There is an unnecessary double danda here together with a cancellation mark.

⁷ The expression appears to be dhar-ānandha. The passage may be conjecturally restored as *mānandha
tra kṛitvāśa cha dharānaśa.

⁸ There is an unnecessary danda here with a cancellation mark.

⁹ The expression may be conjecturally restored as *uddha-dhīḥ.

¹⁰ The name is lost here. It may be Lāhala.

¹¹ The damaged word may be restored as *śūdyām.

- 17 kṣav=api | say=ā [t-āgrāṇi] || 20 Mānita-mārggaṇa-vṛiṇ[da]ḥ kavir-aamin varṇa-
 varṇanā nipaṇaḥ | śāhyair-iva pravah(bam)dhair-ni-
 18 rdṣhair-yṣ yaśa[s-tēnā || 21]..... kāryāṣhu Gōpa-bhūpasya | śāstrē āśtrē nipaṇaḥ
 śa[chi]r-anu[kūla]ḥ priyamvadō dātā || 22 Tad-avarajō hṛī¹

¹ The rest of the *prastāva* was not engraved although there is space for several lines after this. The last *śloka* of the line (L. 17) may have begun a personal name like *Hrishikṣa*, *Hridaya*, etc. The metre of this stanza cannot be determined.

No. 11 NOTE ON KALYANA INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1248

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The inscription under study was originally found in the locality called Yellanagar in Kalyāṇa, the ancient capital of the Chālukyas and Kalachuris in the Gulbarga District of the former Hyderabad State. It is now preserved in the Husaini Bārgāh in the fort at Kalyāṇa. The inscription has been twice edited, once by Mr. R. M. Joshi in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 1936-37, pp. 43-45, and again by Mr. P. B. Desai in the pages of this journal, above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 165-70 and Plate. Unfortunately the writing and engraving of the inscription are both very careless and some of the letters are damaged. There are moreover numerous errors in the language.¹ The text is thus very difficult to decipher and interpret. It is therefore no wonder that both the published transcripts of the epigraph are full of errors and consequently the text has not been properly understood. The readings of the verses in the second half of the record are particularly unsatisfactory in the published transcripts and the editors have disregarded both the metre and the sense.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī; but the letter *kh* has been written in line 30 in its early Southern form. It seems that *h* has been indicated by the sign for *v*.

The inscription is written in both prose and verse. Lines 1-14 contain a document in a few sentences in prose, and verses 1-4 in the *Śārdūlavikrīṭa* metre in lines 14-29 record the main object of the epigraph. This part is in continuation of the prose section referred to above. There is also a fifth stanza in *Anuṣṭubh* in lines 29-30 mentioning a new fact. The last two lines of the record (lines 31-32) are damaged.

The introductory part in lines 1-8 gives the date: **Saka 1248, Kṛtāyā** (called Akshaya in verse 2), **Kārttika-śudī 15, Monday (November 10, 1326 A.D.)**, when *Mahārājādhirāja Suratāpa(Sultān) Mshamada* (Muhammad ibn Tughluq Shāh of Delhi, called *Suratāpa Mahimada* in verse 1) was the reigning monarch, his *Mahāpradhāna* Mallika Kāmadīna (Malik Qiyāmaddīn Qutluḡ Khān) was the viceroy of *Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala* and the latter's subordinate Khōjā Ahamada (Khwāja Ahmad) surnamed Jangdamalantara was the *Syārumallika* (Persian *Sār Malik*, Collector of Taxes) at **Kalyāṇapura**. The office of the viceroy is indicated by saying that the *Mahāpradhāna* was conducting the affairs associated with the imperial seal (or, carrying the imperial seal, according to verse 1).

The purpose of the inscription is introduced in the following sentences. It is stated, that, during the troubled days associated with [the rebellion of] Vāhavadīnna (Bahāuddīn Gurbāsh, son of the Sultān's father's sister), the people of Karpāta discontinued the worship of the god *Madhukēśvara*, installed in a temple at the city of Kalyāṇa as indicated more clearly in verse 1 below. The reason behind this discontinuation of the god's worship is not stated in the record. It may have been due to the priests and devotees of the deity having fled from the city in trouble. It is difficult to ascribe it to the desecration of the god by the Muslims as in that case the *Śivaliṅga* would have most probably been broken to pieces. The language of the record seems to suggest that the old *Śivaliṅga* was re-installed for worship which had been stopped.² Obviously when

¹ We are assured at Joshi's remark that 'the language is grammatically correct'.

² If the expression *pranāś-pratīṣṭhā*, used in this connection, may be taken to mean installation of another *Śivaliṅga* in the place of an old one, the passage *anāśāpāra-śrāpāra ... śombhā* in verse 1 may suggest that the old *Linga* called *Madhukēśvara* had been broken and that the attempt was for its replacement by a new one. But the statement of fact in the passage *śrījagat śāntīkāra* (cf. lines 9-10) merely speaks of the stoppage of worship and not of any damage to the *Linga*.

better days returned to the Kalyāṇa area after the revolution, there was a controversy among the citizens on the restoration of the god's worship. Some of them (probably the local Hindus) argued that the god should be purified at his place [for the re-introduction of his worship]. But there was another group of citizens (probably Musalmans) who were opposed to the re-installation of the deity.⁴ Then *Thakkura Mālā* (Malla), son of *Thakkura Naiṇapāla*, went to the *Khōjā* (i.e. Ahamada) and represented the case. The *Khōjā* granted his request saying that the worship of the deity was the religious obligation of the supplicant and the members of his community (*kula-dharma*) and that therefore the deity could be re-installed. *Mālā*, son of *Naiṇapāla*, is mentioned in the versified part of the record as *Malla*, son of *Naiṇasimha*. The word *naṇa* in the name *Naiṇapāla* or *Naiṇasimha* stands for Sanskrit *nayana* while *Mālā* is the same as Sanskrit *Malla* or *Mallaka*.

The interpretation of the above section of the record offered by us here requires some elaboration since both Mr. Joshi and Mr. Desai have read and interpreted the text differently. Some of their views are quoted in the following analysis while their readings have been quoted generally in the foot-notes to our transcript of the inscription.

As regards the latter part of the above section of the inscription, Joshi's transcript contains several errors while his faulty translation runs as follows: "When at Kalyāṇa, Khwāja Ahmad... (Shahābuddin, etc.) appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadīna), in Karpātaka, during the rebellion, the vicinity of the god Madhukēśvara was awaiting consecration. Efforts were being made (!) ; desires as to why the deity should not be installed were whispered (!)". What he has understood from the text is given elsewhere in the following words: "Due to a mutiny, the local temple was defiled. Attempts were made to find out the image and re-install it in the former place. *Nāpāl*, the son of *Thākura Malapo*, perhaps out of hesitation consulted the local *Qāsi* who spoke as follows: 'That is your religious and family duty and you should set up to it'". These statements are not all correct. Desai's interpretation of this part of the record is equally erroneous. Thus he says, "It seems that, in connection with the revolution (*viparyaya*) caused by Bāhabadīnu, the officer of Kalyāṇa, along with *Janḍamala*, went to *Syāra Mallika*. This gave room for confusion which was taken advantage of by the unruly elements who seem to have caused serious damage to the temple of *Madhukēśvara* and even broken the *Śivaliṅga*. Soon after this, some devotees of the god from the *Karpāja* section of the population appear to have made a premature offer to embellish the temple. The text of the relevant passage after correction stands as *Kārnāṭa-Bikāṣaṇa-buddhiḥ kṛtā*. But this move was not encouraged by the trustees of the temple. After sometime when the governor of the town returned, a representation was made to him in the matter of re-installing the deity and resumption of ceremonial worship as usual by *Thakkura Malla* (*Māla*), son of *Vaiṇasimha* or *Vaiṇapāla*, who was in charge of the management of the temple. The request was granted by the governor in consultation with his secretary (named *Janḍadāsa*, probably the same as *Janḍamala*). Most of these statements appear to be unsupported by the language of the record as read by us.

In the first place, lines 7-8 appear to read *Kalyāṇapurē tam(tan)-nārō(rū)ṇa-Skō(Khō)jū-Ahamada-Janḍamalanāntarē Syāramallika[teu]ṇ gata(tē)*, 'when Ahamada-Janḍamalanāntara, appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadīna), was the *Syāramallika* at Kalyāṇapura.' *Janḍamalanāntara* seems to be the surname or designation of Khwāja Ahmad, while *Syāramallika* seems to be derived from the Persian words *nāṇ*, 'tax' and *malik*, 'a master' in the sense of 'Collector of Taxes'. Thus there seems to be no reference to Ahmad having gone to *Syāra Mallika* in the company of *Janḍamala*. Secondly,

⁴ It is not altogether impossible that the controversy was between the local Śaivas and the members of some other Hindu community such as the Vaiṣṇava. But normally a Hindu community is not expected to object to the re-introduction of the worship of a deity by another Hindu community.

the next sentence in lines 8-10 reads: *Vāha[va]dinnu-viparyayē Madhukēśvarādēva-sam(sām)-
-vāhgi(or samnidhau) Kāroṣa-lōka(kaiḥ) aṣṣana[ṣi] vudhikritam*. Desai's emendation of the
last portion as *aṣṣana-buddhiḥ kritā*, 'made a premature offer to embellish [the temple]', is unsatis-
factory in view of the passage *Madhukēśvarādēva-sānnidhyē* (or **sannidhau*), 'before Madhukē-
śvarādēva (i.e. the god Madhukēśvara)', occurring in the same context, although he reads it wrongly.
In our opinion, the intended reading for *vudhikritam* is *baddhikritam* in which *baddha* means
'stopped'. The root *aṣṣ* means 'to celebrate', 'to honour', and *aṣṣana* may indicate 'cele-
bration', 'worship'. It therefore seems to us that all celebrations in the presence of the god
Madhukēśvara were stopped by the people during the troubled days of Bahāuddīn's rebellion.
This necessitated the purification and re-installation of the god in his old temple and that is exactly
what is referred to again not only in the following section of the prose part but also in the versified
section that follows.

The third sentence reads: *jalpanāta : dēva[ḍ*] [tā]dhanīya[ḍ*] tatra kiṣ : na hi*. In this,
jalpanāta is apparently a mistake for *jalpanti*, '[the people] are talking'. This means to say that
there was a talk or controversy among the people. The conflicting views in the controversy
were: *dēvaḥ sādhanīyaḥ tatra kim i na hi*, "Should the deity be purified [for re-installation] there
[in his temple]?" "Certainly not." As already indicated above, it is possible to think that,
in this controversy, the Hindu citizens of Kalyāṇapura were in favour of the re-installation of the
god while the Muslims of the place were opposed to the idea. This state of affairs, apparently
referring to the time after the *viparyaya*, led to the efforts of Malla or Mālā, son of Naiṣapāla or
Naiṣasiṁha, for the re-installation of the god.

The following section of the prose part reads: *tatra tasmīn [na*] ja-sthānē punar-āpi dēva-sthā-
pana-pūjana-vīdhayē (or *vīdhayē) sam(sa)-[haku(ku)]ra-Naiṣapāla-suta-[hākura-Mālā](hākura-
Mallēna) Shō(Khō)jā-samkṣha(samakṣham) udyāsaḥ [kṛi]ta[ḥ]* Khōjā[na*] prasādam(daḥ) dattam-
(tataḥ) | yuṣhmākaṁ kula-dharmō varttate | tat-karāṣiyam(yam) |* The meaning of the section is
quite clear. Mālā (Malla) appeared before the Khōjā and made an effort in regard to the re-instal-
lation of the god in his old temple and the re-introduction of his worship. The Khōjā favoured
him with his permission. In case the controversy was really between the local Hindus and Musal-
mans, the Khōjā was on the side of justice and fairplay in giving this permission against the feeling
of the local Musalmans. Praise is certainly due to him for this act of courage in those days of
bigotry and religious fanaticism.

As regards the contents of the versified portion following the prose part discussed above, Joshi
says, "... Kalyāṇa, with its increasing glory, had the chariot of Śambhu moving freely. Naiṣa-
siṁha's son, the best of the Kāyasthas, who was perhaps a worshipper of Viṣṇu, did not like the
idea. In 1248 Śaka, cyclic year Kāhaya, on the full-moon day in Kārttika, when at Śāhāchala
god Tākur is generally worshipped, Madhukēśvara was installed." These statements are based
mostly on wrong readings of the text. Desai on the other hand thinks that verses 1-2 summarise
the main facts stated in the prose part. This is also based on misunderstanding.

The first four of the five stanzas in the second half of the inscription repeat only a part of
what we have in the prose section analysed above and record the result of the Khōjā's permission
accorded to Mālā (Malla) in respect of the re-installation of the god Madhukēśvara and the re-
introduction of his worship in his old temple. But the Khōjā is not mentioned and there is only an
indirect reference to the stoppage of Madhukēśvara's worship. Verses 1-2 state that, in the night
of the day of the moon (i.e. Monday) which was the full-moon day of Kārttika in the cyclic year
Akāhaya (the same as Kāhaya mentioned in the prose part), when the *nakṣatra* was Rāhigā, in the
Śaka year counted by 8, the 4 seas, the 2 *ayanas* and 1 (i.e. 1248), when *Suratāṅga*
Mahimada (the same as *Suratāṅga Mahimada* of the prose part) was ruling the earth and
Kāmadīn was his viceroy, the god Madhukēśvara was re-installed at Kalyāṇanagara by Kāyastha

Naipasinha's son Malla who had become ashamed at the [possible] calamity of Śambhu (i.e. the Śivaliṅga called Madhukēśvara) being broken away [in the state of neglect from which he was then suffering]. It may be pointed out that it was not the intention of the author to repeat in this part anything from the prose section excepting the date and that the mention of the reigning monarch and his vicerey is in the same connection. The installation ceremony took place at night, which fact is of course not mentioned in the date of the record given in the prose part. The verses give the additional information that the *nakṣatra* on the date in question was Rōhini.

Verse 3 is in praise of the god Mahēśvara (i.e. Śiva in the form of Madhukēśvara) who received re-installation. There is no mention of king Mahāmada or Mahamada in this stanza as suggested by Mr. Desai. The next stanza (verse 4) prays for Madhukēśvara's favour in granting the desires of Malla's heart. Verse 5 speaks of a *śāsana* or grant (probably of land) which was made in favour of Madhukēśvara by a person named Vijāditya and states that this grant was honoured by certain rulers including one named Uśyarasīṁha who was probably a local chief. Mr. Desai considers this stanza to be a passage in prose and speaks of Vijāditya 'who wrote (i.e. drafted) the charter' and was 'respected by Syara Sihādārāja'. He further identifies Syara Sihādārāja with Syara Mallika of line 8.

The last two lines of the inscription, which are damaged, appear to contain some personal names. These persons may have been witnesses to the grant made by Vijāditya in favour of the deity.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² || svasti śrī-Śā[k]ṣ 1248 Kshaya-samvatsarē || Kārttikē
- 2 śudī 15 Sōmē || ady-ēha samasta-rāj-āvali-māl-ālah-
- 3 kṛita-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-suratāpa-Maha-
- 4 maḍaḥ(da)-rājyē tat-pāda-padmāpa|vīrtasarnā³-bhāra-{nirū}-
- 5 pita-mahāpradhāna-Mallika-Kāmadīna(nē) Mahārāshṭra-mah-
- 6 ḍalē samaste-mudrā-vyāpā[rā*]n paripamthayati [i*]ty-ēvaṁ kā-
- 7 lā varttamānē Kā(Ka)lyāṇapurē taṁnirōpita⁴-Shō(Khō)jā⁵-Ahama-
- 8 da-Jaṁḍamalamtarē Syāramallika[tva]m gata(tē)⁶ | Vā(Bā)ha[va]dīnu-⁷
- 9 viparyayē Madhukēśvaradēva-sam(sām)nidhyē⁸ Kārṇāṭa-lōkē(kaiḥ) amja-
- 10 na[m] vudhikṛitam⁹ | jalpamta¹⁰ dēva[h*] [ś]dhanīya[h*] tatra kīn na hi¹¹ | ta-

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Read *padm-āpajīta-sarnā*.

⁴ Read *tan-nirōpita*.

⁵ Sandhi has been avoided here.

⁶ Joshi: *Khāja Ahamada Jondra [Makhalatē] Sōrē Malikataraṅga*; Desai: *Ahamada[ḍ*] Jaṁḍamala(laḥ) sa[śha(laḥ)] [Syāra-Mallikarātra-k-ārtikaṁ or *k-antikaṁ] puṁ(ta)*. The errors in Joshi's transcript have not been noticed in all cases. His readings have often been quoted after removing misprints and inserting diacritical marks. Some minor differences with Desai's transcript also have been left unnoticed.

⁷ Joshi: *Syāra Badiu*; Desai: *Bāhādīnu*. I have doubts whether the letter *ḍ* has been used in the name. The mark inside the loop of the letter preceding *dī* may be a flaw in the stone.

⁸ The reading may also be *samnidhau*.

⁹ Read *buddhikṛitam*. Joshi: *sannidhau Kārṇāṭa-lōkē amjanaḥ kṛitam*; Desai: *sam(tīyā(bhāḥyān)) Kārṇāṭa-lōkē(kaiḥ) amjana-vudhī(buddhī) kṛitam(tā)*.

¹⁰ Read *jalpamta*.

¹¹ Joshi: *[gataṁ] na dēva śādhaniyaṁ tatra kīnamāḥ*; Desai: *jalpamta-dēva(tē dha nī) dēva kīn na hi (jalpamta-dēva-tē dēva) kīnamāḥ kīn na hi*.

- 11 tra tasmiḥ [ni*]ja-sthānē¹ punar-*api* dēva-sthāpana-pūjana-vidhaye² |
- 12 saḥ[saḥ]-hakkurē[ra]-Naiṣapāla-suta-[ṭh]ākura-Māle³ Shō(Khō)jā-sariksha(samaksham
udyā-
- 13 saḥ [kṛi]ta[h*]⁴ Shō(Khō)jā[na*] prasādani(dah) dā[t]am(ttaḥ)⁵ yushmāka- kula-
dharmō varttate |
- 14 tat-*karāṇi*y[ṛh](yam) || ciha || Prithvisā(ā)dhīpatau Mahimada-sura-rū-
- 15 nē mahīm sā(śā)ṣaḥ prasphūrjargu(d-gu)ṇa-Kāmadīna⁶ sa-vivi(dhīm)
- 16 mudrāṇ dadhānē tadā⁷ | Kalyāṇa nagare-vabhaṅga⁸.vipadani dashiva(driṣṭv-ā)-
- 17 [pi] Sam(Śam)bhōr-ayam⁹ Kāyas[ṭh]-ōttama-Naiṣaṇṇha¹⁰-tanayau(yō) dhīmām(mān)
- 18 punar-llaḥji[taḥ]¹¹ || 1 Sā(Śā)kē-akṣ-āv[dh]yē(bdhy-a)yan-aika-nāmni¹² viśhamā(mē)
- 19 Samvat[sa]rē ch-Ākshaye mā[s]jē Kārttika-samjñakē Vidhu-yuta-*āri*-pau-
- 20 ṛṣamā[s]yā[m]¹³ tithau | Rōhinyā[m*] uṣi vipra-maṇṭra-vihitai[h*] sē-
- 21 vā-chaṭhai(yai)¹⁴ [ab-ṭha]ku(kkō)rō Mallā[h*] *āri*-Madhukē[śva]rasya vidadhē dha-
- 22 nya[h*] pratishṭhāṇ punaḥ || 2 Ya[h](Yā)n-nōtr-āna[ta]-tōjaś samsbhavat Kānō(mō)-
- 23 pa(py-a)naḍig-āspada¹⁵ yat-kāṇiṭh-ābharaṇa[m] jagu[ā(d-ga)ti-hara[m*] ta[t*] kāla-kūṛa[m*]
viśa[m]¹⁶ [*]
- 24 [ya]dō[śnē]¹⁷ purē Pura-trayaṁ-*api* prāptam kathā-śāhātām¹⁸ sō-yaiḥ mahya-
- 25 Maheśvarō 'dhikurnē vataḥ¹⁹ pratishṭhā-padam(dam)²⁰ || 3 Vah(Ya)n-nōtrām(tr-ā)chale-st-

¹Downloaded from <http://www.ashg.org>

¹ The reading may be *niekdyž* also. The following *žanda* is redundant.

* Hous. Ind. Comm. Hearing.

⁴ Jaisi: *vaṇṇapāla-cūṭa* *ḍāḍḍura* Malayōja (?) *aṇṇaka* (?) *uḷa* *aṇṇakā* (?); Desai: *con[duddā*]* *ḍaṭṭura* *Vaṇṇapāla-cūṭa* *ḍāḍḍura* *Māla* | *Ṣāḍā* *con[duddā*]* *Jai-tadda* *uḷa*. Desai, who reads the names of the father and the son respectively as *Vaṇṇapāla* and *Māla*, thinks that an incomplete sentence ends after *Māla*. Note that *ḍāḍḍura* is a colloquial form of *ḍaṭṭura*. The name of *Māla* is found in verses 2 and 4 below. *Māla*

^a Jishi: *Kobayashi and Ishiyama*

* Read 'dinā which, however, violates the metre. The author probably thought of Kōmadit.

* Limit: 2500.

* The word *stahungu* means 'breaking off'. *Joeli*: change; *Deadi*: virtues.

* Jambhī : *Sambhāṣa* *raṭṭam*, translated as 'the chariot of Sambhān'.

[10] *Naipa*, *Paipa*, *Paipah*, but the first consonant is clearly *n*. *Naipaahha* is no doubt the same as *Naipaipa*.

of line 12 where, however, the letter may be confused with π .

⁴¹ *Ureana* = su. *Marihi* (i) (tah) (Mau-Er) (tah).

¹⁸ The word *shewti* is not happy in this context.

18. $\frac{1}{2} \log \frac{1}{2} = \log \frac{1}{2} + \log \frac{1}{2}$

¹⁸ Jach'i : Šeh-šeh; Domi : *mēhšmawh (*m)u/h ošmawh)

¹⁸ Read 'dyadān' or 'dyadām'. Jishi: *patibhāṣinī* (Jishi *saṁskṛitānā* Kāśī *paṇṇi* (?) ; Dham) : *grahyā rāṇa-yā* (nouns) cannot form the *dyad* *patibhāṣyadā*. The reading of the verb is clearly *saṁskṛitānā* and no *saṁskṛitānā* as read by both Jishi and Dham.

¹² Jodai : *gu[vaṇa] bhāvanam jagat[ti]ḥ kuruṣa kṛtāṅga vāha* ; (twai : *patāṅga bhāvaḥ jagaddhāt kuruṣa kṛtāṅga vishamant*) (with two syllables of the following foot of the stanza).

¹¹ The intended reading may be *yal-³ qairan*.

* *Jaime: madre* *para-bayemapi* *kaña / kañaim*; *Desa:* *mad* | *line* *para* *para*
maim-ani | *kañaim* | *kañaim* | *kañaim*.

¹⁸ The intended reading may be *u-shōn* or better *u-shūh*.

* *śrī-śaṅkha-bhūṣa mahāśarāṅgi bhūṣe chāṇḍa prasthā-padaṁ*; *Daśa-śrī-śaṅkha Mahā Mahāśarāṅgi-bhūṣe chāṇḍa prasthā-padaṁ*.

layā pratipadam la[kahmy]ā chiram chi[hn]itā[b*]¹ [S]ūryā-[Chandra]masu Satakra-
tu-mukhā dēvā labhan[t]ē padam[dam]² | eō-yam [sarva]-sur-śēvarō-pi mahatīm
dashvā[driahvā] pratishṭ[ṣ]h[āhām]³ nijā[m*] dēva[h] śrī-Madhukēśvarō vitanutān-Ma-
haya chitai[tt-ai]shapāsh[nam]⁴ | 4 Śrīma[d-U]syara-si[m*]h-ādā[dya]-rāja-pūjita-dai-
va[vava(vat)]⁵ | Vaijādityasya likhita[m*] āśanam⁶ Ma(Mā)dhukēśvara[m*]⁷ || chha ||
thakura-Rēdhūnu Viśvarūpa Madhukēśva[rā]⁸

¹ Joshi : . . . layā pratipadām layam chiram chīnta ; Desai : sateś trām volūā sathā pratipodam lachāmā chīram chīntām.

² Joshi : . . . Satakrā(possibly Satakrā)tu-mukhā dēva labhanit padam ; Desai : kato-ripu-mūsa sataś tu-mukhā dēv labha[m*]tē padam.

³ Joshi : mahatā va(ha)dhim pratishṭām nijā ; Desai : mahatā dātā pratishṭ[m*] nijā[m*].

⁴ Joshi : vitanutā sarvasya viś-śhapam ; Desai : vitanutāntā-maya viś-śhapam.

⁵ The intended reading may be daitām. Joshi : śrīmatē samarāśa rājya prajā dā (?) . . . ; Desai : śrīmatē Syara Śūdrā-rāja-pūjita-dā[m*]vachā.

⁶ The word āśanam here seems to mean a gift of land. This gift was made by Vaijāditya. The intended word for *likhita* may be *rihita*. In any case, the writer of the document does not appear to be mentioned in the stanza. If the word āśana is taken in the sense of the present document, its epithet in the first half of the verse would be unsuitable.

⁷ Joshi : Ijā(yā)dityasya likhita āśanam Madhukēśvara ; Desai : Vijādityasya li[chā]li[chā]m-āśanam Madhukēśvara. In *likhita*[m*], the letter *kh* is of the early Southern type.

⁸ Joshi : . . . Kurat . . . Madhukēśvara ; Desai : . . . thakura rēdhānu Viśvarūpa Madhukēśvara . . .

⁹ Joshi : . . . pundrama . . . ; Desai : . . . (śāśna) . . .

No. 12—NOTE ON MADAKASIRA INSCRIPTION OF DILIPARASA, SAKA 370

K. V. RAMESH, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.2.1958)

The slab which bears this inscription¹ was found in the Chōlārāja temple at Madakasira in the Taluk of the same name in the Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh. The text of the inscription was first published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, St. No. 35, and again in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 25.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing occupying an area about 6 feet 10 inches in length and between 2 feet 3 inches and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There is a rectangular space in the centre measuring about 2 feet in length and 1 foot and 3 inches in height, which contains a sculpture in relief depicting a warrior being attended upon by two damsels bearing chowries. The inscription is written in Kannada characters and language.

The date of the record is quoted as Saka 570 (written in words), Kīlaka-sarivatsara which corresponds to 948-49 A.D. It refers itself to the reign of the Nolambha-Pallava ruler Diliparasa.

The inscription opens with the word *śrāvaṇa* followed by the date mentioned above. It records the death of Ponnayya, a servant of Ballaha, in the battle of Iṭṭi, in which he is said to have fought with great bravery against Gaṇḍakūṣa-chōla. The scene in the rectangular space obviously suggests that, on his death, he was welcomed by celestial damsels in heaven. The epigraph further states that Ponnayya was the son of Chikkayya and Achalaba and the younger brother of Śivaya and Bikkayya. Śivaya is eulogised as the foremost archer in the 32000 country, no doubt meaning Nolambavāḍi. It is also stated that the Nolambha-Pallava chief Diliparasa joined the army of Ponnayya when it was on the march.

Diliparasa has been called *samudhigata-pāṇḍu-mahāśabala*, *Prithivī-callaḥa*, *Pallava-kula-tilaka*, *Iṭṭi-nolamban*, etc., like the other rulers of his family. The title *Pallava-Rāma* attributed to the chief in this record is interesting in that it is not known to have been assumed by any other Nolambha-Pallava ruler. The title *Śaśāṅka* was enjoyed both by Diliparasa's father Ayyappa and by Iriva-Nolambha Nollipayya.

Iriva-nolambha Diliparasa was the younger son of Bīra-nolambha Ayyappa and ascended the throne on the death of his brother Appiga. The exact date of Diliparasa's accession is not known. On the strength of the Deoli copper-plate inscription² of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, dated Saka 862 (940 A.D.), which is the last known inscription to refer to Appiga and in which Appiga is said to have been defeated and reduced to a miserable plight by the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch, and the Hemavati inscription³ of Diliparasa dated 942-43 A.D., which is his earliest known inscription, we can only say that Diliparasa occupied the throne sometime between 940 and 942-43 A.D. He was apparently a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III, mentioned as Ballaha in the inscription under study.

A point of interest in the inscription is the mention of a certain Gaṇḍakūṣa-chōla against whom the battle of Iṭṭi was fought. The epigraph itself does not help us to identify this person. Basing their arguments on the fact that Kṛṣṇa III led a expedition against the Chōla country about the time our inscription was set up, scholars have suggested that Gaṇḍakūṣa-chōla may have been the Chōla king Parāntaka's eldest son Rājāditya.⁴ We know that this Chōla prince was killed in the

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1910, No. 728.

² According to some scholars (cf. *Karpatākada Anantamahānagarajā*, pp. 217-18), Nollipayya was the son of Diliparasa. Mr. N. L. Rao, however, suggests that Diliparasa and Nollipayya were one and the same chief (*QJMS*, Vol. XLVIII, 1957-58, p. 30).

³ Cf. *QJMS*, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴ *SI*, Vol. VI, p. 109.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, Part II, p. 106; *Karpatākada Anantamahānagarajā*, p. 217.

famous battle of Takkōlam by Gaṅga Būtuga in the year 949 A.D.,¹ that is to say, within a few months after the issue of the record under discussion, which seems to have been engraved soon after the battle of Iṭṭi. The battle of Iṭṭi must have been fought at a place to the north of the Gaṅga territory,² possibly in the present District of Anantapur. It is thus possible that the modern Iṭṭeru in the Anantapur Taluk was known in early times as Iṭṭi.³ There is no reason to believe that Rājāditya was at this time camping anywhere near Anantapur. On the other hand, we learn from inscriptions⁴ that he was stationed with a huge army for a number of years at Tirunāmanallūr in Tirumunaiyāpādinādu, situated in the present District of South Arcot, obviously with a view to protecting the kingdom from the Gaṅgas.

Following in the footsteps of his enterprising father Āditya I, the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I extended his dominions upto Nellore. But the death of Gaṅga Prithivīpati II, his strongest ally in the north, started a series of troubles from which the Chōḷa kingdom suffered throughout Parāntaka's reign. The foremost among the difficulties was created by the usurpation of the Gaṅga throne by Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line. As a result of this, Parāntaka not only lost his hold on the Gaṅgas but had to count them among his enemies.⁵ The Vaidumbas, Bāpas and Nolamba-Pallavas were no doubt already in the enemy's camp. But the Gaṅgas were the nearest among Parāntaka's enemies and their king Būtuga was closely related to the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kṛishṇa III. It is therefore no wonder that Rājāditya was given the task of safeguarding the north-eastern boundaries of the kingdom against the Gaṅgas. It is also apparent from this that Rājāditya could not have been in the Nolamba-Pallava kingdom unmindful of the more powerful neighbour, Gaṅga Būtuga, who had no reason to be friendly with the expanding power of the Chōḷas.

Who then was this Gajāṅkuśa-chōḷa, if he was not of the family of the Imperial Chōḷas? It is not possible to say anything definite regarding his identity without further light on the subject. But a suggestion may be offered.

The name Gajāṅkuśa seems to indicate that this Chōḷa chief belonged to the family of the Telugu-Chōḷas, probably of the Rēnāṇḍu branch. In the Velurjālaiyam plates⁶ of the Pallava king Nandivarman III, mention is made of Chōḷa-mahārāja Kumarāṅkuśa. It has been said that this Kumarāṅkuśa belonged to the family of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas.⁷ Balliyachōḷa, the Telugu-Chōḷa chief of Rēnāṇḍu, who flourished in the ninth century, also enjoyed the title *Kumārāṅkuśa*,⁸ and this seems to strengthen the suggestion that Kumarāṅkuśa of Pallava Nandivarman's epigraph belonged to the family of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas. If this is accepted, we may further conclude that names ending in *āṅkuśa* were popular in the family of the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu. On this basis, Gajāṅkuśa-chōḷa may be said to have belonged to the same family. The attack on him led by Nolaṅka Dillīparasa and the army of Kṛishṇa III seems to have been part of the Rāshtrakūṭa offensive against the Imperial Chōḷas.

¹ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 1st ed., pp. 187-88.

² There was an intervening stretch of Gaṅga territory between the kingdom of the Chōḷas and that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. If the battle was fought further in the south, probably the Gaṅgas and not the Nolamba-Pallavas would have been involved in the conflict.

³ This village is situated to the north-east of Chōḷasamudram and was within the territory of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas. It may be that the invading army hurriedly retreated after an intensive encounter and that, on reaching Maṇḍakāra within the Nolamba-Pallava kingdom, a hero stone commemorating the death of Ponnayya was erected.

⁴ Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.

⁵ No doubt the descendants of Prithivīpati II continued to be loyal to Parāntaka I and his successors. But with the bulk of the territory, which Prithivīpati II had been ruling, now under the control of Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line, their power declined and they counted for nothing in the long period of trouble during which the very foundations of the newly-built Chōḷa empire were so rudely shaken.

⁶ *SI*, Vol. II, pp. 307-10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 20.

⁸ *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XV, p. 253.

No. 13—BHAIKAVAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 17.3.1955)

Bhairavakonda is a hill in the Eastern Nallamalai, which extends over a part of the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. Its highest point is about 3000 feet above sea level. At a level about 100 feet down from this point, amidst thick jungle, is an unpretentious temple enshrining a small *linga* called Bhairava. The nearest village from which the temple could be reached is Mohidinpuram, a hamlet of Bôgôla, and the temple is situated at a distance of about 5 miles from it. There is a small pond in front of the shrine and, close to it, a much weather-worn image of Gaṇeśa. Another sculpture by the side of this depicts a seated figure with four hands, holding a staff in one of its right hands. Among the other sculptures lying scattered near the temple and mutilated beyond recognition may be mentioned a stone tablet about 2' long and 8" broad depicting labelled images, in relief, of the Seven Mothers (*Saptamātṛikā*) with their characteristic *vāhans*. The epigraph¹ published here is on a slab near these images.

The inscription, occupying a rectangular area about 11 inches by 23 inches, is engraved on the dressed surface of the slab. The letters are neatly incised and the entire inscription runs to just 10 lines.

The language of the record is Telugu and it is written in archaic characters which may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century. Medial *i* is formed by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter. For this loop formed by an anticlockwise flourish, cf. *li* (line 2) in which the left end of the loop has not been fully extended so as to join the main letter; see also *adi* (line 4) in which the flourish starts from the top of the shaft over *va* and, after sweeping over it in a circle, descends on the other side of it a little further down than where it started, and *āci* (line 6) in which the sign commences almost with an upright stem over which the loop is formed. A further sharp inward bend of the left end of this loop marks the sign of medial *i*. The vowels *ā* and *e* occur in the words *ācāpā* (line 8) and *Eya[va]* (line 7). Attention may be drawn to the archaic forms of *b* in *bō* showing the tendency to the formation of the open *b*, of *r* formed by a horizontal stroke inside a flattened loop, and of *ka* indicated by an elongated upright curve with its ends opening towards the left and its lower end bent inside. Among orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the use of *s* for *ś* in the names Nandīvara and Daṇḍīvara (lines 4-5) and the use of *r* in place of *ṛ* in the expression *ācāpā* (line 8).

The inscription records the setting up of the images of Gaṇapati, Nandīvara and Daṇḍīvara by Kallibō. It mentions [Mu]nasanga, the son of Eya-va-ācharu, probably as the sculptor, and ends, with a short sentence in Sanskrit attributing [the engraving of] the document to the same person.²

The main interest of the epigraph lies in establishing the identity of the ruler Vikramāditya and the deity Daṇḍīvara mentioned in it. In the absence of any *prāsādi* and distinguishing titles or epithets in the epigraph, it is difficult to identify the king. But the internal evidence of the inscription offers some help.

The first sentence of the record states that during the reign of Vikramāditya, Kallibō had the [images of] Gaṇapati, Nandīvara and Daṇḍīvara made. In the name of Kallibō, the

¹ A. R. Ep., 1949-50, No. 251.

² The Turinella inscription of Vikramāditya I also ends with a sentence in Sanskrit although the main part of the record is in Telugu. See above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 ff.

suffix *bōḷ*, is the honorific plural of *bōya* and it is found both as *bōḷ* as in the record under review, and as *bōyaḷ* or *bōya*. Generally, in the formation of such names, the prefix indicates a place name, e.g., in Ātakuru-bōya, Kumunūru-bōya, etc., and the expression as such is construed to stand for the person who held the office of the *bōya* of the place. Sometimes such names are followed by the names of the persons themselves, e.g., Nadukuri-bōya Sarvaśarman, Kanpar-bōya Maṇḍaśarman, etc.¹ It may therefore be suggested that in the expression *Kallī-bōḷ*, the word *Kallī* stands for the name of the village of which Gaṇapati was the *bōya* or *bōḷ*.² If this were so, a person named Gaṇapati may have caused the images of Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara to be made. But it has to be noticed that there is actually an image of the god Gaṇapati near the inscribed slab. It is therefore more probable that this is one of the images mentioned in the record and that *Kallī-bōḷ* himself was the author of this and the other two.

Lines 7-9 of the text mention a person named [Muṇḍasaṅga as the son of Eyu[va]-ācārya. This statement is followed by the last sentence of the record, in Sanskrit, attributing the writing (or rather the engraving of the epigraph) to this individual. That this person himself was the sculptor of the images is not ruled out, since his father is referred to by the epithet *ācārya* (i.e., *ācāryulu*) which is indicative of the artisan class to which he belonged. The term *ācārī* is the common designation of an artisan, either a carpenter or a mason.

All the three images mentioned in the inscription, viz., Gaṇapati, Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara are lying near the inscribed slab and two amongst them have already been referred to above. About a foot high, in the usual seated posture, with the *mūṣaka* as his characteristic *vāhana*, is a much worn-out image of Gaṇapati. By the side of the aforementioned image, there is an equally worn-out image of the bull Nandin, which is invariably associated with any temple of Śiva. This is indeed the Nandīśvara referred to in the record. The third image, viz., that of Daṇḍīśvara, is a seated figure with four hands, holding a *daṇḍa* or staff in one of its right hands, the objects held in the other three hands being too worn out to be recognised. However, the seated posture of the image and the unmistakable *daṇḍa* are enough indications for identifying the image as of Daṇḍīśvara referred to in the inscription. It may be recalled that the Mālōpāḍu and Domnara-Nandīyāla plates of the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Puṇyakumāra quote an invocatory verse in praise of Lakṣṇapāṇi (Lakṣṇa).³ *Lakṣa* or *laguḍa* being a synonym of *daṇḍa*, the identity of Lakṣṇapāṇi with Daṇḍapāṇi, Daṇḍēśa or Daṇḍīśvara is obvious. As Lakṣṇa appears to have been the family deity of a branch of the Telugu-Chōḍas of Rēnāḍu, Vikramāditya to whose reign the record purports to belong was, in all probability, a member of this branch of the family. It has been shown that there was a branch of this family, the members of which bore names ending in *āditya*, such as Vikramāditya, Uttamāditya, Satyāditya, etc. Among them are two kings who bore the name Vikramāditya⁴ and were related to each other probably as grandfather and grandson. Judging from the similarity of the names and the provenance and palaeography of the records,⁵ it is very likely that Vikramāditya of the record under review is identical with either of these two rulers (more probably the second of the two) of this branch of the Telugu-Chōḍa family the relationship of which to the main branch is, however, still unknown.

If the identification suggested above is accepted, the present epigraph adds one more to the two known lithic records⁶ of Vikramāditya. The sculpture of Daṇḍīśvara, identified with Lakṣṇa, appears to be the earliest known representation of the deity in South India.⁷

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 79, text lines 36-40.

² The word *bōya*, said to be a derivative of *bhōṣita*, stands for an office. *A.B. Ep.*, 1921-22, Part II, p. 97.

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 337 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 288 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 246.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Plate facing p. 344.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 238.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 249, note 1.

BHAIRAVAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA



Scale : Three-eighths

TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī-Vikra[mā-]
 - 2 dityuḥ-śa Kallī-
 - 3 bōḥ-Gaṇapati
 - 4 Nandi(ndī)śva(śva)ru Daṇḍi(ḍḍī)-
 - 5 śva(śva)ru paṇi(nī)ś-
 - 6 yīśchinavāru [*]
 - 7 Svasti śrī-Eyu[va]-
 - 8 āchagīa koṇḍuku [Mu]-
 - 9 nasaṅga [*] Tasyā(śya) li-
 - 10 khita[ṇi [*]
-

No. 14—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 30.8.1957)

There is a small stone pillar preserved in the Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa. The pillar is four-sided and measures about 14½ inches in length, 5 inches in breadth and 3½ inches in thickness. Three of its faces bear each an inscription in three lines. Sometime before the year 1915, the inscribed stone was brought to Baripada by Mr. Kamakhya Prasad Basu, then an officer of the former Mayurbhanj State, from the village of **Paḍagaḍhi** in the Udala Sub-division of Mayurbhanj, lying about 4 miles from Udala. There is a temple of the goddess Bhīmā or Bhīmdevārī in the forest adjoining the village¹ and the internal evidence of the records would suggest that the stone was secured from the area of the said shrine.

The inscriptions were recently published by Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru in *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, July 1952, pp. 178-79, with Plates. While going through Pandit Rajaguru's article, I felt that most of his views on the inscriptions, including their reading and interpretation, are unacceptable. Thus, in the first place, he assigns the three inscriptions on palaeographical grounds to different periods ranging from the ninth to the eleventh century and apparently considers the record mentioning Dhruvarāja to be the latest amongst the three. I, on the other hand, have no doubt that Dhruvarāja's epigraph is the earliest of the three records and that they may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 10th century A.D. The three sides of the slab bear votive records of three different rulers; but the king, who was responsible for fashioning the stone into a pillar for the definite purpose of incising his record on it, is expected to have used one of the two broader faces (5 inches wide) of the pillar and not one of the narrower side faces (3½ inches wide). It has to be noticed that Dhruvarāja's inscription occupies a broader face of the pillar, the opposite side at its back remaining blank and the left and right faces bearing the two other inscriptions. It appears that the stone was so placed originally in the temple of a goddess that only the three inscribed faces were visible to the visitors and that at first there was inscription only on its front face, the two side faces being inscribed at later dates. This is also suggested by the fact that, of the three records, Dhruvarāja's inscription is the most neatly and carefully engraved apparently because, as already indicated above, the stone was dressed for the special purpose of engraving his record. Its characters also appear to be somewhat earlier than those of the other two epigraphs. Secondly, according to Pandit Rajaguru, the two other records speak of *Kumāra Dharmarāja* alias *Durgarāja* and *Śatrubhaṇja* respectively. In my opinion, what has been read as *Kumāra-Dharmarājēna* is very clearly *Kumāramarmarājēna*, so that the person referred to is a king named Kumāravarmān and not a prince named Dharmarāja. Moreover, I do not find the name *Durgarāja* in this record nor the name *Śatrubhaṇja* in the other. Thirdly, I do not agree with Pandit Rajaguru's reading and interpretation of the purport of any of the three epigraphs, even though it has to be admitted that, excepting Dhruvarāja's record, the two other inscriptions are very carelessly engraved and are therefore extremely difficult to read and interpret especially because both of them are damaged, a few letters being lost at the end of the lines.

Such being the case, I requested Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, to be so good as to send me a few inked impressions of the inscriptions for study. Although Mr. Acharya could not send me the impressions required by me, he was very kind to place

¹ See N. N. Vaidya, *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, 1911, p. 85.

the inscribed stone at my disposal for examination when I visited the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar in January 1956. The stone was brought from Baripada to Bhubaneswar for me and I am extremely thankful to Mr. Acharya for his kindness.

The characters of the records belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth or eleventh century and resemble those in the early inscriptions¹ of the Bhañjas of Khijinga-kōṭṭa (modern Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District at 21°55' N., 85°50' E.) who call themselves Ādi-Bhañja and are known to have ruled in the eleventh century. The language is only seemingly Sanskrit. It is extremely corrupt in all the three records. But their object is fairly clear and it is to record certain gifts of land made in favour of a deity, called by the name Durgā in Inscription No. 3. She seems to be none other than the goddess Bhīmā now worshipped at Pēḍāgaḍhi, findspot of the inscribed stone. No date is quoted in any of the epigraphs.

The first of the three inscriptions covers an area about 13½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. There is no doubt about its reading and interpretation even though a few letters are broken away from the end of the lines and the first letter in both lines 2 and 3 is damaged. The inscription records the grant of the localities called Vanagrāma, Arachhapadā and Bharāḍīhu made by Dhruvarāja as an *agrahāra* (i.e. rent-free holding) for the *balī* and *naivēdya* (*naivēdya*) apparently of a deity whose name, however, is not mentioned no doubt because the inscription was exhibited in the shrine of the said deity. As indicated above, the deity seems to be no other than the goddess Bhīmā of Pēḍāgaḍhi. Pandit Rajaguru, who could not decipher some of the letters and read some of them wrongly, translates the record as follows: "*(It is a grant made) by Śrī-Dhruvarājadēva for the purpose of balī and naivēdya of (the goddess) Bharāḍī of Arachhapadā*". But he admits that the letters *hāra* in line 3 are unintelligible to him. Unfortunately he does not make it clear as to what the object granted by the king was and apparently fails to realise the absurdity of his interpretation of the record. As it stands, his translation would suggest that it was the inscribed stone which was granted by Dhruvarāja in favour of a deity for *balī* and *naivēdya*. Since the stone has no cash value at all, the interpretation is absolutely unwarranted, even if Pandit Rajaguru's reading is accepted as correct. The goddess Bharāḍī of Arachhapadā is no doubt imaginary.

The second inscription records a grant made by Kumāravarmanarāja. The facts that the epigraph is carelessly engraved and that a few letters are lost at the end of lines 1 and 2 make it difficult to read and interpret the record. But it apparently records a grant of land just as Inscription No. 1 noticed above. Possibly it mentions two gift villages as Duśākhi situated in Dūga . . rayēṣa and Dāṭiā lying in Lōṣṭhaja . . rya. Pandit Rajaguru translates the record, as he has read it, as follows: "*(It is) a grant made by Kumāra Dharmarāja (who is also called) Durgarāja in favour of Pinākipati, for the fulfilment of his desires*". But his reading of many of the *akṣaras* in the passage *Kumāra-Dharmarājēna Durgarājēṣa Pinākipatē abhīṣṭajavai* is imaginary. I do not find any mention of Durgarāja and Pinākipati in the record. His interpretation of *pinākipati* as Śiva, called Pināki or Pinākin, is not happy while *abhīṣṭajavai* is meaningless. Moreover, in this case also, Pandit Rajaguru fails to realise that his interpretation of the record involves the absurd suggestion that the donor re-granted the same stone previously granted by Dhruvarāja. Of course he seems to place Dhruvarāja's inscription in the eleventh century and the present epigraph in the ninth century. But the inherent impossibility of a king making the grant of a stone and a later ruler granting it once again still remains.

The third inscription records the grant of a king whose name ends with the word *bhañja*. It was a grant of land made in favour of the goddess Durgā who, as suggested above, may be the same as the modern Bhīmā of Pēḍāgaḍhi. The gift land seems to have consisted of three localities called Tōḷṣṇā, Bhujā and Rai . . which were all situated in Nēmi-grāma in the Maḍāhā vishaya (district). The grant was made to last as long as the sun and the moon would exist. The passage

¹ See e.g. above, Vol. XXV, Plate facing p. 160; N. N. Vasu, op. cit., Plates 79 ff., etc.

Whether the rulers mentioned in the records under study had their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa, i.e. modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj, cannot be determined. Considering, however, the facts that there is no other site in the area, which can be compared with Khiching in regard to antiquity and that some of the sculptures found at the place are earlier than the eleventh century when the Ādi-Bhaṇḍas flourished,¹ it seems very likely that the pre-Ādi-Bhaṇḍa rulers of the region had also their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa. Indeed it is possible that Khiching was originally the centre of a big kingdom comprising the northern part of Mayurbhanj and the adjoining areas of Manbhum and Singbhum. But whether the Mānas, possibly of Ōḍra origin, also ruled from here in the sixth century² cannot be decided without further evidence. But it is not altogether impossible.

The geographical names mentioned in Inscription No. 1 are Vanagrāma, Arāṇapadā and Bhaṛāḍibhu. Nos. 2 and 3 also mention several localities; but the reading of the names is not beyond doubt in all cases. I am not sure about the location of any of them, although they appear to have been situated in the present District of Mayurbhanj in Orissa.

TEXT*

No. 1

- 1 Siddham³ []* Śrī-Ddh[r*]juvarāja⁴dāv[ē]na Va[na].⁵
- 2 [grā]ma-Araṇa[ṇa]padā-Bhaṛāḍi[hu].⁶
- 3 [gra]hāra va[ba]li-nivēḍya sa[ma].⁷

No. 2

- 1 Siddham⁸ []* Kumāravarmarājēna Dūga.⁹
- 2 rayē[āē]¹⁰ Du¹¹śākhi Dāṭiā¹² Lōsh[tha]ja.¹³
- 3 ¹⁴[ryē] data¹⁵ []*

¹ For an account of the architectural monuments and sculptures of Khiching, see R. P. Chanda's notes in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, pp. 124 ff., Plates XLI-XLII; 1923-24, pp. 86 ff., Plates XXXII-XXXIV; 1924-25, pp. 111 ff., Plate XXXV. I do not agree with Chanda's view that the earliest antiquities from Khiching should be assigned to the eleventh century and to the age of the Ādi-Bhaṇḍas. In his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd. ed., J. N. Banerjee assigns some of the sculptures roughly to the tenth century (pp. 378, 440) and some others vaguely to the early medieval period (pp. 390, 481). At least the following illustrations in Banerjee's work appear to me to be earlier than the Ādi-Bhaṇḍa age: frontispiece; Plate XX, figures 1-2; Plates XXX, figures 2-3; Plate XXXV, figure 3.

² Cf. *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, December 1959, pp. 263 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The intended reading may also have been *śrīmaḍ-Dharmarāja*.

⁶ It is difficult to determine if a letter is broken away after the damaged *sa* which may possibly also be read as *iz*. But Vanagrāma makes a good name for a village and many localities of this name are known in Eastern India.

⁷ The traces of this lost letter at the end of the line suggest *sa*, so that the expression is **rājāṇa-cogrāhita*.

⁸ The intended word was apparently *śaṃsarpita*. In correct Sanskrit, we should have *Vanagrām-Araṇapadā-Bhaṛāḍibhu-śaṃsarpita* *śaṃsarpita* *śaṃsarpita* *śaṃsarpita*.

⁹ There were two letters here, which are now damaged beyond recognition.

¹⁰ Of the triangle forming the left limb of *ā*, only the base can be seen now.

¹¹ The letter *d* resembles its form in *Dāpa* in line 1. The *śaṃsarpita* may also be read as *dra*. It does not appear to be *pra*.

¹² The *ś-māra*-like part of the vowel is not quite clear on the impression.

¹³ At least one letter is lost here.

¹⁴ The three letters of this line are engraved about the middle of the space.

¹⁵ The intended word is *data*; but, in correct Sanskrit, we should have *[śaṃsarpita] data*.

No. 3

- 1 [Siddham]¹ . . *Maḍākhā-vishay[?] [Nā]mi-(grāmā). . *
- 2 †-Tō[dha]bhañ[āna] data[?] * Tōlā[n]ā*(mā)-Bh[u]ā-Rai. . *
- 3 Du[r]gāy[ā] yāvata chandr-ārka varittati* [[]]

¹ Expressed by symbol.

² There are traces of two damaged letters here. Probably the word is *trasti* followed by a double *danda*.

³ The aksharas *grāmā* are considerably rubbed off. Two or three letters have broken away after this word. They may be conjecturally restored as *ā-tena*.

⁴ The word intended is *daṁḥa*, although in correct Sanskrit we should have *daṁḥā*.

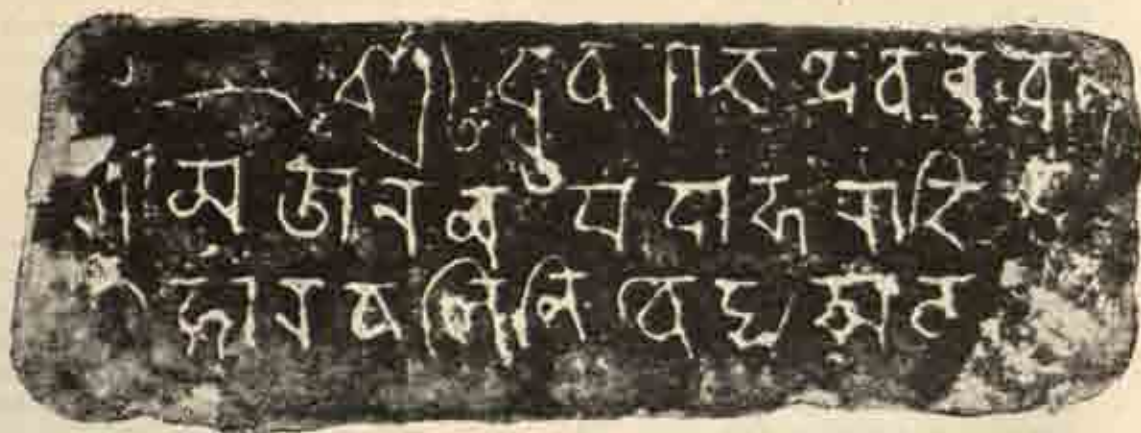
⁵ The letter *a* seems to be imperfectly formed. The akshara may possibly be read as *āḍ*.

⁶ About two letters are lost after *rai*.

⁷ In correct Sanskrit, we should have *Durgāyā yāvat chandr-ārka varitā*.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



Scale : Two-fifths

No. 15—DAVANGERE PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 34

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.4.1958)

A set of three copper plates strung on a ring bearing a seal was received by the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, quarter of a century ago, from Mr. Nadiga Basappa who was a lawyer of Davangere in the Chitaldurg District of Mysore State. It was edited with illustration in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1933*, pp. 109-16, Plate XXII. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcript and translation of the record. The most serious defect in the treatment of the inscription is that the grant portion has been wrongly read and translated and consequently the very name applied to the record, viz. 'Kōramaṅga grant of . . . Ravivarman,' seems to be a misnomer.

The editor of the inscription says, "The lands granted are said to be situated near Kōramaṅga, Samaga and Āsandi. Kōramaṅga is probably the same as Kōramaṅgala, a village situated about eight miles from Hassan and about 40 miles from Āsandi. Āsandi is a village in the Kadur Taluk of Kadur District near Ajjampur, and Āsandi or Āsandi-nāḍu or the province of Āsandi is often referred to in inscriptions.¹ The extent of the lands granted seems to be three *niṣṭaṇas* . . ." There are several mistakes in this statement. In the first place, of the four plots of land granted by the charter, three were situated around a *setu* or embankment in the southern part of Āsandi and the fourth in a locality called Vēḍirkōḍa apparently within Āsandi or in its neighbourhood. Secondly, what has been read as Kōramaṅga (line 17) seems to us to be Kōmaḍga which was moreover a locality where the above-mentioned embankment was situated. It was therefore a part of Āsandi and does not appear to be a place 40 miles away. Its identification with Kōramaṅgala is thus extremely doubtful. Thirdly, what has been read as Samaga (line 19) appears to us to be samayā and the passage samayā *setu-bandhaḥ* means 'at the extremity of the embankment'. The inscription therefore does not refer to a village called Samaga. Fourthly, as our analysis below will show, the area of the four plots of the gift land, excluding the site of the embankment, was six *niṣṭaṇas* and not three *niṣṭaṇas* only. Besides these, there are numerous other errors in the published transcript and translation of the inscription. Under the circumstances, no apology is needed for re-editing the inscription in the following pages.

The three plates measure each 7½ inches by 3 inches. The seal fixed to the ring on which they are strung does not show any representation. The characters closely resemble those of other Early Kadamba charters, especially those issued by king Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) of Vijayanṭi (modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District).² The record also resembles other Early Kadamba epigraphs in respect of language and orthography. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription, with the exception of the auspicious word *Siddham* at the beginning, is written entirely in verse. The orthography is characterised by the reduplication of some consonants following *r* and the use of both the *anuvāsa* and the *claus* nasal without discrimination. Final *sa* has been invariably employed at the end of the halves of stanzas. The *phraṇmāliya* has been used once in line 3.

¹ Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kadur, No. 145.

² Cf. above, Vol. VIII, pp. 146 ff.; Vol. XVI, p. 264; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 23-26, 28, 29-30.

The date of the grant is quoted in line 15 (verse 14). It is the 34th regnal year of the Early Kadamba king Ravivarman, the day referred to being one in the bright half of the month of Madhu (Chaitra) when the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini. We know that Ravivarman began to reign about 490 A.D. His 34th regnal year thus fell about 524 A.D. The exact date of the charter, however, cannot be calculated as neither the *tithi* nor the week-day is mentioned.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *siddham* and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the *Sarvajña Sarvalōkanātha*. Since both Sarvajña and Lōkanātha are well-known names of the Buddha, we prefer to identify the deity referred to in the stanza with the founder of Buddhism, even though the editor of the inscription was inclined to associate the verse with Jainism. As will be seen from our discussion below, the objects of the grant were the maintenance of worship in the *Siddh-āgata* and the increase of the *Saṅgha*. The editor of the epigraph regarded these as Jain religious institutions. But *Saṅgha* is well-known in the sense of the Buddhist church. As will be shown below, a *Siddh-āgata* is also known to have been associated with the worship of the Buddha. We know that the Early Kadambas were Brahmanical Hindus. Although they had Jain leanings and many of their charters contain Jain adorations and were issued in favour of Jains or Jain institutions, they claimed to be devotees of the god Mahāsēna and the Mothers. This claim is found in the records of Ravivarman, one of which proudly mentions the Kadamba family as having performed the typical Brahmanical sacrifice known as the *Aśvamēdha*.¹ If it is believed that the charter under study was really issued in favour of Buddhist religious institutions, it shows that, in spite of their Brahmanical faith, the Early Kadambas not only favoured the Jains but also the Buddhists. This points to the catholicity of their religious policy.

Verses 2-4 speak of the following four Kadamba kings: (1) Raghu, (2) Kākustha (correctly *Kākutaka*), the younger brother of Raghu, (3) Śāntivarman, the son of Kākustha, (4) Mrigēśa, the son of Śāntivarman and (5) Ravi whose relationship with Mrigēśa is not specified, although from other records we know that king Mrigēśa or Mrigēśavarman was the father and predecessor of Ravi or Ravivarman. The description of the predecessors of Ravi is short, but that of the reigning monarch Ravi continues in the following eight stanzas. Verse 8 speaks of the city of *Vaijayanti* indirectly as the capital of Ravi's kingdom.

An interesting point in Ravi's description is offered by verse 7 which states that the land as far as the *Narmadā* (i.e. the people of that region) sought refuge in the Kadamba king and rejoiced. This no doubt refers to Ravi's claim of a sort of suzerainty over the whole of South India as far as the *Narmadā* in the north. The claim is of course conventional and merely means that Ravi was an independent or imperial ruler. As we have shown elsewhere, powerful monarchs of ancient and medieval India generally claimed to be rulers or conquerors of the whole of India which was regarded as the conventional *chakravartī-kṣētra* or sphere of influence of an emperor; but sometimes a South Indian monarch speaks of similar possession of the land between the Vindhya and Cape Comorin and a North Indian emperor of that between the Vindhya and the Himalayas.² It may be pointed out here that the editor of the record read *narmadaśaṭam mahi* instead of *Narmadānta-mahī* and thereby missed an early and interesting reference to the southern *chakravartī-kṣētra*.

Among other conventional claims of the Kadamba king, reference may be made to verses 10-11. The first of these stanzas states that the whole earth wanted Ravi to be its lord while the second says that his coronation ceremony was performed by the goddess Lakṣmī herself. But

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 148 ff. Cf. *Soc. Sci.*, pp. 255, 260 ff., 269 ff.

² See *JASB*, Vol. V, 1938, pp. 407 ff.; *Sarapa Bhārat*, pp. 315 ff.

verse 12, the meaning of which is rather obscure, seems to refer to a historical fact. It states that a hillock or hill-fortress called *Kuṇḍa* resisted (*adhārayat*) the missile (*ili*) let down upon it by *Raghu* but that it submissively obeyed *Ravi*'s command. This appears to mean that the Early Kadamba king *Raghu* failed but his descendant *Ravi* succeeded in capturing a hill-fort called *Kuṇḍa-giri*. This incident is not mentioned in any other record of the family. The identification of *Kuṇḍagiri* is also uncertain unless it is *Kūḍgere* in the Shimoga District.

Verse 13, with which the grant portion of the record begins, states that a certain *Haridatta* made a request to the king [in respect of the grant to be recorded in the charter] with a view to obtaining religious merit and that the king was pleased to reply to it (i.e. complied with it). This fact suggests that the real donor of the grant was *Haridatta*.¹

Verses 14-18 record the grant proper. The first of these stanzas gives the date of the grant which has already been discussed above. The other four stanzas state that the following plots of land were granted by the king at *Āsandī* for the maintenance of worship at the *Siddh-āyatana* and the extension or prosperity of the *Saṅgha*: (1) a piece of land (*maḥī*) covered by the stone of an embankment (i.e. by an embankment made of stone) at *Kōravēgā* together with an additional area measuring one *nivartana*; (2) a plot of land measuring one *nivartana* according to the royal measure in the area under water (*kūḍāra*) near the said embankment, which lay in the southern part of *Āsandī*; (3) one *nivartana* of land at the extremity of the said embankment; and (4) a plot of three *nivartanas* according to the royal measure, which was situated at *Vēdirikōḍa*. The first three plots of the gift land are mentioned in connection with the embankment apparently in the southern part of *Āsandī*. It is not quite certain that *Vēdirikōḍa* was also situated within *Āsandī*; but it is not improbable that it was a locality within *Āsandī* like *Kōravēgā* where the embankment was situated. The expression *Siddh-āyatana* seems to indicate a Buddhist temple associated with the name of a *Siddha* like *Nāgārjuna*. It reminds us of the mention of the *Pārva-Siddh-āyatana* associated with the worship of the lord *Pitāmaha Samyak sambuddha* (i.e. *Buddha*) in an early inscription from *Kosam*.² The exact area of a *nivartana* of land is unknown since it was not the same in all parts of the country and all ages of history.³

Verse 19 states that the plots of land were granted by the king in the presence of all the *śamaṇas* together with the *samādhi* or *samādhis* and that they should have to be exempted from *uāchha* and other dues. It is difficult to say whether the word *sāmānta* here means a feudatory of the king or an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of the gift land. The mention of *uāchha* in this context reminds us of the passage *uāchha-kāra-bhar-ādi-vivarjita* used as an epithet of the gift land in the *Halai* plates⁴ of *Ravivarman*. It possibly meant a sort of tolls. The word *samādhi* means 'storing of grains' and may indicate in the present context 'a granary'. The lands thus appear to have been granted together with the royal granaries in it.

Of the last four stanzas of the record, three are the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory verses often found in copper-plate grants. The first of these is, however, a new stanza.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the river *Narmadā* and the city of *Vaijayanti* are well-known. *Āsandī* has been identified with a village in the *Kadur* District of *Mysore*. The hillock called *Kuṇḍa-giri*, as indicated above, cannot be identified.

¹ Cf. above, pp. 89 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 245, note.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 25.

TEXT¹[Metres :-verse 1 *Praharshigī* ; verses 2-19, 21-23 *Anuśtubh* ; verse 20 *Vasantatilakā*.]*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham* [1*] [Sū]ry-ānśu-dyuti-parishikṭa-paṅkajānām śōbhām yad-vahati sad-āśya pāda-
padman [1]
- 2 dēvānām-makuta-maṇi-prabh-ābhishikṭam Sarvvajñas-sa jayati(ti) sarvva-lōka-nāthah ||
[1*]
- 3 Kīrtiā dig-antara-vyāpi Raghur-āśt-na²rādhipah [1*] Kākustha-tulyah-Kākusthō³ yaviyā-
dis-tasya bhūpatiḥ [1 2*]
- 4 Tasy-ābhūt-tanayaś-ārīmān-Śāntivarmma⁴-mahāpatiḥ [1] Mṛigēśas-tasya tanayō mṛigēśvara-
parākramah || [3*]
- 5 Kadamb-āmala-yamś-ādrē[r-mmāu]⁵li[tām-ā]gatō Raviḥ [1] Uday-ādri-makut-ātōpa⁶-dīpr-
ānśur-iv-āmśumān || [4*]
- 6 Nṛipa-chohhalēna kim⁷ Viahpur-ddaitya-jiahpur-ayam svayam [1*] hiraṇmaya-chalan-mālan
tyaktvā cakram vibhāvita[m]⁸ || [5*]
- 7 Sāmrajyē varttamānō-pi⁹ na mādyati paramtapah [1*] Śrīr-ēśhā madayaty-anyān-atipiti-ēva
vāruṇ || [6*]

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 Na[rma]d-āśhta¹¹-[ma]hī prityā yam-āśrity-ābhinandati [1*] kaustubh-ābh-ārūṇa-chohā-
yam vakahō Lakṣmīr-Harēr-iva || [7*]
- 9 Ravāv-adhijayant-tyam Surēndranagarīn śriyā [1*] Vaijayantī chalach-chitra-vaijayantī
virājatō || [8*]
- 10 Ravēr-bhuj-āḍgad-ā[āliṣṭa]¹²-chandana-prita-mā[na]ś || [1*] tathā Śrīr-ann-āmavat¹³-pritiā
Murārēr-āpi vakahā || [9*]

¹ From the illustration in *A.R. Mys. Arch. Surv.*, 1933.² In the left margin near the beginning of line 2.³ Read 'śōbhā' which is the reading in *A.R.*⁴ *A.R.* reads *śūpaṇa-Kākusthō* and suggests the correction *śūpaṇa Kākusthō*. The correct form of the name Kākustha is Kākustha.⁵ *A.R.* reads 'rmmāu'.⁶ *A.R.* reads *amś-ādrē-mat*.⁷ *A.R.* reads *makuta/ōpa* and suggests the correction *makuta-ātōpa*. There is a metrical defect here.⁸ *A.R.* reads *nṛipa-chohhalanaḥ* and suggests the correction *nṛipa-chohhalanaḥ* which is meaningless in the context.⁹ *A.R.* reads *vibhāvita* which does not suit the context.¹⁰ *A.R.* reads *nandamānōpi*.¹¹ *A.R.* reads *narmamadān tam*.¹² *A.R.* reads *āḍaj-āḍga-dā-dā*.¹³ Read 'śōbhā' which is *A.R.*'s reading.

- 11 Viāvā vasumatī nāthan-nāthatē naya-kōvidam [1*] dyaaur-iv=Ēndram jvalad-vajra-dīpti-kōrakit-āṅgadam [10*]
- 12 Yasya mūrdhani svayaḥ Lakṣmī¹-hēma-kumbh-ōlara-chyutaiḥ [1*] rājy-ābhishēkam-akarōḍ-ambhōja-lalalair-jalaih [11*]
- 13 Raghunā lambitām=[11*] Kuṇḍō girir-adhāravat [1*] Ravēc=ā]fādi vahaty-adya malām-iva mahādharaḥ [12*]
- 14 Dharman-ārtthan Hari[da]²ttēna sē-yam vijñāpitō nripaḥ [1*] emitā-jyōten-ābhishiktēna vacasā pratyabhāshata [13*]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 [Chatu]stri[ni]śattamī³ śrīmad rājya-viddhi-samā samā [1*] Madhur-mmāsa-sitthih puṇyā [ś]ukla-pakṣas-cha Rōhiṇī [14*]
- 16 Ya[dā] tadā mahā-bāhur-Āsamdyām-aparājitaḥ [1*] Siddh-āyatana-pūj-ārtthan Saṅghasya pati-viddhyē [15*]
- 17 [Sētō]rupalakasy-āpi Kōra[vē]g⁴āśritān mahīm [1*] adhikān-nivarttan-ānyēna⁵ dattavāśa-tām⁶-arindamāḥ [16*]
- 18 Āsandī-dakṣiṇē-sy⁷-ātha sētōh kōḍāram-āśritam [1*] rāja-mānēna mānēna kṣētram-ēka-nivarttanam [17*]
- 19 Sama[vē]⁸ sētu-ba[ni]dhasya kṣētram-ēka-nivarttanam [1*] tach-ch-āpi rāja-mānēna Vēdikōḍō⁹ tri-nivarttanam [18*]
- 20 Uchch-ādi-paribartavye(vya)-samādhi-sahitān hi tam [1*] dattavāś-krī-mahārājaa-survva-samanta-samudhau [19*]
- 21 Jñātve cha puṇyam-abhiplāyitur-vviśālān tad-bhaṅga-kāraṇa-mitasya cha Jōshavattām [1*]

Third Plate

- 22 [varṇ-ā]śram-[ā]skhalita¹⁰-sa[ni]yya(ya)nan-aika-chittāḥ sacchrakashaṇō-sya jagatīpatayaḥ pramāṇam [20*]
- 23 Babulhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rāja[bbi]a-Sagar-ālibhīḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīa-tasya ta[sya] tadā jhalam [21*]

¹ A.R. reads *Lakṣmī*.

² Better read *Him*. A.R. reads *mū* and suggests the correction *mou*.

³ An unnecessary subscript *i* is noticed with *da*.

⁴ A.R. reads **lax*.

⁵ A.R. reads *Kōraśritān*.

⁶ A.R. reads *adhikān-nivarttanam-ēka* which is grammatically wrong and meaningless.

⁷ A.R. reads *dakṣiṇē* read.

⁸ A.R. reads *dakṣiṇasy*.

⁹ A.R. reads *Sand*.

¹⁰ A.R. reads *Vāṭṭavāṭ* and takes it to be a word of doubtful import. There is a metrical defect here.

¹¹ A.R. does not read the first two characters and reads the following letters as *śrama-skhalita*.

2 2
4 4
6 6

2 2
4 4
6 6

ii, a

8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14

8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14

ii, b

16 16
18 18
20 20

16 16
18 18
20 20

iii

22 22
24 24

22 22
24 24

- 24 Adbhīr-ddattāṃ trib' i[rabhu]ktāṃ sadbhīś-cha paripālita[m] [I*] #tēni na nivarttanīś
pūrvva-rā[ja]-k[ri]tāni cha # [22*]
- 25 Sua-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta va[su]d[harā]m [I*] shvaśṭuṃ varsha-sahasrāṇi narakē
pachyatē tu saḥ || [23*]
-

No. 16—GYARASPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKUMARA TRAILOKYAVARMADEVĀ

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.4.1958)

Gyaraspur, a town in the former Gwalior State, lies at a distance of 24 miles from Bhilsa on the road from Bhilsa to Sagar. Cunningham gave an account of the antiquities of the place in his Reports.¹ He noticed two fragmentary inscriptions engraved on a plain pillar built into a platform near what is known as the Hindola Tolan.² The first of these records is dated V. S. 936. The second inscription, which is of a much later date, forms the subject of this article. It is published here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language of the inscription, which is fragmentary, is Sanskrit and the characters employed are Nāgarī of about the 12th century. There are only four lines of writing, the concluding part of all of which is broken away and lost. The inscription refers to the consecration of an image of the god Chāmūṇḍasvāmīdeva and records the grant of a village, excluding the lands already in the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas, with a view to provide for the god's worship. The donor's name is given as *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarma*deva who made the grant from his camp at Harshapura. The passage containing the other royal epithets enjoyed by the ruler is insufficiently preserved. In connection with the date, the *tithi savami* is mentioned in the extant part. But the other details of the date and the grant are lost due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The record is important inasmuch as it is the only stone inscription of *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarma*deva who no doubt belonged to the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Bhopal plates of the Paramāra *Mahākumāra Harichandradēva* (*Harischandradēva*) published in this journal³ revealed to us for the first time that the said Paramāra ruler acquired sovereignty through the favour of *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarman* who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds. It is also stated in that record that Trailōkyavarman meditated on the feet of the illustrious Yaśovarmmadēva, the well-known Paramāra king of that name. The late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggested that Trailōkyavarman, if he was not identical with Harischandra's father Lakshmi-varman, may have been a son, or more probably a brother, of Lakshmi-varman⁴ and that he was possibly ruling as a regent during the minority of Harischandra with the full power of a chief. Though the present record does not throw any light on the position of Trailōkyavarman in the genealogy of the Paramāras, it confirms the fact that he ruled for sometime as a *Mahākumāra*.

The Bhopal plates, dated in V. S. 1214 Kārtika sū. 15, lunar eclipse, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th October, 1157 A.D., were issued when Harischandra was ruling. He seems to have ascended the throne sometime before that date. Thus Trailōkyavarman, the donor of our record, ruled as a *Mahākumāra* about the middle of the 12th century. The grant under study is stated to have been made by Trailōkyavarman when he was encamping at Harshapura which is no doubt the same as Harsaudā, mentioned as Harshapura in an inscription⁵ of Paramāra Dēvapāladeva, dated V. S. 1275. Harsaudā is a village in the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh. This suggests that the tract over which Trailōkyavarman ruled extended from the Gyaraspur region in the

¹ Op. cit. Vol. X (Report of Tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77), pp. 31 ff.

² A. R. Ep., 1952-53, App. B, No. 151. The stone bearing these inscriptions is now deposited in the Gwalior Museum.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 228.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

Bhilai District to the District of Nimar. Lakshmi-varman, father of Hariśchandra and the earliest known Paramāra *Mahākumāra*, claims to have appropriated a portion of Mālwa sometime before V.S. 1200, the date of his Ujjain plates.¹ It seems that, after Lakshmi-varman, Trailōkyavarman and Hariśchandra ruled successively over the tract referred to above, while members of the main line of the Paramāra dynasty were ruling over the territory around Dhārā.

The only place mentioned in the record is *Harahapura*, the location of which has been indicated above.

TEXT*

- 1 Biddham* [i*] Svasati || Sri[r*]=jayō-bhyudayaś-cha || Ady-śha śri-Ha[r*][śha]pura-sthitēna
samatā-rājā*
- 2 ta-samasta-prakriyā-virājamāna-mahākumāra-śri-Trailōkyavarmmadēvēna
- 3 navamyārā śri-Chāmūḍasvāmīdēva-kārita-pratiśṭhāyām* pūjā-nimittē
- 4 bhōjy-āya-sahitam dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmapa-bhukti-va[r*]jam grāmō-yath
śri-Chāmūḍasvāmī[us]

* Ibid., Vols. XVI, pp. 254 ff. See also above, Vol. XXIV, p. 230.

* From impressions.

* Expressed by symbol.

* There is a letter after ś; but its reading is doubtful. The rest of the line as of the other lines is broken away.

* The language here is faulty though the sense is clear.

No. 17—COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.2.1958)

A copper coin of a king named **Harigupta**, stated to have been found at Ahichchhatrā (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District, U. P.), was published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India*.¹ Its weight is given as 41 grains and size .6 inch. The obverse of the coin contains the representation of a *pūrṇa-kumbha*² on a pedestal while the legend in two lines on the reverse was read as [śrī]-mahārājā-[Ha]riguptasya. Allan who entered the coin in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*,³ however, observed that the reading of the legend is very uncertain, *guptasya* alone being clear. But, as regards the reading, we are inclined to agree with Cunningham. Elsewhere in the same work,⁴ Allan admits his inability to offer any suggestion regarding the identity of the king who issued the coin, but observes⁵ that the palaeography of the legend suggests a date in the fifth century A.D.

Assuming the correctness of the reading of the name Harigupta in the legend, we have to see what relations the ruler might have with the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It has to be pointed out that the Ahichchhatrā coin of Harigupta is not without resemblance with the copper coinage of the Imperial Guptas in type and style. One type of copper coins issued by the Gupta emperor **Chandragupta II** (circa 376-414 A.D.) shows a *pūrṇa-kumbha* (with flowers or leaves hanging down its sides) within a dotted border on the obverse and the legend *Chandra* beneath a crescent within a similar border on the reverse.⁶ Elsewhere Allan suggests that, this type was probably struck in Malwa in imitation of the Mālava tribal issues just as Chandragupta II imitated the coins of the Śaka rulers in his silver coinage meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Śakas.⁷ The vase within a dotted border is a well-known feature of the coins of the **Mālavas**.⁸ It has to be admitted that the weight of the seven coins of this type of Chandragupta II in the British Museum cabinet varies between 3.3 and 18.0 grains, while the weight of the Ahichchhatrā coin of Harigupta is 41.0 grains. But a number of copper issues of the Gupta monarch are known to weigh between 40.5 and 49.5 or more grains.⁹ Now we have to determine whether Harigupta imitated the copper coinage of Chandragupta II or whether he ruled over a tract near about the Malwa region and imitated the tribal issues of the Mālavas.

In this connection we have also to see whether Harigupta of the Ahichchhatrā coin was related to another ruler of the Malwa region who bore a name ending with the word *gupta* and some of whose coins have been discovered in East Malwa. Some years ago, six copper coins of a ruler named **Rāmagupta** were discovered in a locality near Bhilsa (near the capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārṇa country comprising East Malwa) and were published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.¹⁰ Their obverse exhibits, within a dotted border, a lion sitting, facing left, with its tail raised and curled, while their reverse shows the legend *Rāmaguta* or *Rāmagupta* beneath

¹ See p. 19, Plate II, No. 6.

² This is often described as a flower-vase.

³ Cf. p. 152, No. 619; Plate XXIV, No. 16.

⁴ See p. lxi.

⁵ Cf. p. cv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60; Plate XI, Nos. 21-26. Allan describes the *pūrṇa-kumbha* as a flower-vase.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. cvl.

⁸ See Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 171 f.

⁹ Cf. Allan, *Cat. (Gupta Dynasties)*, pp. 52 ff., Nos. 141-45, 147-48, 152-53, 160-61.

¹⁰ Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.

a crescent within a similar border. The weight of these coins varies between 2.5 and 31.3 grains. It may be pointed out that lion is a familiar device on the Mālava coins, although generally they exhibit the animal in a standing posture.¹ The palaeography of the legend on Rāmagupta's coins suggests that they were issued sometime in the fourth or fifth century A. D. Another group of four copper coins, similar to the above six, also found at Bhilasa, have been published in the same journal.²

There has been a controversy whether Rāmagupta of the Bhilasa coins was a local ruler of the Bhilasa region or should be identified with the Gupta king of the same name who, according to literary traditions, succeeded the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) but was ousted by his younger brother Chandragupta II.³ It is difficult to be definite on this point without further evidence, although the Prakritic form of the name *Rāmagupta* found on some of the coins would suggest a date earlier than the time of Samudragupta who is the first Gupta monarch to have extended his supremacy in the Malwa region.⁴ Another point which can scarcely be ignored in this connection is that, if Rāmagupta really belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty and ruled as an emperor even for a short period, we would have by now discovered at least a few of his gold coins, since the largest number of Gupta coins so far found are gold issues, the Gupta silver and copper coinage being by far less copious. The genuineness of the literary tradition regarding the existence of a Gupta emperor named Rāmagupta has not yet been proved by any other evidence. The problem to be solved now is: if Rāmagupta is regarded as a local ruler of the Malwa region unconnected with the Imperial Gupta house and assigned to a date somewhat earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in the said area about the middle of the fourth century A. D., should Harigupta of the Ahichohhatra coin, on which the reading of the name has been doubted by Allan, be regarded as a scion of Rāmagupta's family or of any other local ruling house and as flourishing before the middle of the fourth century? The problem of this ruler is, however, rendered more complicated by two factors. In the first place, a newly discovered copper coin of the king not only gives the name quite clearly as Harigupta but is also a very clear imitation of a type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II. Secondly, we have an inscription testifying to the fact that a king named Hari-rāja, who claimed to have been a scion of the Gupta dynasty, ruled over the region comprising the present Banda District of U. P. sometime in the fifth century and it is very probable that he is identical with the issuer of the Ahichohhatra coin.

A copper coin, now exhibited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, was examined by me when I visited Allahabad in December 1957. Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, was kind enough to allow me to take a plaster cast of the coin. There can be no doubt that the prototype from which this coin was imitated is the second variety of the second type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II described and illustrated by Allan in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*.⁵ The prototype may be described as follows:

Obverse: King standing to left (three-quarter length), apparently casting incense on altar with uplifted right hand (as on similar gold coins of the Chhatra type); left hand behind on hip; behind the king a dwarf attendant holding the parasol over him.

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

² *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128 ff.

³ See *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.

⁴ One of Samudragupta's inscriptions has been found engraved on a pillar at Eran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh (i.e. in East Malwa) and his Allahabad pillar inscription refers to his success against the Aryāvarta king Rudrasena who is apparently the Saka ruler Rudrasena III of Western India. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 257, 260 ff.; *Proc. IHO*, Madras 1944, pp. 78 ff.

⁵ See p. 53, Nos. 144-47: Plate XI, No. 4.

COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA



(from Photographs)

Reverse: The bird Garuda (the emblem of the Guptas) standing, facing, with outspread wings (without human arms with bracelets as seen on the first variety of these copper coins); legend below the above reading *Mahārāja-śrī-Chandraguptaś* in one line.

The size of the coins is about three quarters of an inch and weight between 36.5 and 101.5 grains. On the coin under study, the obverse does not clearly show the parasol in the hands of the attendant and the proper right side of the bird on the reverse is blurred, while the legend beneath the bird reads *Mahārāja-śrī-Hariguptasya* in two lines in characters similar to those of the legend on the Ahichchhatra coin. The size of our coin is .85 inch and its weight 49 grains, although its exact findspot seems to be unknown. We have no doubt that the same *Mahārāja Harigupta* also issued the Ahichchhatra coin, even though Allan doubted the reading of the name on it.

An inscription on a bronze image found in the ruins of Dhaneswar Kherā in the village of Ichchhāwar or Nichehāwar in the Banda District, U. P., was published by Smith and Hony as early as 1895,¹ although they could not decipher the record satisfactorily. The correct reading of this record in two lines is as follows:—

1 Dēya-dharmō-ya[m*] Gupta-vaśō(varhā-ō)dita-śrī-Harirājasya ra(rā)jā-Mahādēvyā[h*]
[i*] yad-attra puṇya[m*] tad-bhavatu

2 an(rvva)-sa(tvā(ttā)nā)[m*] māta(tā)-pitri-pū(rvva)hgama(mō)na anuttara-pada-jñāna(n-ō)-
vāptayō [i*]²

It seems that the ruins of Dhaneswar Kherā referred to above represent the site of the headquarters of *Harirāja* mentioned in the inscription. We know that, about the fifth century A.D., the title *Mahārāja* was enjoyed by the subordinates and feudatories of the Gupta *Mahārājādhirājas*.³ Our *Harirāja*, called *Mahārāja* in the legend on his coins, thus appears to have been a subordinate of the contemporary Gupta emperor. The first question now is: if *Harirāja* belonged to the Imperial Gupta family, why was he called *Harirāja* and not *Harigupta*? We know that from the assumption of imperial status by Chandragupta I about 320 A.D., his descendants assumed names ending in the word *gupta*. But we also know that the second name of Chandragupta II is sometimes quoted as both *Dēvagupta* and *Dēvarāja*.⁴ Thus mere mention of the ruler's name as *Harirāja* instead of *Harigupta* does not prove anything. The second question to be answered then is: if *Harirāja-Harigupta* was a scion of the Imperial Gupta family even from his mother's side, why is his family relationship with the contemporary Gupta emperor not specified in the inscription? The answer to this seems to be that the relationship was not a very close one.

Thus, even if the problem of the Ichchhāwar inscription can be solved, the Ahichchhatra and Allahabad Museum coins offer yet another difficult problem. The king enjoyed the feudatory title *Mahārāja* and there is no doubt that he imitated a type of the copper coins of Chandragupta II. The question now is whether a subordinate ruler was allowed by his Gupta suzerain to issue coins of his own. This seems to be extremely doubtful in the present state of our knowledge. As we have already seen, *Mahārāja Harigupta* of the Ahichchhatra and Allahabad Museum coins cannot be assigned to an age earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in Malwa and Central India since he certainly imitated one of the types of the copper coins issued by Chandragupta II, the obverse design of which was itself a copy of the well-known Chhatra type of the same monarch's

¹ *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 159 ff. and Plate.

² See *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, 1949, pp. 185 ff.

³ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.

⁴ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 273, 420.

gold coinage. But when did Harirāja-Harigupta issue his copper coin of the same type? The answer to this question may be that Harigupta issued the coins on the decline of Gupta power about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. He seems to have selected some of the popular types of Imperial Gupta coinage prevalent in the area over which he ruled. Considering the problem of local conservatism in ancient Indian numismatics, it does not appear necessary to think that Harirāja-Harigupta's coins were issued shortly after the issue of their prototypes.

No. 18—BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, Ootacamund

(Received on 20.1.1958)

Dr. A. S. Altekar has recently published, in the pages of this journal¹, a brick inscription in Brāhmī characters of about the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. Its language is Prakrit which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. It is a fragmentary record in one line referring to the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Āśvavātāyanīputra Devīmitra.² Dr. Altekar has wrongly taken the name of the performer of the sacrifice to be Devamitra. This inscription was discovered in a mound near the village of Musānagar in the Kanpur District, U.P.

In December 1957 I visited the Lucknow Museum where I noticed another brick inscription³ of the type of the Musānagar epigraph published by Dr. Altekar. It is also a fragmentary record, the left portion of the brick ($11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$) being broken away exactly as in the case of the other inscription. The two records may have been originally of the same length; but the extant part of the present inscription, engraved in one line on a side face of the brick and covering an area of about $7\frac{1}{2}''$ in length, is smaller than that of the Musānagar epigraph. Individual akṣaras in our epigraph are between $\frac{3}{4}''$ and $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in height. Dr. Altekar suggests that the inscribed brick originally formed a part of the platform built round a sacrificial post or pillar.

The resemblance between the two inscriptions is striking. In the first place, both the present epigraph and the Musānagar inscription are incised on a narrow side face of the bricks in question and not on a broad face of them. Secondly, our record refers to a horse-sacrifice performed by Dāmamitra, a name ending in the word *mītra* as in the case of Devīmitra of Musānagar inscription. Thirdly, the size, style, characters and language of the two epigraphs are similar. Fourthly, both the records end with a symbol standing midway between a cross and the so-called Ujjayinī symbol found on early Indian coins. Fifthly, although the exact findspot of our inscription is unknown, the inscribed brick is stated to have been presented to the Lucknow Museum by Mr. F. S. Fanthome, when he was Additional District Magistrate of Kanpur and thus appears to have been discovered in a locality in the Kanpur District if not at Musānagar itself. There is an old mound at Musānagar and ancient coins have occasionally been found there after the rainy season.⁴ It is therefore not impossible that both Devīmitra and Dāmamitra belonged to the same family of rulers having their capital at Musānagar or its neighbourhood.

As already indicated above, the characters of our record closely resemble those of the Musānagar inscription. But there are some indications which appear to suggest that our epigraph belongs to a slightly later date. In the first place, the triangularity of the lower part of *m* and of *s* is more pronounced in the record under study. Secondly, the *i-mātrā* in *mī* is a prolongation of the right upper limb of *m* while the other inscription exhibits the said vowel-mark as a distinct addition to the consonant. Thirdly, while both the left and right limbs of the lower part of *t* are of the same size in the Musānagar epigraph, the right stroke is considerably elongated in the present record.

¹ See Vol. XXX, pp. 118 ff. and Plate.

² Macron over *e* and *a* has not been used in the article.

³ A photograph of the inscription was published in *Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, Plate LXIX, C.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 118.

On palaeographical considerations, the inscription of Devimitra may be assigned to the close of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. and that of Dāmamitra to a date in the first half of the first century A.D.

The Language of the record is Prakrit; but the influence of Sanskrit is indicated by the use of *śm* (for *sa-sa*) in the word *aśvamedhe*. It may be pointed out here that, in the Musānagar inscription, Dr. Altekar read this word as *aśvamerdha* while we suggested the reading *aśvamedhe* or *aśvamedham*. The present record makes it clear that the intended reading of the word in the Musānagar inscription is neither *aśvamerdha* nor *aśvamedham* but *aśvamedhe*.

Our inscription begins with the *akṣara sa* which is, however, not fully preserved. Since this is followed by the expression *Dāmamitasa* (Sanskrit *Dāmamitrasya*), it may be regarded as the remnant of a metronymic like *Aśvavātāyanīputasa* (Sanskrit *Aśvavātāyanīputrasya*) qualifying *Devimitasa* (Sanskrit *Devimītrasya*) in the Musānagar record. The last word of the inscription is *aśvamedhe* (Sanskrit *aśvamedha*). This is followed by the symbol referred to above, which indicates the end of the writing. Although no regal epithet is applied to Dāmamitra's name, the attribution of the performance of the *Aśvamedha* to him suggests that he was a ruler of importance.

The two early rulers of the Kanpur region of U.P., viz. Devimitra and Dāmamitra known from their brick inscriptions, do not appear to be known from any other source, although coins of many kings with names ending in the word *mitra* have so far been discovered from various sites in that State. Their relations with other known rulers of the said region, especially with the Mitra kings of Kauśāmbī and Ahichchhatrā, can scarcely be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But our inscription adds one more name to the list of the performers of *Aśvamedha*, who flourished in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history.¹ The name Devimitra points to the influence of the cult of the Mother-goddess on the royal family in question.

TEXT

[sa]² D[ā]māmītasa aś[v]amedhe []³

TRANSLATION

The horse-sacrifice of (i.e., celebrated by) Dāmamitra, the....

¹ Cf. *Sandaram Pillai Com.* Vol., pp. 93 ff.

² From *Impressum*.

³ This is apparently the last *akṣara* of an epithet of Dāmamitra in the sixth case-ending. This stop is indicated by a symbol.

BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA



Scale : Actual Size

No. 19—NOTE ON ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN III

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 19.7.1957)

Some time ago I examined the dates of the Gaṅga era, which contain details necessary for calculation, and showed that the epoch which suits them all is Śaka 419 (497-98 A.D.) for a current year and Śaka 420 (498-99 A.D.) for an expired year.¹ Later I examined two more dates of the era, which were discovered subsequently.² I have shown that both of them corroborate the epoch which I had fixed and that none of the other epochs suggested by other scholars is applicable in their case. Recently we have another date of this era, viz., Gn. 133, furnished by the Andhavaram plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III.³ It provides me with another opportunity of testing the epoch fixed by me.

The plates record a grant made by the king on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the *amāvāsya* of the month of Śrāvana. Further, in lines 19-20, the plates record the date in the following words: *tri-pravarddhamāna-Tumburu(bu)ru-to-āśa(vāṁśa)-rājya-samva(mva)tsarāṇām kat? trīṇsaty(trīṇśat)-adhik? samva(samva)tsarāḥ 100 30 3 Śrāvāṇa-māsa-amāvāsya-dīnāni cha*, i.e., in the augmenting dominion of the Tumburu family, in the year hundred increased by thirty—133—on the new-moon day of the month of Śrāvana. It will thus be seen that the date given in words does not agree with that expressed in numerical symbols. In the indifferent facsimile of the inscription published previously in *JAHRS*, Vol. XX, the unit symbol appeared to denote 2, as it consisted of two curved horizontal strokes with a dot between them which appeared accidental. Taking the date as expressed in numerical symbols to be correct, I showed, in an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, pp. 271 f., that according to my epoch, the date Gn. 132 (as I read it then) was quite regular. The new-moon day in *amānta* Śrāvana in the expired Gaṅga year 132 corresponds to the 13th August 630 A.D., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the Andhavaram plates. The excellent facsimile published in this journal, however, shows that the unit symbol of the date denotes 3 and not 2. The date as expressed in numerical symbols must, therefore, be read as 133 and not 132. It does not agree with that expressed in words; but it has been suggested that the engraver seems to have omitted *trayaḥ*⁴ before *trīṇśat* through carelessness.

Dr. Subrahmanyam appears to accept the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. Says he, 'The grant is said to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Śrāvana. Calculating from the starting point fixed by Prof. Mirashi, i.e., Śaka 420 plus 133 expired years of the era, we get Śaka 552 (630 A.D.) as the date of the grant. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, on the 13th August of that year there was a solar eclipse; but this was in the month Bhādrapada'.⁵ Dr. Subrahmanyam's words appear to imply either that the date is irregular according to my epoch, or that the epoch does not suit it exactly. I propose to show that neither of these suppositions is correct.

In the detailed ephemeris given by Pillai in Vol. I, Part II, and the subsequent Volumes of his great work, the lunar months are shown according to the *amānta* scheme; but while giving the

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 192; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 37 ff. In his article on the Andhavaram plates, Dr. R. Subrahmanyam has not numbered this Indravarman though there were several kings of this name. Indravarman I was ruling in Gn. 39 and Indravarman II ruled at least from Gn. 87 to Gn. 97. So this king must be named Indravarman III, for whom we have dates ranging from Gn. 128 to Gn. 154.

⁴ Ibid., p. 40.

New Moons and Eclipses in Vol. I, Part I, Pillai has adopted the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months. This has misled Dr. Subrahmanyam. Table II gives the solar eclipse on the 13th August 630 A.D. under Bhādrapada. As stated before, this month was *pūrṇimānta*. The same eclipse may, therefore, be said to have occurred on the new-moon day of *amānta* Śrāvaṇa, as stated in the Andhavarām plates. The date is thus perfectly regular. It further corroborates the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. It may, again, be noted that this is one of the few dates of the era in a current year and that the scheme of lunar months here is *amānta* as in several other records of the Gaṅga era as shown already.

Let us next see if the date would be regular according to any of the other epochs suggested by other scholars. Leaving aside such epochs as 349-50 A.D., 741 A.D., 772 A.D., and 877-78 A.D. which, on the face of them, appear to be impossible, I shall examine those that approximate to the one fixed by me. They are as follows: 494 A.D. proposed by Mr. Subba Rao, 496 A.D. by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, 497-98 A.D. by the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and 504-05 A.D. by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. Mr. Krishna Rao was previously of the opinion that the Gaṅga era began on *amānta* Bhādrapada-sū. 13; but he now says that it began on *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika-ba. 1 in the expired Śaka year 419 (28th September 497 A.D.). From the equivalents of some dates given in his recent article, he seems to take the epoch of the Gaṅga era as 497-98 A.D.² As the Gaṅga year, according to him, began in Kārttika, we shall get the Christian year corresponding to Gn. 133, for the month of Śrāvaṇa, by adding 498 to 133. The years of the Christian era corresponding to Gn. 133, according to these epochs, would thus be as follows:—

Gaṅga Year 133, Śrāvaṇa amāntāyā

Proposed Epoch of the Gaṅga Era.	Corresponding year of the Christian Era.	Was there a solar eclipse on this tithi?
494 A.D.	627 A.D.	No solar eclipse in <i>pūrṇimānta</i> or <i>amānta</i> Śrāvaṇa.
496 A.D.	629 A.D.	Do.
497-98 A.D.	631 A.D. ³	Do.
504-05 A.D.	637 A.D.	Do.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar as recently suggested that the Gaṅga era started some time between 540 and 556 A.D.⁴ As he has not, however, stated the exact epoch of the era as well as the beginning of the Gaṅga year and the scheme of its lunar months, it is not possible to test its correctness by means of this date.

The Andhavarām plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III thus prove the correctness of my view that the Gaṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra sū. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March 498 A.D.). Thus the epoch of the era for a current year is 497-98 A.D. and for an expired year 498-99 A.D.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

³ JBRS, Vol. XLII, Part I. Curiously enough, he regards all these years of the era as current. For an examination of his view, see *ibid.*, pp. 309 ff.

⁴ [This should be 629-30 A.D. according to Mr. Krishna Rao who regards the years of the Gaṅga era to be current.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 46 ff.

No. 20—INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYĀ

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.5.1958)

We have elsewhere suggested that inscriptions set up at well-known *tirthas* by visiting pilgrims sometimes mention kings of distant lands not because the holy places in question formed parts of their dominions but merely because the pilgrims were their subjects or subordinates and that pious people including kings often sought to secure the merit of visiting *tirthas* of their choice by sending others to those localities at their own cost as their proxies.¹ The four inscriptions edited in the following pages come from Gayā which is one of the most celebrated *tirthas* of India and they throw welcome light on the said question. The holiest shrine at Gayā is the Viṣṇupāda temple and all the records are found within the precincts of that temple.

Gayā is regarded as the most suitable place for the celebration of the post-funeral ceremony called *śrāddha* for the salvation of the spirits of dead ancestors. *Gayā-śrāddha* (i.e. the performance of *śrāddha* at Gayā) can be celebrated by anybody for any deceased person at any time of the year, although the fortnight ending with the *Mahālayā-Amāvasyā* (i.e. the new-moon day in *amānta* Bhādrapada or *pūrṇimānta* Āṣvina) is regarded as the best time for it and lakhs of pilgrims from all parts of India visit the holy place on that occasion.²

1. Inscription of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra I

The inscription³ is engraved on a black slab of stone fixed into the eastern wall (right side) of the shrine of Śiva in front of the Viṣṇupāda temple. There are in all 31 lines of writing. The preservation on the whole is satisfactory, though some letters are damaged here and there. The inscribed space measures 31 inches in height and 11 inches in breadth. Beneath the writing, there are the representations of the *Chakra* (discus) and *Śaṅkha* (conch-shell), the latter on a pedestal, and below these there is *K. 1848* incised in English. The English writing apparently refers to the utilisation of the stone slab some time in 1848 A.D.; but it has nothing to do with the inscription. The *Chakra* and *Śaṅkha* are the well-known emblems of the god Viṣṇu and appear to point to the Vaiṣṇava leanings of the person who set up the record under study.

The characters are Nandī-Nāgarī of the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁴ The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of a passage in prose at the end. There are altogether 12 stanzas, the metre employed being *Anuṣṭubh* in all cases. The author's command over the language was, however, not quite satisfactory. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of *anusvāra* in the place of final *m* and class nasals. The

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-101.

² For the importance of Gayā as a holy place especially for the performance of *śrāddha*, see the *Vayu Purāṇa*, chapters 105 ff.; Kane, *History of Dharmashāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 643-79. For the antiquity of Gayā, see *JIB*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 283 ff.

³ This is No. 132 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

⁴ The name Nandī-Nāgarī is usually associated with the Nāgarī alphabet used in the South Indian records of the Vijayanagara period (cf. Ojha, *Palaeography of India*, p. 68; Renou et Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, Tome II, p. 682). But the development of the Nandī-Nāgarī alphabet can be traced to earlier times. We have applied this name to the characters of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 edited in the following pages because they exhibit the Nandī-Nāgarī forms of some letters. Cf. *+* in both the records and initial *i* in Inscription No. 2, line 18.

name *Mallikārjuna* (lines 11 and 19) has been spelt with *ā* instead of *k* as in Telugu inscriptions.¹ The inscription bears no date.

Verses 1-4 in lines 1-9 describe a king named *Pratāparudra*. The first of these stanzas speak of him as *nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasat-pada* and *rāja-śiśo-mayī* which may indicate that he was an independent or imperial ruler. The suggestion seems to be supported by verse 3 which represents the king as bearing the burden of the entire earth. Verse 2 refers to his capital as excelling *Amarāvati*, the city of the gods, but does not mention its name. This reference to the capital, which has no direct relation with the purpose of the inscription, seems to indicate that king *Pratāparudra* was ruling from the unnamed city when the inscription was incised.

The following five stanzas (verses 5-9) in lines 9-20 describe the preceptor of *Pratāparudra*. Verse 5 states that the name of the king's preceptor was *Mallikārjuna* who enjoyed the title *Tribhūvanavidyachakravartin*.² He is also called *śūri* in the same stanza and *bhūda* in verse 9 and was apparently famous for his learning. The name of *Mallikārjuna* is repeated in verse 9, while verse 7 represents him as a great devotee of the god *Śiva* as it says that *Indusākhara* (*Śiva*) liked his stay in *Mallikārjuna*'s mind better than his residence on Mount *Kailāsa*. Verses 8-9 state that a locality called *Mantrakūṭa* lying on the southern border of the *Vindhya* mountain range (*Vindhya-ādri-dakṣiṇa-prāntē*) and on the bank of the river *Gautamī* (*Gautamī-tapti*) was studded with numerous *śiṅgas* and that the city called *Simhādri-nagarī*, situated in the said locality, was beautified by *Mallikārjuna* with many buildings. *Gautamī* is another name of the river *Gōdāvarī*, while *Mantrakūṭa* appears to be the same as *Manthani* (also called *Mantenna*), the headquarters of a Taluk of the same name in the *Karimnagar District* in the former *Hyderabad State* but now in *Andhra Pradesh*. A chief named *Guṇḍa* is described as the lord of *Mantrakūṭa-nagarī* in the *Hānumakonda* inscription³ (*Śaka* 1084-1169 A.D.) of *Kakatiya Pratāparudra I*, while the same chief is called *Manthanya-Guṇḍa* in the *Palampet* inscription⁴ of *Śaka* 1135 (1213 A.D.), and *Mantenna-Guṇḍa* in the *Ganapeevaram* inscription⁵ (*Śaka* 1153-1231 A.D.) of the *Kakatiya* king *Gaṇapati*. Thus the same place is called *Mantrakūṭa-nagarī*, *Manthani* and *Mantenna*. A *Śiva* temple built at the same place, called *Mantrakūṭapura*, by *Gaṅgādhara*, a general of *Kakatiya Pratāparudra I*, is mentioned in the *Karimnagar* inscription⁶ of *Śaka* 1092 (1170 A.D.).

Verse 10 in lines 21-23 states that *Mallikārjuna*'s wife was *Gaurī* who caused to perform the *Gayā-śrāddha*, apparently of her husband *Mallikārjuna*, even though the husband's death is not clearly referred to in the inscription. As already indicated above, *śrāddha* performed in honour of the departed spirits of dead relatives at *Gayā* is regarded as specially efficacious especially during the dark half of the *amānta* month of *Bhādrapada* or the *pūrvamānta* month of *Āśvina*. Verse 11 in lines 23-25 speaks of *Gaurī*'s daily entry through the gate of *Gayā*⁷ and to her securing the salvation of the foremost of her relations (i.e. her husband).⁸ Apparently she was performing what is called *nitya-śrāddha* for the emancipation of her husband *Mallikārjuna*.

¹ Cf., e.g., P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telugu Language Districts*, Part III, 1956, p. 71.

² *Mallikārjuna*'s title *Tribhūvanavidyachakravartin* reminds us of the title *Sakala-vidyachakravartin* enjoyed by several scholars at the court of the kings of the *Hoysala* dynasty of *Dharmamudra*. It has been suggested that the title was conferred on the court pandits by the *Hoysala* kings (see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 227). It is thus not impossible that the title *Tribhūvanavidyachakravartin* was conferred on *Mallikārjuna* by his royal disciple *Pratāparudra*.

³ P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., Part II, p. 19, text line 34.

⁴ *Hpd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 3, p. 3, text line 49.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 85, text line 15.

⁶ P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., p. 173, text line 142.

⁷ *Gayā-śrāddha-mānasa* *dīpā* *dīpā* seems to refer to *Gaurī*'s daily visit to the *Gayā* temple.

⁸ The expression *parādhanam cha śandhānam* has been used to indicate 'the husband.'

Verse 12 in lines 26-29 gives some interesting information about Gauri, wife of Mallikārjuna. It is stated that formerly she had been passing her days playfully at the feet of the god Gōpīnātha described as the lord of the **Kandammatī** family, but that at the time being her residence was **Manikarnika**. As regards her later residence, the place appears to be the same as the famous Manikarnikā Ghāt at Banāras.¹ But the location of the deity Gōpīnātha worshipped by the members of the Kandammatī family is difficult to determine, although Kandammatī seems to be the name of a locality from which the family derived its name. Gauri's relationship with the said family is not stated in the inscription. We may conjecture that she was born in the Kandammatī family. It is, however, very interesting to note Gauri's devotion to the god Gōpīnātha, undoubtedly a form of Viṣṇu. Thus she was a Vaiṣṇava,² while her husband Mallikārjuna was a staunch devotee of the god Śiva. The document ends with an adoration of the god *Gōpījanavallabha*, the same as *Gōpīnātha*. But, while the latter is described as the lord of the Kandammatī family, the former is called *Mantrakūṭa-Gōpījanavallabha*, apparently meaning 'Gōpījanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa', even if the two appear to be one and the same deity. It is possible to think that the Kandammatī family, which originally hailed from the village of Kandammatī and to which Gauri seems to have belonged, was at a later date living at the locality called Mantrakūṭa. In that case, *Kandammatī-kul-ādhyā* Gōpīnātha may of course be safely identified with *Mantrakūṭa-Gōpījanavallabha*.

There is no obvious clue in the inscription to help us in identifying king **Pratāparudra** and his preceptor *Tribhuvanī-cūḍyā-chakravartin Mallikārjuna*. As regards the king, who appears to have been an imperial ruler, we can only think of Pratāparudra I (generally called Rudra) and Pratāparudra II of the Kākatīya dynasty, who flourished respectively in the periods 1163-95 A.D. and 1291-1330 A.D., and the king of the same name who belonged to the Sūryavarṇī (Gajapati) family of Orissa and ruled in the period 1496-1539 A.D. Of these three rulers, Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa was a great devotee of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri and was therefore a devout Vaiṣṇava. It is thus extremely doubtful if he could have had a staunch Śaiva teacher like Mallikārjuna of our inscription as his preceptor. On the other hand, we know the Śaiva leanings of most of the Kākatīya rulers who are described as *paramamāhēśvara* in the records of their time and some of whom are known to have received initiation from Śaiva religious teachers.³ This fact leads us to the suggestion that king Pratāparudra mentioned in the inscription under review may be identical with either of the Kākatīya monarchs bearing that name.⁴ Of the two Kākatīya kings of the same name, viz. Pratāparudra I and Pratāparudra II, the former is described in several records⁵ as *paramamāhēśvara* and *Seṣayambhū-pāda-padm-ārādha* and there can be no doubt that he was a devout Śaiva. Kākatīya Pratāparudra II has not, however, been called a *paramamāhēśvara* in any of the numerous records⁶ of his time and does not appear to have been

¹ For the importance of Banāras as a holy place, see the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapters 181-83; Kane, op. cit., pp. 618 ff. Manikarnikā is one of the five holiest spots at Banāras, the others being Dāśāśvamedha, Lohārka, Kṣāra and Bindumādharā (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 185, verses 65-66).

² The inscription does not say that Gauri was devoted to both Viṣṇu and Śiva.

³ Rāja II and probably also his grandson Pritha II claimed Rāmēśvara-panḍita of the Mallikārjuna-mattha on the Śrīlāla as their *gīṣhāguru* (*Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 13, p. 25, Ins. No. 7; p. 55, Ins. No. 12; cf. *Bhāratī*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 194). Mahādēva is known to have learnt the Śaiva *siddhāntas* from his preceptor Dhruvaśāstrī-muniśvara (*Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 13, p. 62, Ins. No. 15) while his son Gaṇapati was a disciple of a celebrated Śaiva teacher named Viṣṇuśaṅkara who was also revered by his daughter Rudrāmbā (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 207; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff.).

⁴ The Kākatīya queen Rudrāmbā was often mentioned as Rudradēva in the masculine; but she was not called Pratāparudra.

⁵ See, e.g., *SII*, Vol. X, p. 122, No. 241, text lines 5-6.

⁶ Cf. *Talagunda Inscription*, Nos. 45 ff. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 519 (p. 281) apparently belongs to the reign of Pratāparudra I.

a staunch devotee of Śiva. The possibility therefore is that king Pratāparudra of our inscription is identical with the Kākatiya monarch Pratāparudra I.¹

There is a tradition² that the great Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya was the preceptor of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.) who was the brother's son of Pratāparudra I. This, however, is clearly wrong since the Malkapuram inscription³ represents the great Śaiva teacher Viśvāśaraśambha, hailing from Pūrvagrāma in the Rājha division of Gauḍa, as the *di-kṣhā-guru* of king Gaṇapati. But, confused even if it is, the above tradition seems to be based on the fact that a Kākatiya monarch was amongst the disciples of the great *Paṇḍitārādhya*. If such was the case, the Kākatiya disciple of Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya was probably none else than Pratāparudra I since the contemporaneity of the Śaiva teacher and the Kākatiya king has been admitted by scholars.⁴ Under the circumstances, it may not be unreasonable to identify Pratāparudra and Mallikārjuna, mentioned in the inscription under study, respectively with the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra I and the Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya at least tentatively for the present till further light is thrown on the subject by new discoveries.

A number of legends grew around the celebrated name of Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya, the details of many of which may not have any foundation in facts. But, as indicated above, the traditions representing him as a contemporary of Kākatiya Pratāparudra I appear to be genuine. Dr. P. Sreenivasechar identifies the *Paṇḍitārādhya* with the Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna mentioned in an inscription⁵ of Śaka 1109 (1187 A.D.) from Kudavel-Saṅgamēvaram about 10 miles from Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. Two inscriptions⁶ from the Kurnool District of the same State, dated respectively in Śaka 1154 (1232 A.D.) and 1157 (1235 A.D.), speak of a disciple of Mallikārjuna who may be no other than Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya. The language of our inscription seems to suggest that the royal disciple Pratāparudra was still on the throne when his preceptor Mallikārjuna died. This may suggest that Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya died before 1195 A.D.⁷

In spite of the mention of king Pratāparudra I of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warangal in the inscription under study, there is certainly no reason to believe that the Gayā region in South Bihar formed any part of his dominions. We know that South Bihar lay in the empire of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar from the eighth to the twelfth century and in the dominions of the Muslims from the end of the twelfth century till the British conquest in the eighteenth century. Even in the absence of any reference in the present inscription to the ruler whose dominions comprised Gayā, king Pratāparudra mentioned in it cannot be regarded as having ruled over the Gayā region.

¹ After the preparation of this paper, we have examined an inscription of about Śaka 1121 (1199 A.D.) from Manthani (ancient Mantrakhṛja), which states that Mallikārjuna's son Gopāla received a big plot of land at Mantrakhṛja from Kākatiya Rudradēva (i.e. Pratāparudra I) and that the township called Simhagiri-pura (the same as Simhādri-nagari of the Gayā inscription) was built by him on the said plot. This epigraph settles the identity of Pratāparudra of the Gayā inscription beyond doubt. The Manthani inscription is being published in the pages of this journal.

² See a poem entitled 'Kākati Prōṣaṇārādya prasāna' in the *Kākatiya-samśikha*, ed. by M. Rama Rao, p. 140.

³ *III*, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 207, text lines 79-80.

⁴ Cf. *Kākatiya-samśikha*, pp. 26, 34, 212.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 71.

⁶ Rangachari's List, Nos. K1 14 and 19; *A. R. Sp.*, 1925-26, para. 52 (pp. 116-17).

⁷ The death of Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya has been assigned to 1169-70 A.D. (*Kākatiya-samśikha*, p. 212) on insufficient and doubtful grounds.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the holy *tirthas* of Gayā and Maṇi-
karṇikā (called Maṇikarṇika in the record) at Banāras, the mountain range Vindhya and the river
Gautamī (Gōdāvarī) are well-known. Kandammaṭi cannot be satisfactorily identified. The
location of Mantrakūṭa has been discussed above.

TEXT:

- 1 Śrīmaṇ(maṇ)-nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasa.
- 2 t-padaḥ | asti Prataparudr-ākhyō rājā rāja-
- 3 śrōmaṇiḥ || 1* | Yat-[pu]ṭi turag-ākṛyā maha-
- 4 t-kari-ghaṭ-ākulā | paṇya-sta(stri)-muktā-vyājēna hasa-
- 5 nt=lv=Āmarāvatin(tīm) || 2* | Yad-bhujā-nihit-āsēcha-ratna-
- 6 garbhā-mahā-bhu(bha)raḥ | śithilika(ku)rutē nūnaḥ Pha-
- 7 ṇi[n]drō=pi phaṇā-kulam(lam) || 3* | Guṇ-ālavāla-niya-
- 8 tā bahu-māna-phal-ānikitā | vyāptā yat-kīrtti-
- 9 [la]tikā gagana-sthala-maṇṭapaṇ(pam) || 4* | Tasya tribhu-
- 10 vanividyāchakravartti=iti viśrutāḥ | guravaḥ saṁ-
- 11 ti lōkē=smin=**Mallikā(kā)**rjuna-sūryaḥ || 5* | Ya-
- 12 d-yasāmsi śarac-chaṇdra-vimalāni va(vi)tanvatē || 6*
- 13 niyataṁ diu-mṛigākṣhiṇāṁ dukūla-vasana-śri-
- 14 yam(yam) || 6* | Ēhām mānasam=adhyāsa bhagavān=Indu-
- 15 sō(śē)kharaḥ | na Kailāsa-mahāśaila-sukh-ā-
- 16 [vāsa]m=apēkṣatē || 7* | Vi[m]dhy-ādri-dakṣhiṇa-prāc-
- 17 tē vilasat=**Gautamī-taṭē** | **Mantrakūṭa[m]** sabasā-
- 18 [ṇ]āth līngānāṁ sthānam=uttamaṇ(mam) || 8* | Tatra **Sirbhādrī**-na-
- 19 garim Mallikā(kā)rjuna-kōvidah | vidvaj-janēm-
- 20 dra-mi(ni)rāshdhrāṁ ramya-harmyām-achikarat || 9*
- 21 **Gaurī** guṇavati tasya vidvaj-jana-vi-
- 22 [nō]dinaḥ | dharmapatnī **Gayā**-śrā-
- 23 ddham vi[ta]-vi[chēhha(ghna)]m=akūṭayat || 10* | Atha
- 24 **Gaurī Gayā**-dvāram=āviśatī dinā
- 25 dinē | purōdhas[ā(sam) cha] bariḍhūnāḥ muktaṁ=ā-

* From impressions.

- 26 γ -ākarōṭ-sati || [11*] **Kaṇḍarimati-kul-ā-**
 27 dhīsa-Gōpīnātha-pad-āṇḍu(hu)ḥ | ta[thō]¹
 28 ayāḥ pūrvam=albhūṭ-k[ṛ]ḥ[ḍ]ḥ idānīm
 29 **Maṇikarnikē** || [12*] śrī Maṇṭrakū-
 30 ṭa-Gōpījana(va)llabhāya
 31 namaḥ ||²

2. Inscription of the time of Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha III

This inscription³ is engraved on the left door-jamb of the doorway leading into a Malīdēva shrine under a peepal tree in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple. The writing occupies a space of about 26½ inches in height and 4 inches in width, there being altogether 25 lines and each line containing about four *akṣaras*. Immediately below the above record, there is a second inscription which contains 21 lines covering a space equal in area as the first epigraph. It seems that the available space was divided into two halves for the two inscriptions which were very probably engraved at the same time.

The record is written in Nandi-Nāgarī characters of about the 12th or 13th century A.D. with the exception of the last line which is in the Kannaḍa script. The characters resemble those of the Gayā inscription of Pratiḥarādī's time, edited above. The form of *va* in *vajana* in lines 11-12 is interesting to note. The language is Kannaḍa and the inscription is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the word *śiṣṭa* has been spelt as *śiṣṭa* (lines 3-4), while *ṛiṣṭa* has been spelt as *ṛiṣṭa* thrice in lines 14-16.

The record bears **no date**, although it refers in lines 2-5, to a ruler named **Hōsaṇa Vira-Narasimhadēva**. *Hōsaṇa* is the same as *Hoysaṇa*, a well-known variant of the dynastic name *Hoysaḷa*,⁴ and there is no doubt that Vira-Narasimha of our record belonged to the **Hoysaḷa** ruling family of **Dōrasamudra** (modern Halebidu in Mysore State). In this connection, it is interesting to note that the second inscription on the same stone referred to above, which is written in the Kannaḍa language and script, reads in lines 1-16: *śrī-Vira-Narasimhaḥ* [the] *hoysaḷa* *koṣṭantala* *Jakamṣa* *mayas* [the] *Chāṇḍirāṇa* *Ka* [the] *saṅghatantala* *Bā* [the] *drāpa* [the] *30* *Sā* [the] *pratiḥarādī* *māḍi*... This record, the concluding part of which is damaged, speaks of a person named *Chandirappa* who was a son of *Jakappa*, an employee in the mint of Vira-Narasimhadēva, and of his visit to **Gayā** on pilgrimage. It will be seen that both the inscriptions apparently refer to the same Hoysaḷa king named *Narasimha* or *Vira-Narasimha*. But, while the first record which is the subject of our study in these lines does not bear any date, the second epigraph was dated in the cyclic year **Khara, Bhādrapada-ba. 30, Monday**, i.e. the day of the *Mahā-layā Amāvāsyā* and, as indicated above, the most suitable time for the performance of the *śrāddha* of relatives at **Gayā**. Unfortunately there were no less than three kings named *Narasimha* in the Hoysaḷa dynasty of Dōrasamudra, all of whom flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reign of *Narasimha I*, son of *Viṣṇuvarṣhana*, is now assigned to c. 1141-73 A.D., while his grandson *Narasimha II* and the latter's grandson *Narasimha III* are supposed to have ruled respectively in c. 1220-35 A.D. and c. 1254-91 A.D.⁵ There is, however, a clue in the second of the two

¹ The *akṣara* looking like *thō* is redundant.

² *Sanḍhi* has been avoided here for the sake of the metre. Better read *ch* = *śāṇḍhi*.

³ There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.

⁴ This is registered as No. 126 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, Appendix B.

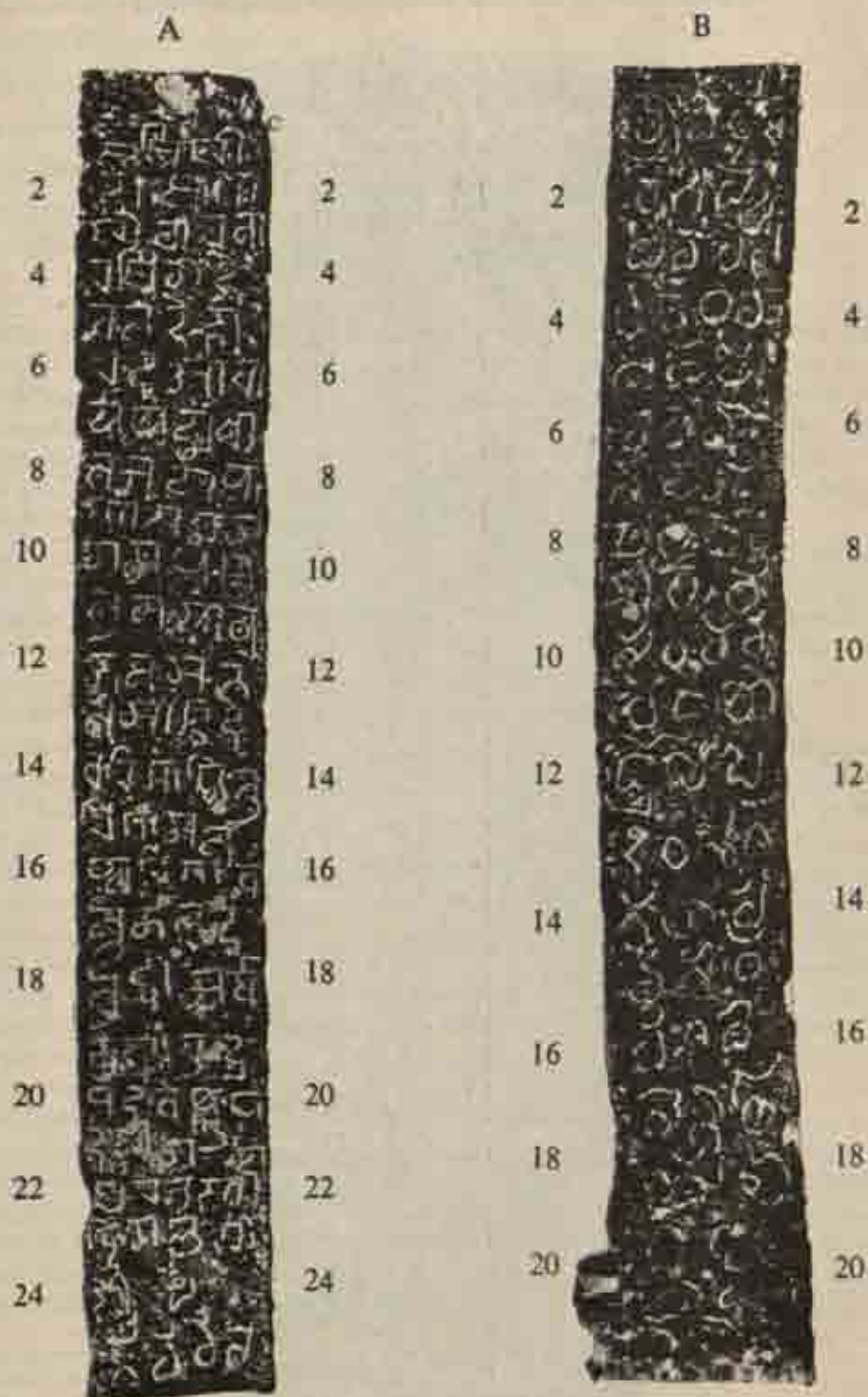
⁵ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 490.

⁶ See Coelho, *The Hoysaḷa Vāsaka*, pp. 115, 169, 198.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA — PLATE 1
1. Inscription of the time of Kakatiya Prataparudra I



2. Inscriptions of the time of Hoysala Narasimha III



Scale : One-fourth

inscriptions as regards the identification of Vira-Narasimha. The cyclic year Khara of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India can be associated with the reign of each one of the three kings, viz. Khara=1171-72 A.D. falling in the reign of Narasimha I, Khara=1231-32 A.D. in that of Narasimha II and Khara=1291-92 A.D. about the end of that of Narasimha III. But since the week-day is given as Monday, the details quoted in the epigraph would suit only the year 1291 A.D. The date corresponds to the 24th September 1291 A.D. and the king mentioned in our epigraph is thus no doubt Hoysala Narasimha III.

The inscription under study begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by a passage in lines 1-11 mentioning a person named Apanna as the son of *Āchārya* Padmanābha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya of the *dēhāra* of **Hōsaṇa** (Hoysala) **śrī Vira-Narasimhadēva**. The word *dēhāra* is derived from Sanskrit *dēvagrīhaka*, 'a temple', through Apabhraṃśa *dēharaya*. The word *āchārya* is used in Kannada in the sense of a priest and *Āchārya* Padmanābha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya was apparently the priest of a temple built by the Hoysala king Narasimha probably at his capital Dērasamudra. Padmanābha's son Apanna is stated in lines 11-18 to have caused to be constructed what is called a *Gayā-vrajaṇa-maṭha* and to have discharged thereby his debts to the gods, to his forefathers and to other human beings. The expression *Gayā-vrajaṇa-maṭha* appears to indicate a sort of *Dharma-śālā* which was meant for the pilgrims who visited Gayā probably from the Karpāṭa country to which Apanna belonged. Lines 18-23 mention the names of three persons called Rudrapada, Viṣṇupada and Gaḍādhara who are stated to have been the witnesses in the matter apparently of the construction of the *Maṭha*.¹ It is not clear whether these three persons, who appear to have been local people, were made trustees for the *Maṭha* in question by Apanna. Lines 23-24 contain the expression *śrī-śrī* forming a *maṅgala* and indicating the end of the document. This is followed in the last line (line 25) by the personal name *Dēvarasa* written in Kannada characters. *Dēvarasa* was possibly responsible for the engraving of the inscription analysed above as well as of the other record incised in the lower half of the surface of the stone.

It appears that Apanna of the present record and Chandirappa of the second inscription visited Gayā at the same time. There is little doubt that they were accompanied by many other pilgrims from the area of Karpāṭaka, to which they belonged, one of them apparently being *Dēvarasa*.

It is not clear from the inscription whether Apanna, the son of the priest of Hoysala Narasimha's temple, visited Gayā and constructed the *Maṭha* at the holy place for the pilgrims probably from Karpāṭaka on his own behalf or at the expense and on behalf of the Hoysala king. But, in spite of the non-mention of the ruler whose kingdom included the Gayā region in the inscription under study, Hoysala Narasimha mentioned in it had obviously nothing really to do with South Bihar.

TEXT:

- 1 Svasti [1*] Śrī-
- 2 Hōsaṇa-
- 3 Śrī Vira-Nā-
- 4 rasimadē-
- 5 vana dēhā-
- 6 rada āchā-
- 7 rya-Padmanā-

¹ It is also possible to think that the reference is to three local deities.

² From impressions. We are indebted to Dr. G. S. Gal and Mr. B. R. Gopal for some help in reading and interpreting this inscription.

- 8 bha-bhatō(ḥṣ)pa-
- 9 dhyāyara ma-
- 10 gam-Apaṣṣa-
- 11 nu Gayā-vra-
- 12 jana-maṭha-
- 13 va māḍi dā-
- 14 va-ri(ri)ṇa pitu(tri)-
- 15 ri(ri)ṇa manu-
- 16 shya-ri(ri)ṇava-
- 17 nū kaladē-
- 18 nu¹ [] l-ardha(rtha)-
- 19 ke śrī-Rudra-
- 20 pada Viṣṇupa-
- 21 da śrī-Gadā-
- 22 dharanu sā-
- 23 kshiga]u [] śrī
- 24 śrī []²
- 25 Dēvarasa³ []

3. Inscription of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya, Śaka 1444

The inscription⁴ is engraved on a sculptured stone slab built into the right wall of the Gadādhara Ghāt (in front of the Gadādhara shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple) leading to the river Phalgu. The slab measures about 2.5 feet in height and 1.5 feet in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An eight-armed female deity is engraved in low relief in an excavated bed in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. The details of the figure are not clear on the impressions. But the representation seems to be that of the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardini. Lines 12-16 of the inscription are engraved to the left and lines 17-21 to the right of the excavated bed containing the figure.

The record is in Telugu characters of about the 16th century A.D. The letter *k* is written in its modern Telugu form in *Kṛishṇa* (line 7) and *gaṇāḍḍakā* (lines 15-16). The letter *j* almost resembles the form of modern Telugu *k*. No distinction has been made between the medial signs for *i* and *ī*. Initial *i* is used for *yī* in *vīṣṇuḥ* (line 8; cf. *yī* for *ī* in line 17). The consonant following *auśmā* is reduplicated in some cases.

The language of the record is Telugu and it is written in prose with a single verse in the middle. It is dated in Śaka 1444 (current), Vṛiṣha, Āshāḍha-ba. 13, Tuesday, regularly corresponding to July 2, 1521 A.D.

¹ Read *kaḍḍanu*.

² There is a symbol here.

³ This name is written in Kannada characters unlike lines 1-24 in Nāgarī. This is followed by a different inscription in Kannada language and alphabet, to which reference has been made.

⁴ It has been registered as No. 124 of A. R. Ep., 1957-58, Appendix B.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by the date in lines 1-4. Next comes a sentence in prose in lines 5-9, which states that the *vijaya-sāsana* (apparently referring to the record under study) was set up by the illustrious *Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Virapratāpa-Vīra Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāja*. The above is followed by a verse in the Kanda metre, which is in praise of the king. He is represented in the stanza as the husband of *Tirumala-dēvī* and as the son of king *Īvara-Narasa* (i.e. Narasa-nāyaka, son of Īvara). It is interesting to note that this verse occurs in the celebrated Telugu work entitled *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* by the well-known poet Nandi-Timmana (also called Mukku-Timmana) who was an ornament of the court of king Kṛishṇadēva-rāya (1509-29 A.D.) of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. The stanza is followed by another sentence in prose in lines 17-21 stating that the *sāsana* (i.e. the *vijaya-sāsana* mentioned in lines 8-9) was composed by Mukku-Timmana, i.e. Mukku-Timmana referred to above.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, it is a lithic record of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadēva-rāya set up far away from the territory under his rule. Secondly, it is a composition of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya's famous court poet Nandi-Timmana, who is mentioned in no other epigraphic record so far discovered. Thirdly, it quotes a stanza from the poet's celebrated work *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and quotations from such works are rare in inscriptions.

The inscription refers to itself as the *vijaya-sāsana* (literally 'a document relating to victory') of king Kṛishṇadēva-rāya, set up by the king himself, as if Gayā, where it was set up, formed an integral part of his empire. But we know that in Śaka 1444 (1521 A.D.) when the epigraph was engraved, the region was a part of the dominions of the Muhammadans.¹ The said region, moreover, lay far away from the borders of the Vijayanagara empire in the extreme south of India and the sphere of Kṛishṇadēva's influence, with a number of independent states lying between the two areas, and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that the Vijayanagara monarch had anything to do with South Bihar. Thus the poet Nandi-Timmana seems to have himself visited Gayā as a proxy of his patron. The prevalence of such a practice is well-known from medieval inscriptions. Thus a record² from Bothpur in the Mahbubnagar District, of Andhra Pradesh, states how a chief named Vijaya sent two persons named Bāchaya and Boppa to Vārāṇasī (i.e. Vārāṇasī or Banāras) 'in the name of his grandmother' and gave them two *Morturus* of land for their labour. Another inscription³ of Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.) from the same place seems to state how another chief named Malyāla Guṇḍa gave some lands to several people for making pilgrimages on his behalf to *tīrthas* like Sētu (Setubandha-Rāmēśvara), Śrīparvatā, and Alampūru on the Tungabhadra.

Thus in spite of the mention of the record as Kṛishṇadēva's *vijaya-sāsana* set up by himself and of the absence of any reference to the king whose dominions comprised the Gayā region, the Vijayanagara monarch cannot in any way be associated with the area where the inscription was set up by his court poet in his name. As indicated above, Mukku-Timmana probably made the pilgrimage to the holy place on behalf of his patron and there is no reason to believe that Kṛishṇadēva himself visited Gayā.

It may be pointed out here that the expression *vijaya-sāsana* is not quite suitable in the present context. The record should have properly been called a *dharma-sāsana* (i.e. a document relating to religious merit), as found in a similar context in the record of Achyutarāya's time, edited below, since it was really associated with the king's endeavour to acquire religious merit by performing a pilgrimage to Gayā through a proxy. Of course it may be regarded as a *dharma-vijaya-sāsana*.

¹ About the period in question, the Bihar region was a bone of contention among the Sultāns of Delhi, Bengal and Jaunpur.

² P. Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, Part II, p. 142.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 152 (p. 147, text lines 135 ff.).

The great Telugu poet Nandi-Timmana, who composed the record, is known to have belonged to the Āruvela sect of the Niyōgi-Bhrāhmaṇas and to the Kauśika *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra*. He was the son of Nandi-Sirigana and Timmāmbā and the nephew of a certain Malayamāruta-kavi. He was popularly called Mukku-Timmana and the record under study refers to him by this name.

Krishnadēva-rāya's services to Telugu literature are well-known. His court was adorned by eight eminent poets called the *aśṭa-diggajas*, among whom Allasāni-Peddana and Nandi-Timmana were the most famous. Allasāni-Peddana is mentioned in a number of epigraphs found at Anniyūr¹ (South Arcot District), Kōkaṭam² (Cuddapah District) and Mēlpāḍi³ (Chittoor District) in different parts of the Vijayanagara kingdom corroborating the statement of a *Chāḍa* verse⁴ attributed to him. Mukku-Timmana, who is mentioned only in the inscription under study, also claims in his *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*⁵ to have received a number of big villages from the king. Unfortunately we do not have epigraphs to confirm this statement. The present inscription does not mention what he received for the pilgrimage he apparently undertook on the king's behalf.

A record from Tippalūru⁶ in the Cuddapah District states that the village was once granted to the *aśṭa-diggaja-kaviśvaras* by king Krishnadēva-rāya. But it does not enumerate the names of the eight poets, although it is almost certain that Peddana and Timmana had their shares in it.

Of the two jewels of Krishnadēva's court, while Peddana was a Śaiva with Vaiṣṇava leanings and was a disciple of Śaṭhakōpa-yati,⁷ Mukku-Timmana was a staunch Śaiva and was a disciple of Aḥṣṛaṣiv-āchārya,⁸ probably mentioned in a Pushpagiri (Cuddapah District) record⁹ dated Śaka 1423 (1501 A.D.). The representation of the goddess Mahishamardini on the stone slab bearing Timmana's inscription is in consonance with his religious faith.

The importance of the inscription to the student of Telugu literature lies in the quotation from the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*. The work was apparently composed by Timmana sometime before the date of our record, viz. 1521 A.D.

TEXT¹⁰

- 1 Svasti | Śrī-jay-ābhaya-daya-śā-
- 2 livāhana-Śaka-varahambulu
- 3 1444 agu nūnti Vriṣha-sath-
- 4 vatsara Āshāḍa(dha)-bahula 13 Ma¹¹
- 5 śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-rāja-
- 6 patamōṣvara-vīra-pratāpa-vīra-

¹ A.R. Ep., No. 623 of 1915. This record mentions him as the governor of the entire Kariyēkōlī-stma.

² Ibid., Nos. 715 and 716 of 1926.

³ Ibid., No. 105 of 1921.

⁴ K. Vireśalingam, *The Telugu Poets*, Part II, pp. 189-90: *Kōkaṭa-gōtra-śṭy-enā-āgrahāṇamu-ādityina* *śmaṭayapadma-icchaka*.

⁵ *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, Canto V, verse 168: *Kṛishṇarāja-kāshīṭha-lācraṇā-tanūlubbha-gṛāma-chaturvīda-pā* *sa mahāgrahāra-narada-gaṇaḥ*.

⁶ A.R. Ep., No. 282 of 1937-38.

⁷ *Mamuksharāma*, Canto I (introduction), verse 8. This Śaṭhakōpa-yati seems to be mentioned in two inscriptions at Little Kāṇchīpuram (A.R. Ep., Nos. 474 and 533 of 1919).

⁸ *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, Canto V, verse 168.

⁹ A.R. Ep., No. 302 of 1946.

¹⁰ From impressions.

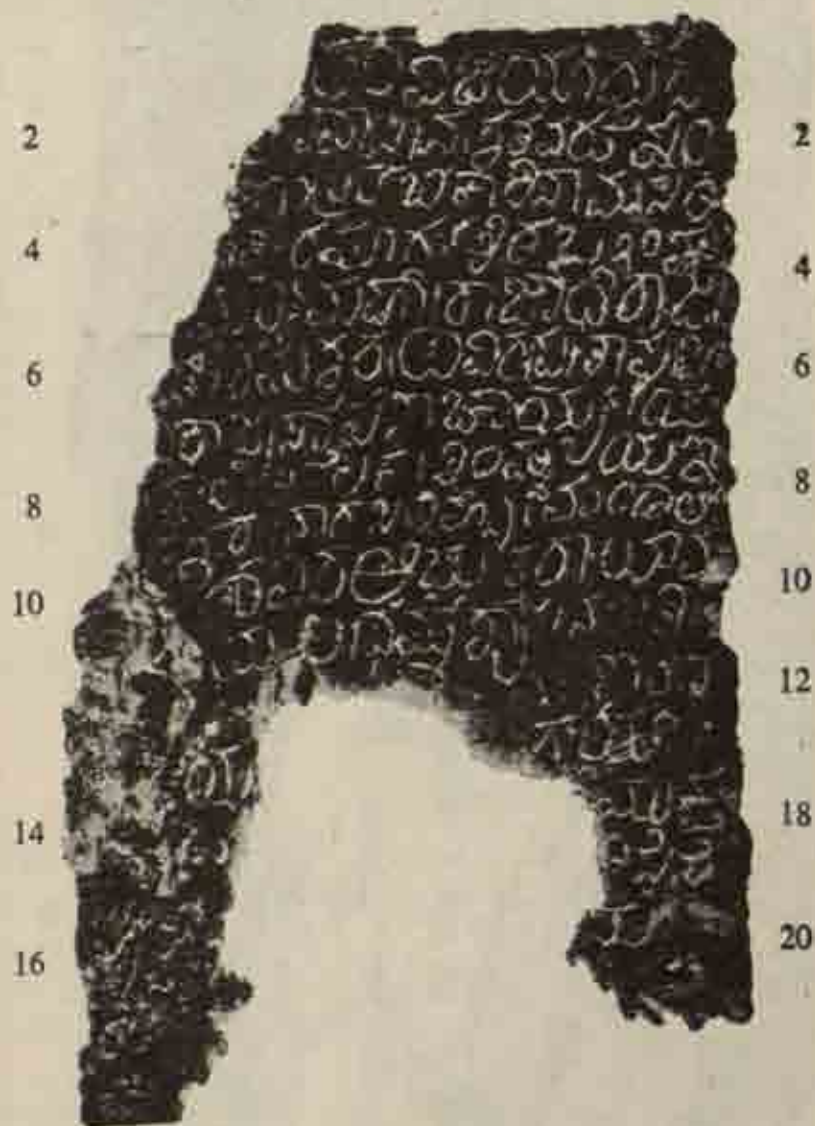
¹¹ This is a contraction of *Maṅgala-stava*, 'Tuesday'.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA - PLATE II
3. Inscription of Krishnadeva-arya, Saka 1444



Scale : One-fourth

4. Inscription, of Achyutaraya, V. S. 1588



Scale : One-fourth

- 7 Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāyalu
 8 vāim¹china vijaya-sāana-
 9 mu || Tīrumaladēvi-vallabhaka² ka-
 10 ruṇāmaya-hṛidaya rāja-kadi-
 11 śhīrava Iśvara-Narasa-bhūpurandara-
 12 vara-nandana
 13 bāsa-da-
 14 ppuvara
 15 gaṁdḍāh-
 16 kkā [||*]³
 17 yī(1)-sā-
 18 sanamu
 19 Mukku-
 20 Tīmaya
 21 vrāsenu⁴ [||*]

4.—Inscription of Achyutarāya, V.S. 1588

This inscription⁵ is engraved on a sculptured stone slab kept in the Mahādēva shrine to the right of the Viṣṇupāda temple in the compound of the latter. The inscribed surface measures about 20 inches in height and 12 inches in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An image of the goddess Durgā is cut in relief in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. Lines 1-11 of the record are engraved above the figure of the goddess while lines 12 and 18-21 are engraved to its right and lines 13-17 to its left. Line 12 should have properly been incised to the left of the image above lines 13-17.

The inscription is written in Telugu characters of about the 16th century and the letters very closely resemble those of the record of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya's time, edited above. The letter *cā* is written in two different forms (cf. *stāpan-āchāryya* in line 7 and *Achchutta* in line 10), while *t* resembles the modern Telugu *k*. *B* has been used for *v* in *Vikāri* (line 3). The language is Telugu and the record is written in prose. The wrong spelling of the words *Iśvara* for *Iśvara* (lines 8-9), *Achchutta* for *Achyuta* (line 10), *śyānaṁ* for *śānaṁ* (line 11), *sāenu* for *chāenu* (lines 20-21), etc., exhibits the poor knowledge of the composer especially when compared with the composition of the record of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya's time.

¹ Read *edgāh*.

² Read *vallabha*.

³ This stanza is from the *Pōrijāṭṭapāraṇamu*, Canto 2, verse 105. Lines 12-16, as indicated above, are engraved to the left of an excavated bed containing the figure of a deity in relief.

⁴ Lines 17-21 are incised to the right of the said excavated bed.

⁵ It has been registered as No. 122 of A.R.Ep., 1937-38, Appendix B.

The date of the inscription is very interesting. It is quoted in lines 1-4 as Śālivāhana-Śaka 1588, Vikārin, Mārgaśīra-ba. 30, Friday. But the year 1588 really belongs to the Vikrama Samvat and not to the Śaka era. This is clearly suggested by several indications. In the first place, Śaka 1588 was far removed from the cyclic year Vikārin of both the North Indian and South Indian calendars and the details of the date are irregular for the said Śaka year. Secondly, the cyclic year Vikārin of the northern calendar corresponded to V.S. 1588 and the Vikrama and northern cyclic years are sometimes found side by side in the records discovered at Gayā.¹ Thirdly, the details of the date are regular only in the case of the year V.S. 1588 corresponding to Vikārin of the North Indian calendar and this date tallies with the internal evidence of the record stated to have been set up during the reign of king Achyutarāya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara, who was the step-brother and successor of Krishnādēva-rāya and ruled in the period 1529-46 A.D. On the other hand, Śaka 1588 (1666 A.D.) would fall more than a century after the period of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. The details of the date, viz. V.S. 1588, Vikārin, Mārgaśīra-ba. 30, Friday, regularly correspond to the 8th December 1531 A.D.

The date of the inscription discussed above is followed by a passage in lines 5-11 stating that the *dharma-śāsana* belonged to king Śrī-viṭa-Achyutarāya-mahārāja, the son of Nārasiṃha, grandson of Išvara and great-grandson of Timmaya. The expression *dharma-śāsana* means 'a document relating to religious merit' and undoubtedly refers to the inscription under study. It is quite appropriately employed in the present context since the record was apparently set up by a person who made a pilgrimage to Gayā on the king's behalf. King Achyutarāya is endowed in the inscription with the epithets *Rājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Vīrapratāpa* as well as *Hindu-rājya-sthāpan-āchārya* (i.e. one who can teach how to establish the sovereignty of the Hindus) and *Yadu-kula-tilaka* (i.e. an ornament of the Yadu family). Lines 12 ff. state that a certain Timmaṇṇa made the occupants of the Vijayanagara throne *Gayā-mukta*. The passage *Vijayanagara(r)-śimhāsana-karta[ta]* in lines 13-17 apparently refers to the departed ancestors of king Achyutarāya mentioned in the record. The expression *Gayā-mukta* (literally, 'emancipated at Gayā') no doubt means that Timmaṇṇa performed the *Śrāddha* of Achyutarāya's ancestors on the king's behalf at Gayā and thereby led their spirits to emancipation. Timmaṇṇa was probably a priest of the Vijayanagara king.

The inscription gives the genealogy of king Achyutarāya from his great-grandfather Timmaya who is the earliest historical figure in the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and is mentioned only in a few copper-plate grants² of his descendants and in literary works like the *Manucharitramu*³ and *Amuktamālyada*.⁴ He has been identified with the chief named Tirumalaideva mentioned in two inscriptions from Tanjāvūr⁵ and Srirāgam.⁶ The earlier of the two records is dated in Śaka 1377 (1455 A.D.) and refers to the chief as *Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Mēdinimittaragaṇḍa Kaṭhārisēvara Sāluva-Tirumalaideva-mahārāja*. His mention in a stone inscription of Achyutarāya is striking and seems to be explained by the fact that he was one of Achyutarāya's ancestors whose *śrāddha* was performed by Timmaṇṇa at Gayā. Timmaṇṇa was apparently sent to Gayā by Achyutarāya in order to perform the pilgrimage on his behalf and at his cost as well as to celebrate the *śrāddha* ceremony of his departed ancestors. It is impossible to believe that king Achyutarāya himself visited Gayā or had anything to do with South Bihar.

¹ See, e.g., Bhandarkar's List, No. 370 which comes from Gaya and is dated V.S. 1222 and Vikārin.

² Above, Vol. I, pp. 363, etc.

³ *Manucharitramu*, Canto I (introduction), verses 23-24.

⁴ *Amuktamālyada*, Canto I (introduction), verses 24-25.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. II, p. 117, Ins. No. 23.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 39 of 1892.

The well-known city of Vijayanagara (modern Hampi in the Bellary District of Mysore State) is the only geographical name mentioned in the inscription besides Gayā.

TEXT¹

- 1 . . .² Śrī-vijay-śābu(bhyu)da-
- 2 . . .³ livāhana-śata⁴-varuṣaṁ-
- 3 . . .⁵ 1588 Bī(Vī)kārī-nāma-saṁ-
- 4 .⁶tsara Mārggaśira-ba 30 Śu⁷
- 5 .⁸man-mahā⁹ |¹⁰ rājādhirāja¹¹ |¹²
- 6 [ja]-paramēśvara | śrī-vīrapratāpa | Him-
- 7 [du]-rājya-stā(sthā)pan-āchāryya | Ya-
- 8 [du]-kula-tilaka | Tim(Ti)mmaya I-
- 9 rāśvara¹³ | Nārasimhaya(ha) | maṇḍalē-
- 10 . . .¹⁴śrī-vīra-Achchutta¹⁵rāja-ma-
- 11 . . .¹⁶yala | dha[r¹⁷]mma-śyā(śā)saṁ | Tim-
- 12 ¹⁸maṇḍala
- 13 ¹⁹[Vī]jaya-
- 14 [na]garāṁ(ra)-
- 15 siṁhā-
- 16 sana-ka-

¹ From impressions.

² The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *śaṁśi*.

³ The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *ya-śa*.

⁴ The word intended is apparently *Saka*. But, as indicated above, we have to read *Vīkrama-saṁvatsaraḥ* for *Śālinādhana-Saka-varuṣam*.

⁵ The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *śābu*.

⁶ The akṣara lost here may be restored as *va*.

⁷ This is a contraction of *Sukra-vāra*, 'Friday'.

⁸ The akṣara lost here may be restored as *śrī*.

⁹ This *śyā* and others in this and the following lines are redundant.

¹⁰ The akṣara lost here may be restored as *rā*.

¹¹ Read *śvara*.

¹² The two akṣaras lost here may be restored as *śvara*.

¹³ Read *Achchuta*. Sandhi has not been observed.

¹⁴ The lost akṣaras may be restored as *ādrā*.

¹⁵ This line was incised by the engraver to the right of the image of Durgā above lines 18-21 through oversight.

¹⁶ Lines 15-17 are engraved to the left of the image.

17 rta[ia]

18 ¹Gayā-

19 mukta-

20 m aś(chō)ee-

21 nu [i*]

* Lines 18-21 are engraved to the right of the image of Durgā below line 12.

No. 21—VERAVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA BHIMA II

(1 Plate)

V. P. JOHARAPURKAR, NAGPUR

(Received on 2.4.1958)

This inscription¹ was found near the Police Station at **Prabhās Pāṭan** (**Vērāval**) and is now deposited at the Junagadh Museum. I am editing the inscription from an excellent inked impression received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a **stone slab** measuring 18" × 16". The left half of the slab is lost. The inscription originally contained 25 lines with 64 letters in each. Approximately 28 letters from each line are now lost with the left half of the slab. The writing is well executed and it is in a good state of preservation except in the fifteenth line. The **language** is Sanskrit and the **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century A.D.

The inscription opens with two invocatory verses; but the name of the deity invoked is lost. The next three stanzas describe the capital city of [**Anahilla**]pātaka. Verses 6-7 mention **Mūlarāja** described as respected by all kings and as the uprooter of all enemies. The following two verses refer to the kings who succeeded Mūlarāja. Verses 10-12 refer to the ruling king **Bhīma**. Then comes a description of **Achārya** Kundakunda of Nandi-saṅgha in three verses. Verses 16-18 refer to a line of teachers that started from Kundakunda. The next two verses describe Śrīkīrti as a prominent pontiff of the line. Verses 21-23 appear to refer to Śrīkīrti's pilgrimage from **Chitrakūṭa** to 'the holy place of Nēminātha', i.e., Gīrnar, to the welcome he received at **Anahillapura** and to the title **Maṇḍalāchārya** that was conferred on him by the king. Verse 24 refers to the **Mūlavasatikā** temple of Anahillapura.² The next few verses describe the teachers who succeeded Śrīkīrti. These names include Ajitachandra, Chārūkīrti, Yaśaḥkīrti and Kāśhmakīrti. Their interrelation is not clear due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription. Verses 34-41 describe the restoration of a shrine which is probably the temple of Chandraprabha referred to in verse 42. The restoration was made probably at the instance of **Maṇḍalaganyā** Lalitakīrti referred to in verse 40. Verse 42 refers to a miracle connected with the image of Chandraprabha. It is stated that the water used for its bath cured leprosy. Verse 44 gives the date of the restoration of the temple and verse 45 mentions the name of the author of the inscription, viz., Pravarakīrti.

As noted above, the inscription belongs to the reign of Bhīma who has to be identified with king **Bhīma II** of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat. Numerous inscriptions of his time have come to light, ranging from 1178 to 1239 A.D.³ Bhīma was a minor when he succeeded his brother Mūlarāja II and he was supported by Vāghēlā Arjūnārāja and his son Lavaprasāda in the difficulties that he faced in the earlier part of his reign. Line 3 of our inscription seems to refer to this fact. Bhīma had to face the invasions of the Yādava kinga Bhīllama and Jaitugi, Paramāra Subhājavarmān and the Muslims under the leadership of Qutbuddin. In 1197 A.D. his capital Anahillapātaka was plundered by the Muhammadans. In the latter part of his reign, Bhīma secured the assistance of Virādhavala, son of Lavaprasāda, and his ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla. He was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla whose earliest known date is 1242 A.D.

¹ It is registered as No. 403 of Appendix B in A. E. Ep., 1930-31.

² [The temple seems to have been named after Mūlarāja I.—Ed.]

³ *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 78-81.

by Sabaarakirti whose disciple Viryachandra was the teacher of Śrīchandra, author of the *Kathā-kāśha*. The patrons of Śrīchandra were the grandsons of one Sajjana who was the *Dharmasthāna-gāthāika* of king Mūlarāja of Apahillapura.

Little is known about other teachers mentioned in the inscription. The *Nandinaniga Paṭṭāvali*¹ names one Chārūkīrti in V. 8. 1262-64. His identification with the teacher of that name mentioned here remains uncertain.

The inscription testifies to the flourishing condition of Jainism in Gujarat in the reign of Bhīma II, even after a setback received under the rule of Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II. It also goes to prove that the Digambara sect of the Jains continued to flourish in Gujarat even under the overwhelming influence of the great Śvētāmbara teacher Hēmachandra who is probably referred to in line 15 of our inscription.

TEXT*

[Metres: Verses 1-23, 25-28, 33-38 *Anuṣṭup*; verses 24, 31, 39-40, 44-45 *Āryā*; verse 41 *Indravajrā*; verse 42 *Sādūlavikrīṭa*; verse 43 *Māhāt*.]

- 1अबभ्रति नित्यमद्यापि वारिधौ ॥[१*] भूयादभीष्टसंसिद्धेय सु.....
- 2पाटकाख्यं पत्तनं तद्विराजते ॥३ मन्ये वेधा विधायैतद्विधित्सुः पुनरीदृशं(धम्)॥ (1) [क].....
- 3[न]र्द्वैत्रंयमंत्रज्ञैर्यत्र लक्ष्मीः स्थिरीकृता ॥५ तन्निःशेषमहोपालमीलिषुष्टाहि.....
- 4सौ नृपः । तेनोत्थातासुहृन्मूलो मूलराजः स उच्यते ॥७ एकैकाधिकभूपालाः सम-
- 5[वाजि]व्रजचुराहतं(तम्) । धतुच्छमुच्छलत्सूर्यपर्व्वन्नममजीजनत् ॥९ पौषवेण
प्रतापेन पुण्येन
- 6रज्युनविक्रमः । श्रीभीमभूपतिस्तेषां राज्यं प्राज्यं करोत्ययं(यम्) ॥११ भालाक्ष-
राण्यनम्राणां यो वेभञ्ज म-
- 7अदिसंधे गणेश्वराः । बभूवुः कुंदकुंदाख्याः साक्षात्कृतजगत्तयाः ॥१३ येषामा-
काशगामित्वं त्या
- 8तपचक्रमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं(लम्) । रचयित्वाय जल्पन्ति येऽज्यत्रियमपूर्व्वकं(कम्) ॥१५
कालेऽस्मिन् भारते क्षेत्रे जाता
- 9[धुरो]णास्तत्त्व(त्व)वर्त्मनि । तेषां चारित्रिणा वंशे भूरयः सूरयोऽभवन् ॥१७
सद्वेधा द्यापि निद्वेषाः सकला अक
- 10भावस्याहरोह तत् । श्रीकीर्तिं प्राप्य सत्कीर्तिं सूरि सूरिगुणं ततः ॥१९ यदीयं
देशनावारि सम्यग्नि
- 11[कु]द्विचक्रकुटाच्चचाल सः । श्रीमन्नेमिजिनाधीशतीर्थयात्रानिमित्ततः ॥२१ अणहि-
त्सुपुरं रम्यमाजगा

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 77.

* From an impression.

VERVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA BHIMA II



Scale : One-third

No. 22—UNCHAHRA FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1294

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.5.1958)

The inscribed slab was secured for the Allahabad Municipal Museum from the village of Unchahra in the former Nagod State, now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The fragmentary inscription was noticed in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff., and published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 186 ff., without illustration.¹ It is re-edited here since our views do not entirely agree with those of the previous writers on the *...*

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about 17½ inches in height and about 12 inches in breadth. There are altogether 21 lines of writing, the first of which is only partially preserved. But it appears that the first line of the inscription is completely broken away along with the upper part of the stone, so that the first line of the extant part of the record is really line 2 of the inscription. A few letters are broken away and lost at the end of several of the lines. The *ākṣaras* are about three quarters of an inch in height.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. There are five stanzas in the first half of the epigraph in lines 1-13, the rest of it in lines 13-22 being in prose. The palaeography and orthography of the inscription closely resemble those of the later records of the Gāhaḍavāla kings, although it is a few decades later than the latest known Gāhaḍavāla epigraph. The use of final *m* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses and of the class nasal instead of *anuvāra* in some cases are interesting orthographical features of the inscription under study.

The date of the record is given in the prose part in lines 18-20 as the **Damanaka-chaturdaśī** *tithi* in the year 1294 (in words) apparently of the Vikrama Samvat. Unfortunately the name of the week-day is lost. The month is not mentioned by the scribe no doubt because the name of the *tithi* gives a clear indication. We know that Damanaka-chaturdaśī is the name of the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Chaitra.² V.S. 1294, Chaitra-su. 14, seems to correspond to Tuesday, March 30, 1238 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction and consecration of a temple of the god Śiva styled **Vindhyāśvara** by a lady whose name appears to be **Uddalladēvi**. The name occurs in the prose part in line 17. It was apparently also mentioned in verse 1; but the passage containing the letters appears to have broken away. Where exactly the temple was built is not specified; but probably it was built near the village of Unchahra where the inscribed stone slab has been found. Verse 3 suggests that the temple stood on a hillock pertaining to the Vindhyan range and the suggestion seems to be supported by the name Vindhyāśvara applied to the deity installed in it. A hillock actually stands near the village.

Verse 1 of the inscription apparently introduces the lady who was responsible for the construction of the temple in question, although the passage containing her name, as already noted above, seems to have broken away. There is a prayer in this stanza for the continuity and continuous rule probably of the royal family to which she belonged. Verse 2 speaks of **Rāṇakachakravartin Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa** alias **Dharmadēva** who was related to the mother (*mātri-pakṣa*) of the said lady. The introduction of this ruler, who was probably the maternal grandfather or uncle of the lady, is

¹ See also *ARANI*, 1935-36, pp. 95-96.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 134.

difficult to explain unless it is supposed that he was a ruler of the Unchahra area where the temple was built by her. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) state how the lady caused a temple of the god Śūlin or Dhūrjati (i.e. Śiva) styled Vindhyaśvara to be built apparently on the Vindhya. The purpose behind the construction of the temple is stated to have been the lady's desire to obtain wealth including sons and grandsons as well as the salvation of her dead ancestors. The last stanza (verse 5) states that the eulogy was composed by *Paṇḍita Sukhākara*.

The second half of the inscription in prose repeats parts of what is already stated in the versified section discussed above. But, although it does not mention *Rānakachakravartin Lakshmana alias Dharmadēva*, it gives some interesting details not found in the verses. Here the lady **Uddalladēvi** is stated to have caused the temple of **Vindhyaśvara** to be built and consecrated it on the **Damanaka-chaturdaśī** in **V.S. 1294** for obtaining wealth including children and grand children as well as for her own beatitude and the salvation of the twentyone past generations of her family. It is possible to think that reference is here to seven generations of each one of the three families to which she was related, viz. the families to which her father, mother and husband belonged. A damaged passage in line 20 seems to suggest that she performed the pious deed as a result of the god Vindhyaśvara having ordered her to do so in a dream. The lady is further described as born in the **Kanyakubja** country and to have been the daughter of *Mahāsāmantarāja Bharahadēva* of the **Rāshṭra** family. *Rāshṭra* here is apparently a mistake for *Rāshtrakūṭa*. This shows that the lady was a scion of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* ruling family of *Kanyakubja*, i.e. *Kanoj*. She is stated to have been the *paṭṭa-rājā* or chief queen of a chief named **Mahamandadēva** who is described as a *sāmānta* or feudatory of a ruler of the **Gāhāḍavāla** dynasty, whose name appears to be **Araḍakkamalla**. A person named *Paṇḍita Śasyakara* is mentioned at the end of the inscription in line 22 apparently as the writer indicating that he wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions no less than four rulers who flourished in the early decades of the thirteenth century in different parts of U. P. when that region is generally believed to have formed an integral part of the dominions of the Muhammadans. These four rulers, who are not known from any other source, are : (1) *Rānakachakravartin Lakshmana-Dharmadēva* of the Unchahra region ; (2) *Mahāsāmantarāja Bharahadēva* of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* dynasty of *Kanoj* ; (3) *Sāmānta Mahamandadēva*, a feudatory of the *Gāhāḍavāla* king ; and (4) king **Araḍakkamalla** of the *Gāhāḍavāla* family. Of these, the first three were feudatories. But, while *Mahamandadēva*, whose name seems to exhibit an influence of the Arabic name *Muḥammad*, was a subordinate of the *Gāhāḍavāla* king, the overlords of *Lakshmana-Dharmadēva* and *Bharahadēva* are not known. Whether they acknowledged the supremacy of the Muhammadans is not clear, although that is not improbable even if the fact has not been indicated in the inscription. The real status of *Gāhāḍavāla Araḍakkamalla* is also difficult to determine. He had no doubt some feudatories under him ; but neither subordinative nor imperial epithets have been used with his name.

The *Set-Mahet* inscription¹ of 1119-20 A.D. speaks of *Rāshtrakūṭa Gōpāla*, king of *Gādhīpura* (i.e. *Kanoj*), and king *Madana*. This *Madana* has been identified with *Madanapāla* mentioned as the son of *Gōpāla* in the *Budaun* stone inscription² of the time of *Lakhanapāla* who represented the fourth generation after *Madanapāla* and may have flourished about a century later in the beginning of the thirteenth century. *Bharahadēva* of our inscription may have belonged to a branch of the same house. *Lakhanapāla* of the *Budaun* inscription may be identified with *Lakshmana-Dharmadēva* of our record if it is believed that marriage was allowed between different

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 204

² *Ibid.*, No. 1670.

No. 23—WARANGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAGHUDEVA, KALI YEAR 4561

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.5.1958)

Many of the imperial ruling families of the Deccan had their capitals in the former Hyderabad State now merged in the Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Bombay States. Thus Mānyakhēta of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Kalyāṇa of the Later Chālukyas and Kalachuris, Dēvagiri of the Yādavas and Anumakonda and Varanigallu of the Kākatīyas were all situated in different parts of the former State of Hyderabad. It was therefore expected that the area, if properly explored, would yield a large number of interesting inscriptions and some time ago a band of my colleagues and assistants were sent to various parts of the region to begin the work. In the course of the exploration of a very small part of the area in 1957-58, Mr. K. H. V. Sarma and Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam, both Epigraphical Assistants in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Warangal and copied some inscriptions that were found at the place. One of these inscriptions from Warangal is edited in the following pages. I am thankful to Mr. Sarma and Pandit Subrahmanyam for the assistance they have rendered me in the preparation of this article.

About 150 years ago, Mackenzie's Pandits copied the inscription and their tentative transcript finds a place in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, 15-4-5, p. 106 (cf. *Bhārati*, Vol. XII, Part i, pp. 426 ff.). Unfortunately the Pandits could not read the epigraph satisfactorily.

The inscription is divided into two parts, the first engraved on the right wall of the gate of the Warangal fort while the second part is incised on the left wall of the same structure. The first part contains ten lines of writing covering an area about five feet in length and two feet and one inch in height. There are only eight lines in the second part which covers a space about six feet and six inches long and one foot and eight inches high. The epigraph is continued from the first to the second part.* The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory as the letters are rubbed off in many parts of the record.

The characters of the inscription are Telugu. Initial *a* has a rather peculiar form resembling modern Telugu *ig* in shape. But the language is Oriya which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. There are many errors in the language and orthography of the record. The date, quoted in lines 2-5, is **Saturday** (*Bṛiha-cāra*†), **Mṛgaśīrā-nakṣatra**, **Māgha-śu. 10**, in the year **Pramāthin** which is mentioned as corresponding to the **Kali year** indicated by the defective passage *yekāśatād-adhika-pañcha-śat-śtara-chaṭu[ḥ]-śahasra-parimitē*. The expression *pañcha-śat-śtara* (i.e. 'with the addition of 500') qualifying *chaṭuś-śahasra* (i.e. 4,000) in the same context suggests that the number intended in *yekāśatād-adhika* qualifying *pañcha-śata* should be less than hundred. The word *yeka* (*ēka*, 'one') forming the first part of this expression clearly suggests that the intended number is one of those immediately following 10 or any of its multiples between 20 and 90. But the name *Pramāthin* applied to the year, which apparently corresponded to one of the **Kali years** from 4501 to 4599, shows that the **Kali year 4561 current** (i.e. **Kali 4560 expired**) is intended since no other year in the said period of 99 years corresponds to the cyclic year *Pramāthin* of the South Indian calendar. Saturday, Māgha-śu. 10, Mṛgaśīrā-nakṣatra, in **Kali 4561 current**, corresponds regularly to the **2nd February, 1460 A.D.**

The proposed emendation of *yekāśatād-adhika* as *ekāśaśty-adhika* is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription. As will be seen below, the record mentions Raghudeva, the governor

† For *Bṛiha-cāra* meaning Saturday, see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 100, note 1.

of Rajahmundry under Gajapati Kapilēśvara of Orissa, in connection with the Oriya conquest of the fortress of Vōrūngallu in the land (*rājya*) of Varāṅgallu, i.e. the Warangal fort. The occupation of Warangal by the Oriyas is mentioned in another inscription¹ in the fort, referring to its conquest by Kapilēśvara's son Hambira and bearing the date Pramāthīn, Māgha-śu. 10, Va (i.e. Vādḍa-vāra, Saturday) which is exactly the same as the date of the record under study. There is no doubt that both the inscriptions refer to the same event, viz. the conquest of the Warangal fort by the generals of Gajapati Kapilēśvara. It may be that Hambira was the chief commander of the Gajapati forces and that Raghudēva was the second in command. It is interesting to note that Hambira's inscription is found on the eastern gate of the Warangal fort while Raghudēva's record is incised on its western gate, locally known as the fifth gate. This appears to show that the two leaders of the Gajapati forces led the attack on the Warangal fort from two different sides. Raghudēva, the Oriya governor of Rajahmundry, is also known from several of his inscriptions bearing dates in the sixth decade of the fifteenth century.²

The object of the inscription is recorded in two sentences in the last two lines (lines 17-18). The concluding part of the first of these sentences is very much damaged. But it seems to read as *Vōrūngauṣi-durga-patimka sādhiḷā* in which *sādhiḷā* (past tense of the Oriya verb *sādhidā*) has no doubt been used in the sense of 'subdued' or 'defeated'. It is therefore stated here that Raghudēva-narēndra subdued the lord of the Vōrūngauṣi-durga (i.e. the Warangal fort). The second sentence says that he spared the lives of the governor of the fort and the latter's followers (*yihara sasainya-sahitya jīva-dāna dilā*). The conquest of Warangal by the generals of Kapilēśvara is one of the events in the struggle between the Bahmanis of Gulbarga and the Gajapatis of Orissa.

The inscription is interesting from several points of view. In the first place, it represents the god Vishṇu as the imperial ruler of the earth and apparently as the overlord of the emperor Kapilēśvara of the Sūryavamśa Gajapati family of Orissa. The date of the record has been put against the background of eternity as it is represented as falling in the eternal reign period of the said god. This is because of the fact, as we have shown elsewhere,³ that Gaṅga Anāṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) dedicated his kingdom in favour of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri, who is regarded as a form of Vishṇu, and that the Gaṅga king's successors as well as the later imperial rulers of Orissa including their theoretical successors, the present Mahārājas of Puri, regarded themselves as the viceroys of the deity who was considered the real lord of the country. This conception is noticed in several inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty. The present epigraph is the only record outside the Gaṅga family, which echoes the same idea. There is, however, a slight difference in the conception as found in the inscription under review. The god is not represented here as the lord of the kingdom of Orissa with the king of Orissa as his viceroy. The idea expressed in our record is that the god was the lord of the earth while Kapilēśvara, endowed with imperial style, was the king of the Utkala country under him. This mode of introducing a king is possibly the only case of the kind in the whole range of Indian epigraphy.

The second point of interest in the record is its style which exhibits an influence of certain inscriptions of the Gaṅga. Some of the passages in Kapilēśvara's description in the present inscription are copied from records like the Drākṣhārāma,⁴ Bhubaneswar⁵ and Kāñchīpuram⁶ inscriptions of Anāṅgabhīma III and one of the Kapilās inscriptions⁷ of Narasimha I (c. 1238-64 A.D.). The

¹ Above, p. 1, note 3: *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 280-81; cf. *SI*, Vol. VII, p. 372, No. 733.

² Above, pp. 1-2.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 1b.

⁴ *SI*, Vol. IV, p. 467, No. 1229.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

⁷ See above, pp. 41 ff.

most interesting among these epithets are those which speak of the king as *Mahādeva-putra*, *Purushottama-putra* and *Durgā-putra*. In the similar representation of Anagabhīma III and his son Narasimha I, one may notice the fact that these kings, in spite of their staunch devotion to the god Vishnu in the shape of Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, could not possibly dissociate themselves totally from the Śaiva leanings of their ancestors. Since, however, the hold of Vaishnavism became gradually stronger and stronger on the kings of Orissa, it is rather strange that the same epithets were applied to Kapilēśvara who flourished two centuries later. But this may be explained by the suggestion that the Sūryavamsis were also Śaivas originally. It has, however, to be noticed that a similar description of Kapilēśvara is not noticed in any other inscription of the Sūryavamsi Gajapati family. Are we then to suppose that the reason underlying the above description of Kapilēśvara was the Śaiva leanings of Raghudēva? It will be seen from our analysis below that Raghudēva calls himself *Śrī-Durgā-varaputra* as well as *Śrī-Jagannāthadēva-[labdha]-vara-prasāda*. He also bore the typical Śaivite name Virabhadra. This prince as well as his father and grandfather are further represented as devotees of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī or Maṅgalachandī. These two deities are probably to be identified respectively with Śiva and Pārvatī since the name Mallinātha is known to be often applied to a Śiva-līṅga¹ and Chandī and Maṅgalachandī are both well-known names of the said goddess. As Raghudēva's grandfather was Kapilēśvara's father, it is possible to think that the family was originally Śaiva and that Kapilēśvara was the first of its members, who was devoted to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha. Kapilēśvara may have become a devotee of the said deity after his accession to the throne of Gajapati Bhānu IV, since theoretically the Gaṅga throne belonged to the god.

The first section of the inscription in lines 1-5 gives the date, viz. Saturday, Māgha-śuk. 10, Mrigashīrā-nakṣatra in the year 4561 current (in words) in the first quarter of Kali which is one of the four ages, the name of the year being Pramāthīn. This year is mentioned with reference to the victorious reign of the illustrious god Vishnu just as is done in the case of dates falling in the reigns of particular kings. In consonance with this interesting reference, the date is stated to have fallen in the second Parārdha of the god Brahman, in the Śvētavarāha Kalpa and the twenty-eighth Chatur-yuga of the Vaivasyata Manvantara. Lines 5-6 likewise mention the locality, where the inscription was put up, in an equally grand setting. The concluding part of this passage cannot be fully deciphered. But it seems to speak of the tract of Varuṅgallu (Warangal) within the dominions of Umainnāhā (Nāhā) described as the Suratāga of Kalubārāga, i.e. the Bahmani Sultān Humāyun Shāh (1458-61 A.D.) of Gulbarga. This land is stated to have been situated in the western tract of the Āndhra country which formed a part of Bhāratavarāha lying in the Jambūdvīpa section of the earth. This is in consonance with the old conception according to which Jambūdvīpa was one of the four or seven dvīpas constituting the earth. The representation of a locality in a similar setting, is however, not unknown in South Indian inscriptions. Thus an inscription² of 1077 A.D. gives the situation of the capital of the Kadambas of Banavāsi in the following words: "Among the fourteen worlds is the middle world, one *raṅgu* in extent. In the centre of that middle world is the Golden Mountain, to the south of which is the Bhārata land, in which like the curls of the lady earth shines the Kuntala country, to which an ornament [with various natural beauties] is Banavāsi."

The next passage in lines 7-17 introduces Raghudēva-narēndra who was responsible for the setting up of the record. First is mentioned in lines 7-8 Jāgēśvaradēva-māhārāja described as a devotee of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī. Next is described Jāgēśvara's son Pratāpa-Kapilēśvaradēva-māhārāja in lines 8-14. Kapilēśvara is stated to have

¹ Cf. P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telugu Districts*, Part III, 1956, Nos. Mn. 18-25 (pp. 49 ff.).

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab No. 262. See also the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka, verses 5 ff. (above Vol. XXXII, p. 260).

becomes a lord of the *Utkala* country at the command of the illustrious Purushottama described as the lord of the fourteen worlds, i.e. the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri. Next he is described as 'the son of Mahēśvara (Śiva)', 'the son of Purushottama (Viṣṇu)' and 'the son of Durgā'. As already indicated above, these epithets and some others in the description of Kapilēśvara appear to have been borrowed from certain records of the Gaṅga king Anāṅgabhinna III and his son and successor Narasimha I. In the inscription under study, Kapilēśvara is endowed with the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* and is described as belonging to the solar race. He is further called *śrī-vira-Gajapati* (the Gajapati who is an illustrious hero), *Gauḍēśvara* (lord of Gauḍa) and *vijāta-navakōṭi-Karnāṭ-ēśvara* (lord of the Karnāṭa-nine-crore country conquered by him). It is interesting to note that *Kalavarag-ēśvara* (i.e. the lord of Gulbarga) is not added here to Kapilēśvara's epithets as in other records. This is probably because the inscription was set up in an area belonging to the dominions of the Bahmani Sultāns of Gulbarga and the local people were expected to sneer at the hollowness of the claim.

Kapilēśvara was the first independent imperial ruler of the family and Raghudēva is known to have been his younger brothers' son and his viceroy at Rajahmundry. The mention of Jāgēśvara as a *māhārāja* (i.e. *mahārāja*) shows that he was also a ruling chief. This is supported by the evidence of the Raghudēvapura grant.¹ Lines 14-15 of our inscription mention Parasūrāmadēva as the younger brother of Kapilēśvara and as a devotee of Mallināthadēva and Maṅgalachandī (elsewhere called Gaṇamaṅgalachandī). Parasūrāmadēva-rāja's son Raghudēva is mentioned in the following lines. He is called *Virabhadra Raghudēva-narēndra* and is described as a devotee of the god Mallināthadēva and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī and also as having been a favourite son of the goddess Durgā and as favoured by Jagannāthadēva, i.e. the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri. It is further stated that Raghudēva was the ruler of *Rājamahēndravara*, i.e. *Rājamahēndrapura*, which is the modern Rajahmundry. As already indicated above, the object of the inscription is recorded in the last two lines (lines 17-18) which state that Raghudēva subdued the governor of the Warangal fort but that he spared the lives of the said Bahmani officer and his soldiers.

The god Mallinātha seems to have been the family deity of the ancestors of Kapilēśvara. Since Mallinātha as the name of a deity is very popular in the Telugu speaking areas and not in Orissa, the original home of the Sūryavamśi Gajapati family may have been in the Āndhra country. As we have elsewhere suggested,² the mother of Kapilēśvara was probably born in the Velama community of Āndhra.

The genealogy of the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa supplied by the present inscription represents Kapilēśvara and Parasūrāma as the sons of Jāgēśvara, and Raghudēva, governor of Rajahmundry, as the son of Parasūrāma. This information is already available from the Raghudēvapura and Dōrapālem grants of Raghudēva edited above.³ But Raghudēva's secondary name *Virabhadra* is known only from the present record.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have already been discussed above.

TEXT *

Part I

1 Śrī-Viṣṇu-tājya-pravarāddhamānasya¹ | adya [Brahmaṇḍ] dvitīya(ya)-parārddha | Svā-
(Śvā)ṭavarāha-kalpā |

¹ Above, pp. 1, 6 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7.

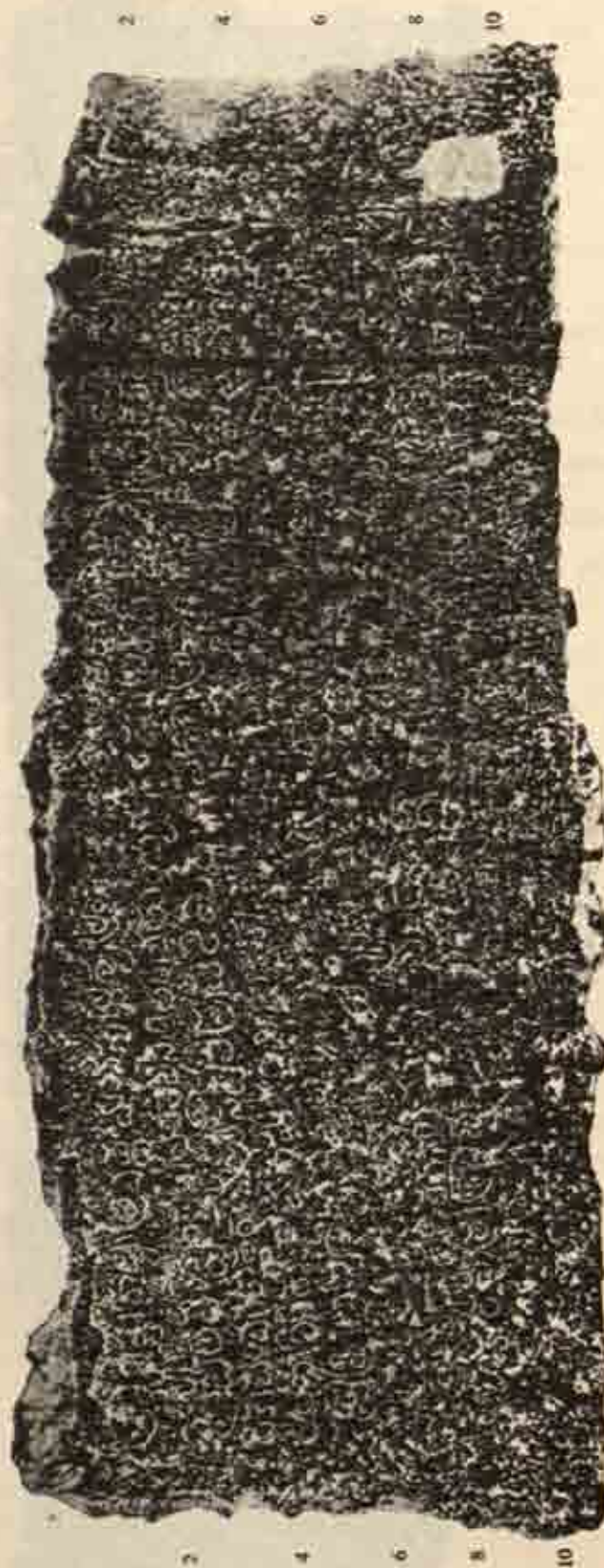
³ See *ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Better read 'māma'.

⁶ The *drpā* here and in other places in this and the following lines are superfluous.

WARANGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAGHUDEVA, KALI YEAR 4561
First Part



Scale : One-sixth

Second Part



12
14
16
18

12
14
16
18

- 2 *Vaivasvata-mānvanāṭṭa*(ta)ṛṣṇ | *aṣṭā*[*ṣṭ*]śatitām¹ | *chaturyyadigana*² *Kalē*(lau) | *prathamā-pādē* | *yāśasātād-a*-³
- 3 *dhika*- | *pañcha-śat-ōttara*- | *chatu*(h*)-*sahasra*- | *parimit*(ē) | *avadhō*⁴ | *Pramādi-samvatsarē* | *Uttar-ā*-
- 4 *yaṇē* | *śiśi-ruṭau*⁵ | *Māgha-māsē* | *śukla-pakṣhē* | *daśamvārī* tithau | *Bṛiha-vāsarē* | *Mṛigaśi*(ē)rā-
- 5 *nakṣatṛē* | *iha* *prithivyāṁ* | *Jambū-dvīpē* *Bha*(Bhā)*ra*(ta)-*varṣhē* | *Āndhra-dēś-ānta-rggata*-(*pāśchima*)-
- 6 *dīśā-bhāgē* | *Ka*(lu)*ḥ**araga*-*suratāṅga*- | *Umainuśāhā*⁶ | *Vōruṅgallu*- | *rājy*(ē)
- 7 *śrī-Mallināthadēva-Gaṇamaṅgalachamḍi-chara*(ṇa)-*sarāṇa* | *śrī-Jāgō*(v)*aradēva-māhā*-
- 8 [*rāya*](*kara*) *putra* | *śrī-chaturdāśa-bhuvan-ādhipati* (*śrīmatu*) | *śrī*-(*Puru*)*śhōttamasya* *a*-
- 9 *dēśād-Utkal*-(*ādihika*) | *kṛita-samara-mukt-ānēka-ripu-darppa-marḍana* | *bhuja-baja-pa-krāma* |
- 10 *pūjya-sattama*(h) | *Mahēśvara*-(*putra*) *char-ācha*(ra)-*jagan-mūla-kāṭaṇa*- | *śrī*-(*Puru*)-

Part II

- 11 *śhōttama-putra* | *śrī-Durgā-putra* | *trayī-vasuindharā-samuddharāṇa-pratāpa-prachandā*- | *dōr-ddandā*-(*mahā-varāha*) | *śrīman-mahā*(rā)-
- 12 [*jādhirāja*-*paramēśvara*] *Vaivasvata*-(*kūla*)-*praj*(s)*ūta* *rakṣā-dakṣa* | *stamb*(bhi)*ta* | *śrī-Rāma-guṇa*-⁷
- 13 *aśan*(kṛita) | *śrī-Sūrya-vamā*-*āvalambana-stambha* | *śrī-Vīra-Gajapati-Gavud*-*ēśvara* | *vijita-nava-kōṭi-Karnāt*-*ēśvara* | *Pratā*-
- 14 *pa*-*Kapilēśvara*- | *dēva-māhārājāṅkara* | *tasya*⁸ *anu*(ja) | *śrī-Mallinātha*- | *dēva-Maṅga*(a)*cha-mḍi-charana*-*śaranu* | *śrī-Para*-
- 15 [*u*]*rāmadēvām*(*yaṁ*)*kara* *putra* | *śrī-Mallināthadēva-Gaṇamaṅgalachamḍi-charana*- | *sara-nu* | *śrī-Jagō*(nnāthadēva)-(*labdha**)-
- 16 *vara-prasāda* | *śrī-Durgā-vara-putra* | *ripu*-(*darppa*)-*māna-marḍana*- | *yōka*⁹-*dakṣa* | *śrī-Rāja*(*mahēndra*)-

¹ Read "śatitama".² Read "r-yyagya".³ Read "śasasaty-a".⁴ Read abh.⁵ Read śiśi-ruṭau.⁶ Read śhā.⁷ śhāśi has not been observed here.⁸ The word is redundant.⁹ Read marḍan-aika.

17. *vara-tājya(ja) | śrī-Paruśa'rāmadēva-rāya-tāya | śrī-Vira[bha]dra-Raghu-dēva-narēśh-*
dra | Vōruṅga[m]ṭi-[l]argga-

18. [patimku] sādhiḥ | yihara sa-sainya-sahitya¹ jīva-dāna dīḥ [||*]

¹ Read *Paruśa*. The expression *śrī-Paruśarāma-dēvarāya-tāya* is, however, redundant since the same relationship between *Paruśarāma* and *Raghu-dēva* is already indicated in the passage *śrī-Paruśarāmadēva* (line 14) above.

² The intended word is *sahita* which is redundant.

No. 24—CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF AHAVAMALLA, SAKA 917

(1 Plate)

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.4.1958)

In December 1957, while touring in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District in the present Mysore State in search of inscriptions, I had the opportunity of copying about 21 inscriptions at Chikkerūr about six miles from Hirekerūr, the headquarters of the Taluk. The earliest inscription¹ so far found at Chikkerūr is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a stone set up in front of the temple of Banadavva. Long ago Burgess referred apparently to the same inscription² as lying in front of the temple of Banasankari that is the same as Banadavva. According to him, the date of that record is Śaka 975. It will be seen, however, that the date is Śaka 917 and not Śaka 975.

The stone is dressed only on the surface where the inscription is engraved. There are 17 lines of writing. The engraver seems to have marked out on the stone the space necessary for incising the inscription by a line both at the top and the bottom. But as that space was not enough, he had to continue the writing below the line at the bottom. Above the line at the top, there are the figures of the sun and the moon. The record is written in Kannada characters of about the tenth century A.D. Barring the imprecatory verse at the end which is in Sanskrit, the language of the epigraph is Kannada and it is written in prose.

The engraver has done his job in a very indifferent way and the record contains many mistakes; cf. *samvatsara* (lines 1-2) for *samvatsara*, *Paṃlguṇa* (lines 3-4) for *Phālguṇa*. The form of *m* is mostly cursive. The *akshara bhāsa* in line 2 has a peculiar form. Similarly noteworthy is the form of *n* in *Uppalaṇa* and *naḷeda* (line 9), *nijābbe* (line 11), *nātana* (line 12) and *naraḷ* (line 15). In *puppame* (line 4) the subscript is *y* and not *n* as is usually found in the inscriptions of that period.

The record is dated Śaka 917 (expressed partly in words and partly in figures), *Jaya, Phālguṇa Puppame* (i.e. 15), *Saturday, Uttarā-nakshatra*. The date, which is irregular, seems to be the 18th February 995 A.D.

The record opens with the word *snasti* followed by the date. Then it states that, when *Mahāmaṇḍaliśvara Āhavamalladēva* proceeded against *Uppala* (Utpala) in the course of his northern *dig-vijaya* after having subdued his adversaries in the south and when *Bhīmāyya* was governing *Banavāse-nāḍu* and *Nāgarjuna* was the *Nālgavūḍa*, *Paḷḷiga*, son of *Koṇḍavavigara Jōgayya* and *Nijābbe*, and his wife *Arasakka*, had the image of the goddess *Bhālari* installed. They also made a gift of land, obviously in favour of the deity.

The record does not give the name of the ruling king, but refers to a *Mahāmaṇḍaliśvara* named *Āhavamalla*. We know that the region in question was a part of the kingdom of the Western Chālukya king *Taḷapa II Āhavamalla* (973-97 A.D.). But it is difficult to identify *Āhavamalla* of our record with *Taḷapa II* since the former is referred to as *samadhigutopañchamahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍaliśvara* while the latter's records give him the usual sovereign titles borne by the Western Chālukya kings. *Āhavamalla* of our record may be identified with *Iṇṇabedamga Satyārāya*, the

¹ This has been registered as No. 255 of A.R. Ep., 1957-58, App. B.

² *Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*, p. 12.

son of Taila II. A record from Lakkundi¹ clearly suggests that this prince was known as *Ālavamalla*. The inscription thus offers evidence in support of the statement of Ranna that Satyāśraya assisted his father in his military affairs.²

As indicated above, the record refers to a time when *Mahāmayādāśvara* Ālavamalla proceeded against Utpala in the course of his northern *dig-vijaya* after he had put down his adversaries in the south. This indicates that Taila II had to face troubles in the south. The moment the Rāshtrakūṭas were defeated by him, the feudatories of the former declared their independence. Gaṅga Mārasihha went so far as to support the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indra IV in the latter's claim for the throne. It is well known, however, that Taila II succeeded in subduing them. But he had to face the Chōlas who were the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas as they had been of the Rāshtrakūṭas previously. The contemporary Chōla king Rājaraṣa I conquered Gaṅgavāḍi, Nolaṃbavāḍi and Taḍigaippāḍi,³ taking opportunity of the chaos that existed for some time after the disappearance of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Taila II took action in repelling the Chōla advance as is evidenced by an inscription⁴ found at Kōgaḷi in the Hadegalli Taluk of the Bellary District, according to which king Ālavamalla (i.e. Taila II) was ruling from Rodda (identified with Rodam in the Anantapur District) after having defeated the Chōlas and seized 150 elephants from the enemy, on Friday, the 23rd December 992 A.D. It is quite possible that, after the battle referred to in this record, Taila II appointed his own son as the governor of that territory.

Three years later, in 995 A.D., our record shows that Satyāśraya moved from the place and proceeded against Utpala in the north. This Utpala may be identified with Paramāra Muṇja.⁵ The fact that Satyāśraya proceeded against Utpala, i.e., Paramāra Vikpati Muṇja, is known for the first time from our record. The date of Muṇja's death has been placed between V.S. 1050 (993-94 A.D.), when Amitagati compiled his *Subhāshitaratnavandhā* during Muṇja's reign, and 997 A.D. when Taila II died.⁶ Our record minimises this gap. If by February 995 A.D., Satyāśraya was on his way against Utpala, the latter's death must have taken place after that date.

It is difficult to say whether Satyāśraya was directly responsible for the capture of Muṇja which led to the latter's death. *Mahāśaivanta* Bhīlāma claims in his Sangamner copper-plate grant,⁷ dated 1000 A.D., that he crushed the military force of the great king Muṇja and made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious Rāparāśga-Bhīma. He might have helped Satyāśraya, whose identification with Rāparāśga-Bhīma is suggested by Ranna's *Godāyuddha*,⁸ very considerably in the latter's battle against Utpala referred to in our record.

Bhīmayya. It is seen from our record, was ruling over Banavāsi. Several inscriptions from Yās-
tē⁹ speak of Kaṭamha Chāṭṭayyaśēva governing over Banavāsi in 993 A.D. Bhīmayya must have begun to govern the division some time after that date. Nāgārjuna, who is said to have been a *Nārgāyāśēva*, may perhaps be identified with his namesake who is stated in an inscription from Hītāchavūṭi in the Shimoga District¹⁰ to have been a *Nārgāyāśēva*.

¹ *SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 52.

² *Godāyuddha*, *Āvāsa* 2, verse 47.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, 2nd ed., pp. 174-75.

⁴ *SI*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 70.

⁵ Cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 47.

⁶ Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 857-58.

⁷ Above, Vol. II, pp. 212 ff.

⁸ For the names Bhīma, Śiḥama-Bhīma, Rāparāśga-Bhīma, etc., applied to Satyāśraya, cf. *Āvāsa* 1, verses 22, 32-33, 64, *Āvāsa* 2, verses 3, 47.

⁹ *A. S. Sp.*, 1939-40, B. K. Nos. 90, 91 and 92.

¹⁰ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VIII, Bd. 234.

CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF AHAVAMALLA, SAKA 917



Scale : One-fourth

Banavāse-nāḍu was the district round Banavāsi, the ancient capital of the Kadambas in the North Kanara District of the Mysore State.

TEXT¹

- 1 *Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-āti(1)ta-saṁ-
- 2 vastara*-śatamga]-om[bhai]nō
- 3 ṛa 17 [nō] Jaya-saṁvastara²da Paṁlgu-
- 4 ṛa*-ma(mā)sada puṇṇame Śanivāram³-utta[re]-
- 5 nakṣhattraṁ[1*]svasti samadhigata[pa]-
- 6 śchamahāśabda-mahāmam(ma)ṇḍa]śva-
- 7 ra śrīmat Āhavamalladēvaṁ da-
- 8 kaṣṭha-dig-bha(bhā)gavaṁ nira(rā)ku]aṣṭha māḍiy-u-
- 9 ttara-dig-vi]aṣṭha-geyd-Uppa]a[na] mēle nā]ed-a-
- 10 ndu Bhi(Bhī)mayyaṁ Banavāsi-nāḍan-āle Nāgārj]unaṁ [Nā]-
- 11 lga(lgā)muṇḍu geyye Koṁ(Ko)ṇḍavanigara Jōgayyaṁ Nijābhe-
- 12 ya magat Pa]lgaṁ(ga)n-ātana peṁ(pe)ṇḍatiy-[A]raṣakka-
- 13 nēka-ṣaṭṭugam-uṇḍu Bha]ariyaṁ pratisṭhe geyi-
- 14 *śida]* matṭa[la] keyya[nugge]* koṭṭaṁ¹⁰ ma[m*]ga]aṣṭha [1] Dēva-drabyaṁ(vyaṁ)
- 15 tilaṁ vapa yavadbhakṣaṁti¹¹ yē(yō) naraḥ [1*] tāvat-
- 16 vad-vaṛiṣa-sahasaraṇa viṣṭhayaṁ¹² jāya-
- 17 tē kṛimī¹³ [1*]

¹ From impressions.

² There is a symbol here at the beginning of the writing.

³ Read *śanivāra*.

⁴ The month referred to is Phālguna.

⁵ An anusvara sign seems to have been engraved above ma.

⁶ Read *ṣṣaṣṭha*.

⁷ This and the next line are engraved in smaller characters.

⁸ Read *geyida*.

⁹ The reading and interpretation of these letters are doubtful.

¹⁰ Read *koṭṭa*.

¹¹ The intended reading may be *vāpi yavadbhakṣaṁti*.

¹² Read *tavad-vāṛiṣa-sahasaraṇa viṣṭhayaṁ*.

¹³ There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff.

Verse 6 introduces Trailōkyachandra's queen *Kāśchana* or *Śrīkāśchana*, and the next stanza (verse 7) speaks of *Śrīchandra*, son of Trailōkyachandra and his queen. Verse 8 states that *Śrīchandra* brought the earth under his sole umbrella and this conventional description apparently suggests that he was the first independent or imperial ruler of the family. Verse 9 describes him as a *digvijayin* in the conventional way and this also supports the above suggestion. As will be seen below, there is another indication in favour of the same conclusion.

The prose passage (lines 17 ff.) following the above introductory part in verse reintroduces king *Śrīchandra* as in good health, i.e. as fit for making a grant. As in his other grants, the king is described as enjoying the imperial titles *Paramēśvara*, *Paramahastāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Paramasaṅgata* (i.e. one devoted to the Śagata or Buddha) *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailōkyachandra-dēva and as issuing the charter from his *jaya-skandhāvāra* (meaning 'capital' in this case) at Vikramapura. It has to be noticed that, while Trailōkyachandra is endowed with the title *Mahārājādhirāja* only, *Śrīchandra* is called *Paramēśvara-Paramahastāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*. This supports the suggestion that the father was a feudatory and the son an independent and imperial ruler. It seems that *Śrīchandra* threw off the allegiance to the king of Harikēla, conquered a considerable part of the latter's territories in South-East Bengal and transferred his capital from Chandradvīpa to Vikramapura in the Dacca District. The rise of *Śrīchandra* may have been a result of the struggle between the Pālas and the kings of Harikēla for the Dacca-Tippura region. The Mandhuk (Tippura District) inscription¹ of the first regnal year of Gōpāla II (c. 935-92 A.D.) shows that the Pālas succeeded in ousting Harikēla rule from Tippura before the middle of the tenth century. But shortly afterwards, *Śrīchandra* conquered the Dacca-Tippura region originally perhaps on behalf of the Harikēla king.

Śrīchandra must have flourished earlier than Gōvindachandra (c. 1015-40 A.D.) who apparently belonged to the same family and is described in Chōla records² as the lord of Vangāla-dēva (originally the same as Chandradvīpa but later the name of the Chandra empire in South-East Bengal). The armies of the Chōla king Rājendra I had an encounter with Gōvindachandra before 1023 A.D. For some time between the reign of *Śrīchandra* and that of Gōvindachandra, the Dacca-Tippura region seems to have been in the possession of king Mahipāla I (c. 992-1040 A.D.). This is suggested by the Bāghāurī and Nārāyanpur inscriptions dated respectively in the 3rd and 4th regnal years of the said Pāla monarch, both discovered in the Tippura District.³ Thus *Śrīchandra* seems to have ruled for at least about 46 years (cf. the issue of the Madanpur plate in the 46th year of his reign) about the second half of the tenth century between the earlier years of Gōpāla II and those of Mahipāla I.⁴

All the geographical names mentioned in connection with the details of the plots of land granted as given in lines 20-23 cannot be fully deciphered from the impressions, even though Bhattasali offered readings for all of them. There were altogether five plots of land. The first of these was situated in a village (called Durvāpatra and situated in Vallimundā-maṇḍala according to

¹ *IHQ.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.

² Cf. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

³ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1624; *Ind. Coll.* Vol. IX, pp. 121 ff.

⁴ Pāla rule appears to have been ousted from the Dacca-Tripura region by the successors of *Śrīchandra*. Two copper-plate grants of Laḍachandra and one of Gōvindachandra have been recently discovered at Mainamati in the Tippura District of East Pakistan. These charters, issued from Vikramapura, show that *Śrīchandra* was followed on the Chandra throne by his son Kalyāṇachandra, grandson Laḍachandra and great-grandson Gōvindachandra. Another charter, discovered along with the above, was issued by Viradharādēva in his 15th regnal year. He appears to have belonged to the Deva dynasty and flourished about the 13th century. For a note on these inscriptions, see F.A. Khan's report on 'Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla' in *Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati*, pp. 22-26.

Bhattasali) in the *Khēdiravillī viśaya* within *Paundra-bhukti* and measured 4 *halas*. The second plot, apparently in the same area, measured 3 *halas* and was situated in a locality the name of which appears to us to be *Nōṇḍiyājō-Jayastara*, although it was read by Bhattasali as *Lōṇiyājōdāprastara*. The third plot of land also measured 3 *halas* and was situated in the village of *Tivaravillī* no doubt in the same region. The fourth plot measured 2 *halas* and 6 *drōṇas* and was situated in a village (called *Parkaḍimundā* and situated in *Ikkāḍāsī-viśaya* according to Bhattasali) in the *Yōlā maṇḍala*. The fifth plot measured 7 *halas* and was situated in a village (the name of which is read by Bhattasali doubtfully as *Mūlapatrā*) apparently in the same neighbourhood. As stated in line 23, the five plots together measured 19 *halas* and 6 *drōṇas*. The exact areas of the land measures called *hala* and *drōṇa* (*drōṇavāpa* of earlier records) are unknown.

The list of officers and others to whom the royal order in respect of the grant was issued is found in lines 23 ff. It is similar to the lists found in other charters of Śrīchandra, although its resemblance is closer to the one in the *Rāmpāl* plate than that in the *Madanpur* plate. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee as enumerated in lines 30 ff. are also similar to those in the list found in the other records of the king.

The description of the donee is found in lines 33 ff. He was the Brāhmaṇa *Vyāsagaṇḍa*śarmaṇ who belonged to the *Vārdhakaśūka gōtra*, the *pravarā* of the three *ṛishis* and the *Kapya śākhā* and was the son of *Vihhugaṇḍa*, grandson of *Nannagaṇḍa* (or *Nandagaṇḍa*) and great-grandson of *Jayagaṇḍa*. He is described as the *Sāntivārika*, or performer of propitiatory rites, exactly as *Pitavāsagaṇḍa*śarmaṇ, the donee of Śrīchandra's *Rāmpāl* plate. But, while *Pitavāsa* received a grant for performing a ceremony called *Kōṭihōma*, *Vyāsagaṇḍa* received the lands mentioned in the present record for performing four *hōmas* in connection with a rite called *adbhuta-śānti*. In the expression *adbhuta-śānti* which is well-known to the student of the *Purāṇa* and *Saṃpiti* literature,¹ *adbhuta* is a synonym of *utpāda* and means any portentous or unusual phenomenon foreboding calamity to a king or a private individual or the population of a land, and *śānti* is a propitiatory rite performed with a view to averting such an evil.

The grant was made by the king in the name of Lord Buddha for the merit of his parents and himself. The charter is stated to have been authenticated by the *Dharmachakra* seal as in the case of the king's other grants. The gift lands were made a rent-free holding according to the well-known principle of *bhūmi-chchhīdra-nyāya* (i.e. the free enjoyment of land by one who first brought it under cultivation).

Lines 40 ff. contain some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas also known from the king's other records. The date, which has already been referred to above, is quoted in lines 46-47. This is followed by the contractions *mahāsā-ni*, *mahākṣa-ni*, two damaged letters between the two groups of letters probably reading *ann*. The contraction *ni* has been regarded as standing for *nibaddha* or *nirikṣita*, i.e. registered or examined.² The contractions *mahāsā* and *mahākṣa* apparently stand respectively for the official designations *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* and *Mahākṣapatalika*. It appears that the record was first examined by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* and then by the *Mahākṣapatalika*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of *Harikṣā*, *Chandra-dvīpa* and *Vikramapura* has been discussed above. The *Paundra-bhukti* was the territorial division, the headquarters of which were originally at the city of *Puṇḍravardhana* identified with modern *Mahāsthān* in the *Bogra District* of North Bengal. During the age of the *Pālas*, this *bhukti* or province included considerable parts of South-Eastern Bengal. Although the

¹ See the *Adbhuta-śānti* section of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapters 228-33; cf. also the quotations from a number of authorities in the *Saṃpiti* (Pārisiṣṭa), s. v. *adbhuta*.

² Cf. *JAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 216-17.

Chandra empire does not appear to have included any portion of North Bengal, the name of the old administrative unit was continued in use during the rule of the Chandras.¹ The villages mentioned in connection with the gift lands cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the district called Yôlâ-maṇḍala is also known from the Madanpur plate and has been located in the Manikganj subdivision of the Dacca District. The different plots of land were probably situated in two districts, the two groups being not far from each other.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 3 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2, 5, 9 *Śārdūlamukhīḍita* ; verses 4, 7-8 *Upajūti* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verses 10-13, 15 *Anuśtubh* ; verse 14 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham² svasti | Vandyô Jinas-sa bhagavân karuṇa-ka-pāt[r]am [Dharmm]s-py-asau
- 2 [vija]yatô jagad-êka-dī[pa]h | ya[t-sēva]yâ sakala ēva-[ma]h-ā[nubhāva]h sa[māra-pā]ra-[m-u]paga-
- 3 chchhati Bhi[kṣu]-saṅghah || [1*] [Chandrā]pām-i[ha] Rô[hī]tāgiri-rbhu[bbu]jā-[mvaṇḍô³ vi]śāla-śrīyām vi[khyātô]
- 4 [bhuv]i pūrṇa-chandra-saṅghah śrī-Pūrṇachandrô-bhavat | aśchchānā[m]-pada-pī[thi]-[kāsu] pa[ñhita]h santā-
- 5 nīlām-agratash-ānka-ōtkirṇa-nava-prasastishu jaya-stambheshu tāmreshu cha || [3*] Vu-(Bu)d[dha]sya [yah] śasaka-j[ā]-
- 6 takam-a[śka-sa]mā[tha]m-bhaktiā vi[bi]bha[r*]tti bhagavān-amṛit-ā[kar-ānubh*] | Chandra-sya taaya kula-jāta it-iva Vau(Bu)ddhah pu-
- 7 [tra]h śrutô jagati taaya Suvarṇachandrah || [3*] Darô-[sya] mātā kila dōhadēna di[drī]-kaha-māp-ōda[yi]
- 8 chandra-vimvāh⁴ | suvarṇa-chandrōha hi tōhit-ōti [Suvarṇachandrah samu]dāharanti || [4*] Putras-taya pavitrit-ō-
- 9 bhaya-kulah kaulins-bhit-āaya⁵-t[r]ailōkyā viditô [di]śām-ati[thi]bhi[s-Tr]ailōkyacha-ndrô guṇai[b]
- 10 ādhārô Harikōla-rāja-kakuda-ch[ohha]ttara-amitānām [śrīyām] ya[s-Chandr-ōpa]padō va[ba]-[bhūva] n[ri]pati[r-dv]
- 11 pō Dilip-ōpamaḥ || [5*] [Jyōtsn-ēva Chandra]sya Śach-iva [Jishnōr-Gau]ri [Harany-ēva] Harēr-ivā Śrīh | ta[sya pri]-
- 12 yā [kā]śchana-kāntir-āstī Śrī⁶kāśchana-ēty-aśchhita-śā[śanasya] || [6*] Sa rā[ja-yō]gēna śubhā muhū[rttē] mau-

¹ This may be the reason why the name Puṇḍravandhana-bhukti (or Puṇḍravandhana) was changed to Puṇḍra-bhukti.

² From *Impressions*.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Read *bhūjān guṇai*.

⁵ Read *ānubh*.

⁶ Read *visham* or *bhisham*.

⁷ The Rāmpāl plate has *śayai*.

⁸ Read *śachchātri*. The queen's name was either Kāśchana or Śrīkāśchana.

DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA

Obverse



Scale : Seven-ninth

24
 26
 28
 30
 32
 34
 36
 38
 40
 42
 44
 46

- 13 [hūrta]kaib sūchita-raja-ehūna[m*] | [a]vāsa ta[syām tanayam naya]jāsh Śrichandram
ind-āpāmam-Indra-[tōjāh] || [7*]
- 14 Ek-ātapatr-ābharaṇām-bhuvam yō vidhāya vai[dhāya-ja]b-āvidhāyah | [ena]c[ā]ra kārāsu
nivāsit-ār[r]-yya
- 15 [śa]b-sugandhin-; diśām-mukhāni || [8*] Spriṣṭaḥ pā[r]thiva-pānsu-dōhala-rasa-ślāghā-
ghanan¹-dig-gaja[r-nō]
- 16 [trāṇā]m-animēṣaṣaḥ parikṛtō dūrōpa vīndārakaib | kōś[ahv-apsa]rasām-apūrvva-paṭta-
bhrāntih
- 17 [samār]ōpayan santānō rajasāb rāṣeṣu [a]y[i]nō yasya dyu-mārggaḥ-pataḥ || [9*] m khalu
ārī-Vik[r]amapura-sam[ā]
- 18 vāsita-śr[ī]ma-jayas[kandh]āva-āt paramasaugato mahārā[ja]hīrāja-śrīmat-Trailōkya-
chandra[d]ē-
- 19 va-pād-ānudhyātāḥ para[māva]rah para[ma]bha[ttā]rakō [ma]hārājādīrājāḥ śrīmān Śrī-
chandrādē-
- 20 vaḥ kuśali || śrī-[Pau]ṇḍra-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Kh[ā]diravill²-viśha(yō Valli)...³ [qda]la
...ttā⁴
- 21 grām[ē] hala-chatusṭayam Nōṇḍiyājō-Ja[ya]sta[rē] [hala]-trayaṇa Tivaravill⁵-grāmē
[cha] hala-[tra]yam⁶ Yō[īā]
- 22 [ma]ḍa[l]ē...⁷ [viśhaya-sa]rī-Pa.⁸ dimuṇḍā-grāmē śhaḍ-drōḡ-ādhiḥka-hala-dvayam
- 23⁹[grā]mē oha [hala-sa]pta[kam *] | [a]tra śhaḍ-drōḡ-ādhiḥka-anavi[śānti]¹⁰-hala-bhū[mau]
samopagatābhū¹¹ |¹²

Reverse

- 24 [ja]-rājānī-rāpaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahāvīrhapati-maṇḍalapati-mahāsāndhivigra-
25 hika-mahāsēnāpati-mahākṣhapatalika-mahāsa[rvvā]dhikṛita-mahāprat[ihā]ra-kōttapā-
26 la-dau[ha]śādhāsādhānika-chaurōddha[ra]ṇika-nauva[ha]lahaṣṭyaśvagōmahishājāvīkādīvyāpri-
taka-
27 gaulmika-śaulmika-dāṇḍapāśa[śi]ka-dāṇḍanāyaka-viśhayō[ya]paty-ādīm-anyāśā-cha sakala-
28 rāja-pād-ōpa[ivino] dhyā[kaha]-prachār-ōktān-ih-ākī[r]ttitān |¹³ chāta-bhāta-yā[jā]Hyān ja-

¹ The Kōḍāṅgur plate has *ghana* which has been corrected to *ghanaś*.

² Bhattasālī reads "vill".

³ There are five damaged letters here. Bhattasālī reads *Vallimūḍā-ma*. I have doubts about this reading.

⁴ There are four damaged letters before *ttā* which Bhattasālī reads as *ttā*. He reads the last three of the damaged letters as *Durecōpa* and the first probably as *ma* (i.e. *sambodhū*). I have doubts about this reading.

⁵ Bhattasālī reads *Lōṇḍiyājōḍipatrā*.

⁶ Bhattasālī reads "vill".

⁷ Bhattasālī apparently reads *doṅga*.

⁸ The name of the *viśhaya* is read by Bhattasālī as *Jāṇḍāś* which seems to me extremely doubtful.

⁹ The damaged *śākhara* here is read by Bhattasālī as *śka* and the following letter as *dl*.

¹⁰ Bhattasālī doubtfully reads the name of the village as *Mūlapatrā*.

¹¹ Read *adhik-ānavaśānti*.

¹² The intended reading of these letters is *samopagat-āśānta-rā*.

¹³ The mark of punctuation here and in the lines below (cf. lines 31 & 32) is unnecessary. The expression *śāpāśka-prachār* means 'notification about the heads of departments'.

- 39 naṣṭadān kṣetrakarāṇā-cha [Vrā(Brā)hma]n-ōttarān [yath-ārham-mā]nayatī vō(bō)dhayati
samādīṣati
- 30 cha || mata[m=astu bha]va[tām(tām)] | yath-ōpari-likhita-bhūmim-iyam̐ a-śim-āvaśohhinnā
tri(tri)pa-[pūti-gō]-
- 31 chara-paryantā | sa-talā [e-ō]ddēśā e-ā[mra]-panasā sa-guvāka-nāli[k]ōrā sa-lavaṇā | sa-jala-
- 32 aṭhulā sa-ga[r]tt-ōṣharā | sa-daḥ-āparādhā | sa-chauroddharāṇā | parihr[ta]-sarva-pidā | a-
chāṭa-bha[ṭa]-
- 33 pravēśā | a-kiñchit-[pra]grā[hyā] | [-a]masā-rāja-bhōga-[ka]ra-hiranya-pratyāya-sahitā |
Jayaga-
- 34 āga-p[r]japutrāya | Nan[n]aga[ga]n[ga]-putrāya | Vibhū(bhū)gaṅga-putrāya | Vārdhakaśika-
sagotrāya | try-ā-
- 35 rsha-pravarāya | Kaṇva-ākṣh-ādhyāyinē [śāntivārika]-ṭi-[Vyāsa]gaṅga-śarmmaṇi(nē) [eva]-
kṛta-[h]ō-
- 36 ma-[chatu]ṣṭayā | ad[bhū]ta-śānti-nimittē(ttē) . . . ta[va]t[ti] [puṇyā]-hani | vidhivad-udaka-
pūrvvakam [kṛ*][tvā]
- 37 bhagavantam-Vuddha¹-bhaṭṭārakam-uddiśya mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah [cha*] puṇya-yaśō-bhi-
vriḍdhayē ā-chandr-ārkkā-kṣh[ti]-
- 38 [sa][ina*]-kālam̐ yāvat bhūm-chohhidra-nyāyāna śrīmad-Dharmma-chaakra-[mudra]yā | tā-
[mra]-śāsanīkṛitya pradattā [aamā]-
- 39 [bhi] | | atō bhavadbhiḥ [savyasir-ann]mantavya[ni*] || bhāvibhir-āpi [bhūpatibhiḥ]
bhūmēr-ddāna-phala-gauravād-apaha[ra]-
- 40 [uē] ma[hā]-narka-pāta-bhayāch-cha | dāna-ādan-ānumōdy-ānupālaniyam [i*] nivāsibhiḥ
kṣetrakarāṇā-cha śjā-
- 41 āvaṇa-vidhēyibhūya | ya[th-ō]chūṭa-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kāryya iti [i*] bhavanti ch-ātra
dharm-ānukamēśā ālōkāḥ [i*] Bhūmih
- 42 yaḥ pratigrihpati yaś-cha bhūmim-prayachchhati | ubhan tau puṇya-karmmaṇau niyatam̐
svargga-gāminau || [10*] Shashṭi-mva(va)raha-sahasā-
- 43 ni svarggō mōdati bhūmidah | ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakam̐ (kē) vasēt ||
[11*] Sva-dattām-para-dattāmvā² yō harēta vasundha-
- 44 rāṣh(rāṣh) | sa viśṭhāyām̐ kṛimīr-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatō || [12*] Va(Ba)hubhir-
vvasundhā dattā-rājibhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [i*] yasya yasya ya-
- 45 dā bhūmim-tasya tasya tadā phalam || [13*] Iti kamala-dal-āmrū(mbu)-vindu-lōlām̐ śriyam-
annchintya manushya-jivitaḥ-cha | sakala-
- 46 m-īdam-udāhṛitaḥ-cha vuddhā³ na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kirttavō vilōpyāb || o || [14*] [Samva-
(Sarniva) t S A(Ā)śvina]-dinē 18 [i*] mahāś-
- 47 ti [ann] | | mahākṣa-ni —

¹ The subscript of the conjunct is not clear. Bhattachari reads *Nanda*.

² The reading may be *and-palavati*.

³ Read *varāna-Buddha*.

⁴ Read *śānta* cū.

⁵ Read *śānta*.

No 26—CHIKKALAVALASA PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 16.9.1957)

The copper-plate inscription under study was dug up more than three decades ago by a farmer of the village of Chikkāvalasa while tilling a field. The village lies between Utlām and Kambakāya in the Taluk and District of Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh. It is stated that the plates were found in a field near the border of the village of Kuddāmu in the same neighbourhood. The inscription was secured from the farmer by Bhairi Appalaswami Naidu of Chikkāvalasa, who sent them to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma for study and publication. Pandit Sarma published the inscription in the *Bhārati* (Telugu), Vol. II, 1925, Part I, pp. 138 ff., with illustrations. The text of the epigraph was also quoted by R. Subba Rao in the *Kaṇṇigaditacharitraṃ* (Telugu), Appendix, pp. 50 ff. The record was noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, C.P. No. 5. I edit the inscription in the following pages from a set of excellent estampages preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

The set consists of five plates, the first of which is inscribed only on the inner side while the next three have writing on both the sides. The fifth plate bears no writing and was apparently used for the protection of the writing on the reverse of the fourth plate. The plates were strung on a ring bearing the Gaṅga seal with the bull and other emblems on its counter-sunk surface. The charter together with its seal resembles other such records of the early Imperial Gaṅgas, especially those of Vajrahaṣṭa III Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.) to whom it belongs. The plates are rectangular in shape; but their length is less in the sides (8.4 inches) than in the middle (8.7 inches) while their breadth is more in the sides (3.7 inches) than in the middle (3.3 inches).

The characters belong to the Gauḍīya or East Indian alphabet and the language of the record is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, orthography and style, the inscription closely resembles other copper-plate grants of Vajrahaṣṭa III, several of which have been published in this journal, some of them very recently.¹ The introductory part of the charter in lines 1-41 is a copy of other such grants issued by the king. The major part of this section (i.e. lines 1-38) is also copied in the copper-plate records of Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarmaṇ (1070-78 A.D.), son and successor of Vajrahaṣṭa III, and we had occasion to discuss the section in our paper on the Galavalli plates (cf. lines 1-35) of the said monarch, which have been recently published in the pages of this journal.² Remarks on the palaeography and orthography of the Galavalli plates also apply to the present record.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 41-45 as the Śaka year counted by the words *kara* (i.e. 2), *rava* (i.e. 8) and *nidhi* (i.e. 9), i.e. 982. The *tithi* is stated to have been the third of the first fortnight of the month of Kārttika. The week-day is given apparently as Monday. The date reminds us of that of another charter of the same king, which was issued on Monday, the 7th of the first fortnight of Āshādha in Śaka 991.³ This date was equated with the 9th of

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 308 ff. and Plates; Cf. Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff. and Plates; Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff. and Plates; Vol. XI, pp. 149 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff. and Plates.

² Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 69.

June 1068 A.D. taking the year to be current and the month Amānta. If, in the case of the date of the inscription under study, the year is similarly regarded as current and the month as Amānta, Śaka 982, Kārttika-prāthama-pakṣa 3, Monday would correspond to the 11th October, 1059 A.D. On that date, the *trīṣṭyā* tithi began at 55 of the day.¹

Lines 38-41 state that *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Anantavarman Vajraha-stadēva* (i.e. Vajrahasta III), who was the lord of Trikalīṅga and a devout worshipper of the god Mahāśvara (Śiva), issued his order relating to the grant in question to the people of the countryside together with his officers. The gift village was **Kuddam** (line 42; called **Kudda** in line 55) which was situated in the *viśaya* or district of **Kōluvartani**. It was given for the perpetual enjoyment of the donee, without any trouble, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents. But it is interesting to note that the village is not stated to have been a rent-free gift. The expression *sarveṣa-piṭā-vivarijita* in line 43 shows that the donee enjoyed certain privileges which, however, did not include freedom from the payment of rent. We know that, in charters recording the creation of a rent-free holding in favour of the donee, the exemption from the payment of rent is specified in clear terms. As will be clear from our discussion of the details of the grant below, the nature of the document under study is that of a *śara-śāsana* or rent-paying grant.²

Lines 45-49 describe the donee who obtained the village of Kuddam or Kudda from the king probably by purchase. It is stated that there was a family belonging to the Vaiśya community and the Datta (wrong for *Danta* according to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma) *gōtra*, in which a person named Mādhava was born. Mādhava's son was Sōmana-ārśabhīn, whose wife was Ērayapā. Sōmana's son from Ērayapā was Mallaya-ārśabhīn to whom the Gāṅga king Vajrahasta III gave the village in question with libation of water by means of the copper-plate charter under study. The king requests the future rulers of the area to be so good as to approve of this gift and protect it. But the Vaiśya Mallaya-ārśabhīn obtained the village from the king for the purpose of giving away the major part of it as an *agrahāra* in favour of a large number of Brāhmaṇas. This is made clear by the concluding part of the record in lines 49-56.³ Another instance of this kind is offered by the Kailān (Kailain) plate⁴ of Śrīdharaṇaṭāta, according to which an officer of the king obtained a big plot of land from his master probably by purchase and retained a small part of it for himself after having allotted the rest in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas and a Buddhist religious establishment.⁵

It is stated in lines 49 ff. that, after having obtained the charter from the king, the donee Mallaya-ārśabhīn kept a part of the village for himself and made over the rest to three hundred Brāhmaṇas. His share consisted of a house-site, a garden-site and an area of cultivable land

¹ In the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, p. 64, the date of the inscription under review has been equated with the 30th October 1060 A.D. taking the year as expired. But that day falls in Amānta Mārgaśrīṣa and not in Kārttika, either Amānta or Pūrṇimānta.

² For a number of such records, see *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

³ In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, p. 78, it is stated, "The donee reserved a portion of the village for himself and granted the rest to the Brahman Māpa-nāyaka and fixed the rate of taxes to be paid annually to the king from the village. The granting of villages as *agrahāras* to people of communities other than Brahman is peculiar. But in the copper-charters of the Eastern Ganga dynasty cases in which villages were granted as *agrahāras* to Vaiśyas have been noticed already (Copper Plate No. 5 of 1918-19)." The name of the Brāhmaṇa was, however, Māpaya-nāyaka and not Māpa-nāyaka and he was one of the many Brāhmaṇas in whose favour the *agrahāra* was granted. The language of the epigraph does not suggest the creation of a *Vaiśya-śrādhāra*. Mallaya-ārśabhīn reserved for himself only a small part of the village and agreed to pay annual rent in both cash and grain. The *Vaiśya-śrādhāra* mentioned in C. P. No. 8 of 1918-19 seems to have been created on the condition that rent should be paid at the rate of 150 silver coins per year.

⁴ *IBQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 224-26.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 51.

producing one hundred *Murās* of paddy (or grain) [per year]. The meritorious act of creating an *agrahāra* of the rest of the village in favour of Brāhmaṇas was performed by Mallaya-śrēṣṭhin on the auspicious occasion of the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. The *saṅkrānti*, however, took place sometime later in the month of December, though the charter was issued in October. The three hundred Brāhmaṇas who received the major part of the village as an *agrahāra* were headed by Māpaya-nāyaka who was the son of Karaṇṭama-nāyaka from his wife Rēkapā and the grandson of Pillisārman. This Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Bahvricha *śākhā* and Aupamanyava *gōtra* and hailed from the village of Jalambūr. The names of the other recipients of the grant are not mentioned in the charter.

The last sentence of the record in lines 55-56 state that the rent for the village payable to the king had to be paid at the rate of one hundred *Murās* of paddy (or grain) and eight *Māḍas* (coins of gold or silver) apparently per annum. It was no doubt Mallaya-śrēṣṭhin who was responsible for the payment of the rent to the king. But whether he realised a part or the whole of the rent in cash and grains from the Brāhmaṇas is not clear from the language of the inscription. We have shown elsewhere¹ that the old custom in many parts of Andhra and Orissa was generally to pay to the king for an *agrahāra*, even when it was declared as rent-free, an amount of money annually.² The amounts mentioned in some records in this connection are 200 *Paṇas* [probably of cowries], 10 *Māḥakas* [probably of silver], between 2 and 9 *Palas* of silver, etc. This was apparently much less than the usual annual rent for a village. The determination of the concessional rates must have depended on such factors as the size and revenue-income of a village, the degree of the king's willingness to suffer loss of revenue in lieu of religious merit, the amount of purchase money received by the king for the creation of an *agrahāra* from the donees or a third party eager to perform a meritorious deed, etc. In the present case, a pious member of the mercantile community seems to have purchased the village for the Brāhmaṇas and the king appears to have fixed the annual rent at the concessional rate of 8 coins and 100 *Murās* of grain. The exact quantity of a *Murā* of grain cannot be determined. *Māḍa* is generally spelt *Māḍha* in Orissan records. It was regarded as a coin weighing 40 *Ratīs* or half of a *Tolā*.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Kudda or Kuddām has been identified by Pandit Somasekhara Sarma with modern Kuddāmu near Chikkālaavalasa where the inscription was discovered. The Kōluvartani *śiṣhaya*, mentioned also in some other records of the area, was therefore the district round the said village Jalambūr, where the donee's family lived, has been identified with modern Jalāmūru about six miles from Kuddāmu.

TEXT³

[Metres : verses 1, 4, 12 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 2 *Āryā* ; verses 3, 7, 13 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 5 *Vamśastha* ; verses 6, 10 *Mālinī* ; verses 8-9 *Gītī* ; verse 11 *Vasantatilaka*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁴ svasti [i*] śrīmatām-akhilā-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dāksiniya-sa-
- 2 tya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ā[ḍ]i-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇām vi-
- 3 mala-vichār-śāhara-puṇya-śa[sa]lila-prakāhyā(kṣhā)lita-Kālī-kāla-kalmasha-ma-
- 4 hāṇāṇ Mahā-Mahēndr-śāhala-śāhara-pratiṣṭhitasya sa-char-śāhara-gurō-

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 114-15.

² *JRAS*, op. cit., pp. 6 ff. ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 293 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

- 5 ḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇa-sika-sūtradhārasya śeṣāṅka-chpi(chū)ḍa-maṣṭ-
 6 rābhha(r-bbha)gavatō Gōkarṇasvāminah prāsādāt-samāsādit-sika-śaṅkha-bhṛ-
 7 ri-pañcha-mahāāvda(bda)-dhavala-chchhatra-bhema-chāmara-vara-vṛishabha-laṣṭhāna-samu-
 8 jva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahimnām-anōka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-samu-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 palavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmi-samāhṛit-ṣ[ṭ*]tunga-bhūja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāḥ
 10 **Trikaliṅga**-mahābhujāḥ **Gaṅgānām**=anvayam=alaṅkariṣṭōr=Viṣṇōr-iva
 11 vikram-ākṛānta-dhārā-maṇḍalasya **Guṇamahārūpava**-mahārājasya putrah || o || Pū-
 12 rvaṣa bhūpatibhir-vṛibhajya va'sudhā yā pañchabhīḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parā-
 13 kramō bhūja-va(ba)lāt-tām=eka ēva svayam(yam |) śikṣitya vijitya sa(śa)tru-nivah[ā]-
 14 na(n) śri-**Vajrahastā**=chatuṣ-chatvāriṃśatam=atyudāra-charitah sarvām=arakṣit-sam[ā]-
 15 ḥ || [1*] tasya tanayō **Guṇamarājā**(jō) varsha-trayam=apālayata mahīm(him) | tad-anujah
 K[ā]-
 16 **mārūpavadēvaḥ** pañcha-triṃśatam=avda(bda)kūḥ || [2*] Tasya=anujō **Vinayāditya**(h*) samā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 17 s-tira(h*) || Tataḥ Kāmārūpavāj-jātō jaḥgati-kalpabhūrah | yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chchhā-
 18 yō **Vajrahastō**=yanipatiḥ || [3*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhupa-
 vyālīdha-gaṇḍān-ga-
 19 jānna(n-a)rti(bhy)ah samadāt-sahasram=atulo yaa-tyāginvā(nā)m=agraṇ[ḥ] (*) sah(sa) śri-
 mān-**Aniyāṅka**-
 20 bhīma-uripatir-Ḷgaṅg-ānva'y-ṣ[ṭ*]tāmō(sa)kūḥ pañcha-triṃśatam=avda(bda)kūḥ=sa-
 21 mahānakiy(k=pr)itvīm stutaḥ pāṛthivāḥ || [4*] Tad-agra-sūnūḥ Surarāja-ṣi(sū)nunā
 22 [sa*]mas=samastām sa(śa)mit-śri-mah(ma)ṇḍa[ḥ] (*) sma pāti **Kāmārūpava**-bhūpatiḥ
 bhbbhu(r-bbbh)vaṣa samjiddhi-
 23 māmā(n-a)ridha-samān samu[j*]jvalah || [5*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmō(umā) Chittajanm-ōpa-
 [mā]nō guṇa-
 24 nidhir-anuvadyō **Guṇam**-ākhyō mahīsaḥ(śah) | sakalam-idam=arakṣi(kshṭ) triṇi
 varehā-

Third Plate, First Side

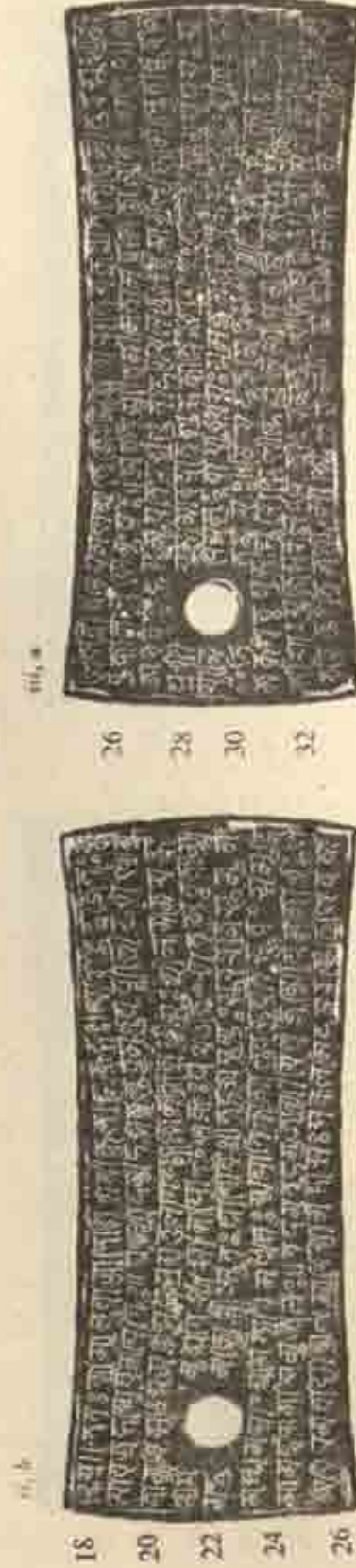
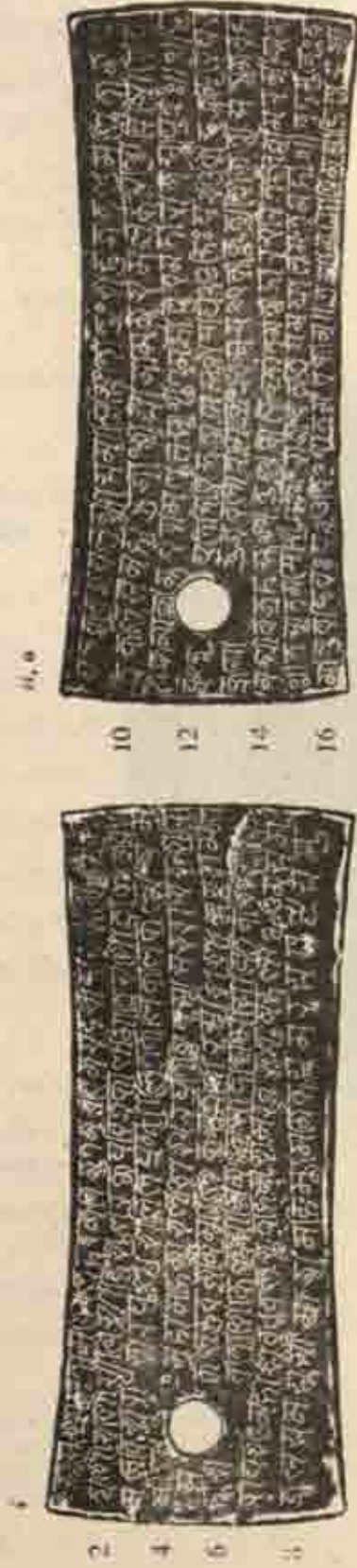
- 25 pi dhātṛi-valayam=ataghu-tōjō nirjīti-ārāti-chakraḥ || [6*] Tatō dv[ai]māturaa-tasya Ma-
 26 **dhukāmā**(r)ūpavō nripah || [7] avatī sm-āvanim-śtām=avdā(bda)n-ōkārūpa(n-na)-vimaṣṭin-
 (tim) || o || [7*]
 27 Atha **Vajrahasta**-uripatēr-agra-sutād-akhila-guṇi-jan-āgrāṇya(h*) **Kāmārūpavāt**-kav-īndra-

* An unnecessary 4-sukṛā was incised after this letter and cancelled by the engraver.

* An unnecessary 4-sukṛā with this letter was cancelled by the engraver.

* The letter *ay* was originally written for *ya*.

CHIKKALAVALASA PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982



Scale : One-half

iii, b



34
36
38
40
42

iii, c



44
46
48
50

iii, d



52
54
56

Scale : One-fourth

- 28 pragiyamān-āvadāta-subha-kīrttiḥ [|| 8*] Śrīya iva Vaidumvā(mb-ā)nvaya-payah-pa-
 29 yōnidhi-samudbhavāyās-cha [||*] yaḥ samajani Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ śrī-Vajrahasta
 30, iti tansayaḥ || [9*] Viyaḍ-ṛitu-nidhi-saṁkhyāṁ yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-saṅghē di-
 31 nakṛiti Vṛishabha-sthē Rōhīṇī-bhē su-lagnē [||*] Dhanushi cha sita-pakshē Śpi(Ṣū)rya-
 vārē tṛi-
 32 tīyām yoji sakala-dharitṛiṁ rakshitum yō-bhishikṭah [||10*] Nyāyē(yyē)na yatra
 samam-ā-
 33 charitum tri-varggē(rggah) mārggēṇa rakshati mahīm mahita-pratāpē [||*] nirvyādha-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 34 yaś-cha niraghās-cha nirāpadaś-cha śasvat-prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūtimattyaḥ || [11*]
 Vyāptē Gaṅga-
 35 kuḥ-ōttamasya yaśasa(śā) dik-chakravālā śasi-pradyōt-āmalinēna yasya bhuvana-
 prahlāda-
 36 sampādinā [||*] saindūraiṛ-ati-sāndra-paṅka-pāṭalai[h*] kumbha-sthaḥ-pāṭṭakśvā(śv-ā)-
 limpanti puna[h]
 37 punaś-cha haritām-ādhōraṇā vāraṇā || [12*] Anurāgēṇa guṇinō yasya va-
 38 kshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōḥ | śā(śi)nē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv-anukūlē virājata[h*] ||0|| [13*] Ka-
 39 lūgana[ga*]rāt-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Tri-
 40 kaliṅg-ādhipati-āṛimad-Anantavarmanā Vajrahastadēvaḥ kuśalī samast-āmātya-
 41 pramukha-janapadān-samābhūya samājñāpayati [||*] viditam-astu bhavatān(tām) ||
 42 Kōluvarittani-vishayē ||* Kuddam-ākhyā-grāmaḥ chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhiṇṇaḥ sa-ja-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 43 la-sthalah sarvva-piḍā-vivarjjita[m-ā]-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam yāvan-mātā-pitṛō-
 44 r-ātmanah [cha*] puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhaye ||* kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvdē(bdē) ||*
 Kārttika-māsa-pratiba-
 45 ma-pakeha-tṛiti[yā*]yām Sō[ma*]va(vā)rē ||* Dattagōtrasya Vaisya(āya)-kūl-
 ōdbhavaḥ ||* Mādhav-ākhyah
 46 tasya putrah Sōmana-srēṣṭhah* | tasya bhāryyā Kṛayapā | tayōr-ijātāya
 47 Mallaya-srēṣṭhāya* udaka-pūrvvan tāmvrā(mra)-śūsanam kṛitvā pradattama(ttaḥ) a)-
 mūbhī-

* Originally y was written in the place of p.

* An unnecessary ś-mātrā with this letter has been cancelled by the engraver.

* Originally medial ś was incised in the place of medial ś.

* The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

* Read śrēṣṭhah.

* Read śrēṣṭhah.

- 48 rbbbhā(r=bbhā)viḥhīrbhbbhū(r=bbhū)mipālaīrmma(r=a)numō(dya*) dharmmā(rmna)-
gauravāt-paripāla'niyam=i-
- 49 ti || rājataḥ sāsanam lavdhvā(bdhvā) punar=ayam grāmaḥ |* griha-sthānam=udyāna-
- 50 sthānam cha |* sa(sa)ta-murā-dhāny-ōtpanna-bhūmiścha(ñ=cha) aya-ava[m*] śāhayaivā |*
Jala-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 51 mvū(mbū)r-akhya-grāma-nivāś |* Vabhya-sākha-Upamanya-gōtrasya* |* dvij-ōttamaḥ |*
Pi-
- 52 Hīsamnaḥ* | tasya putraḥ Karaṇṭama-nāyakaḥ | tasya bhāryā Rēkapā | tayō-
- 53 r=jjāttāna Māpaya-nāyakēna saha tri-sa(sa)tābhyaḥ |* Vṛā(Brā)hmaspōbhyaḥ agraḥā-
- 54 raḥ kṛitvā Uttarāyapna-nimittō(tā) |* Mallaya-arō(ārō)śhṭhina(nā) dhārā-purvva-
- 55 kaḥ |* Kudd-ākhyā-grāmaḥ pradatam=iti* || aya grāmasya utpanna-
- 56 karaiḥ rājāṁ dāyam sa(sa)ta-mura(rā)-dhānyair- aḥta-mādaś=cha ||

* An unnecessary ā-mādaś with this letter was cancelled by the engraver.

* The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

* Read *Bakricā-śāśa-Upamanyu-gōtrasya*.

* Read *arṇad*.

* Read *grāmā pradatta it*.

No. 27—NAGARJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVALASRI'S TIME, YEAR 11

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 5.6.1953)

The subjoined stone inscription¹ was copied and examined by me in July 1957 at Nāgārjunakonda in the course of my epigraphical tour. It is peculiar in several respects: it is one of the comparatively few Sanskrit inscriptions that have been discovered at this site, most of them being in Prakrit; it is Brahmanistic in nature, the Prakrit ones being all Buddhistic; it is found in six or seven versions, all broken fragments, not a single version having been found in its entirety. It took me some hours to dovetail the fragments till then discovered and kept in the site museum at Nāgārjunakonda. Many of the fragments are still missing. I was, however, able to restore the complete text by deciphering the extant parts on the various fragments. The facsimile on Plate A shows the greater part of one of the versions, while those on Plate B represent parts of two more versions. The fragments, of the other versions, so far discovered, are too few and are hence not illustrated here.

The ancient site of Nāgārjunakonda is situated on the right bank of the Krishnā river in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh, and is famous for the Buddhist relics it has yielded in abundance. Of late, the site has been rendered more famous by the Nandikonda Dam Project; for this hydro-electric scheme, when complete, will have submerged the entire site, as the water so dammed will rise 60 to 70 feet over the vast area now dotted with the excavated antiquarian remains. The Union Department of Archaeology is thus discharging a very special and emergent responsibility of disembowelling, as fast as can be, the buried ruins and salvaging as many of them as it can possibly do before the threatened deluge takes place.

It may be remarked that the recent digging operations at Nāgārjunakonda have laid bare many Brahmanistic antiquities, whereas those formerly unearthed there almost all belong to the Buddhist faith.

The size of the inscribed bits of stone under study is indicated by the scale given in the photographs reproduced here. The inscription consists of six lines in each version. Though the duct of writing is markedly different in each version, the script in all of them is the same Brāhmī of about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. It resembles that of the Prakrit inscriptions discovered at the same place,² and shares with it the characteristic feature of long and curved top and bottom strokes of the letters. The engraving is neatly and elegantly done.

As noticed above, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is remarkably free from errors. Except for the auspicious formula *siddham* at the beginning, the record is in verse, comprising two stanzas, the first in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and the second in *Śrīgādhā*. These are logically arranged: the first, being a small one, is divided into halves, each half occupying one line; and the second, being a lengthy one, is divided into quarters, each quarter occupying one line.

There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. The mute consonants are shown by the smaller size of the letter concerned: cf. *m* in lines 1 and 6, and *ṣ* in line 5. Besides, they occur

¹ This is No. 5 of *A.R.Rep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

² Cf. above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.

a little below the line. Further, the mute *t* is bereft of its top. There is very little difference between the forms of the letters *t* and *n*, both being unlooped. The form of the *upadhāniya* (line 1) consists of a circle with a cross in the centre, or a four-spoked wheel, so to say, while that of the *jihvāmūliya* (lines 4 and 5) is identical with that of the letter *m*. In point of orthography, the consonant before or after *r* is in most cases reduplicated. The reduplication of the one before *r*, in *prasaḍāt* in line 5, is noteworthy. The change of *visarga* into *s* or *ś* before these letters (lines 4, 5 and 6) is another peculiarity worth noticing.

As for the object of the inscription, it records the erection of a temple (*prāsāda*), described as the dwelling place for Śiva (*Sarvadēśa-dhīśa*),¹ by one Ēliāri, on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha during the 11th regnal year of king Ēhavalāri. Ēliāri, the builder of the temple, is described as a *Talacara-cara* (apparently the same as *Mahātalarara* found in many other inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa)² obviously in the service of king Ēhavalāri. He is further described to be a grandson of the *Sēnāpati* Anikki and a son of Gāṇḍi. It is significant that our donor's father does not bear any title, while his grandfather is mentioned to be a *Sēnāpati* or commander of armies, who had won victories in battle fields and acquired great fame. His own title shows that he too was a high dignitary.

The most prominent thing in the description of Ēliāri is that he was a devout worshipper of the god Kārttikēya or Kumāra, the wielder of the terrible spear, so much so that he ascribes the erection of the Śiva temple in question to the grace and favour of Kārttikēya.

The names of the donor, his father and his grandfather as well as that of the king are all non-Sanskritic. They are presumably of Dravidian origin. It has been suggested to me that the word *li* or *li* in the name Ēliāri may be connected with the Tamil word *ēli*, equivalent to Sanskrit *lakti*, 'spear' (weapon of the god Kārttikēya).³ Anyway, this name as well as the others in this inscription require further elucidation.

The king Ēhavalāri is known from some other inscriptions from the same place, the name being sometimes spelt as Ēhuvala.⁴ King Ēhuvala Chātāmūla is mentioned as the son of the Ikshvāku king Viraparisaḍata and Mahādēvi Bhaṭṭiśvā. One of this king's records, it is interesting to know, is dated in the very 11th year of his reign as in the case with our inscription.⁵ His father and he himself bear the metronymies Māḍhariputa and Vāseṭhiputa respectively, indicating thereby that the mother of the former belonged to the Māḍhara *gōtra* while the mother of the latter belonged to the Vāseṭṭha *gōtra*. Ēhavalā or Ēhuvala had a sister whose name was Kodabalisiri, queen of Vānavāsaka-mahārāja.

A much longer and well-preserved Sanskrit inscription engraved on a stone pillar of the time of the same king Ēhavalāri has likewise been recently discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.⁶

It is not possible to equate the regnal year given in the inscription with the corresponding Christian year. Yet, as indicated above, the inscription can palaeographically be placed in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

The text of the present inscription given below is based on my reading of the original fragments of the inscription.

¹ I take *Sarva* here as a well-known synonym of *Śiva*: *Sarvāś Śarvāś Śivāś Śhānāś*.

² For *Talarara* and *Mahātalarara*, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 6 and 7, note 1.

³ [The Telugu word *lika* (from the verb *li*, 'to govern') means 'a ruler, king, master'.—Ed.]

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text line 10.

⁵ Loo, *cit.*, Inscription H.

⁶ This is No. 4 of *J.N.Ep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

NAGARJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVALASRI'S TIME, YEAR 11

A.



(from a Photograph)



B



(from Photographs)

TEXT

[Metres : verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Brughaṛā*.]

- 1 Siddhami | Varsha śkṛdāś rājñah-prabhōr-Ehavalasriyah [|*]
- 2 śukla-pakṣhasya Māghasya puṇya śkṛdāś hani [| 1*]
- 3 Dēvā yasy-ātihaktir-Hutavaha-tanayē chaṇḍa-śakteu Kumārē
- 4 pautras-sēnāpatēr-yyas-samāra-vijayinah-kkhyāta-krttēr-Anikkēh [|*]
- 5 prāsādat-Gaṇḍi-puttras-sa talavara-varah-Kārttikēya-pprasādāt
- 6 Ēlārīś-ārī-viśālah śubha-matir-akarōt-Sarvudēv-ādhipāsam [| 2*]

TRANSLATION

Luck !

(Verse 1) On the auspicious eleventh day of the bright fortnight of (the month of) Māgha, during the eleventh year of the king, the Lord Ehavalasri.

(Verse 2) Ēlārī of pure intellect, the chief Talavara, who is intensely devoted to (the god) Kumāra, son of Fire,¹ wielder of the terrible spear,—Ēlārī, grandson of the army-chief Anikki who had won victories in battlefields and acquired wide renown,—Ēlārī, son of Gaṇḍi, with the grace of (the god) Kārttikēya (same as Kumāra), built (this) supremely glorious temple, an abode of Sarva-dēva (i.e., the god Śiva).

¹ Saṁdāt has not been observed here.

² For the representation of Kumāra or Kārttikēya as the son of Agni, see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 98.

No. 28—SHATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OCTACAMUND

(Received on 31.5.1958)

The stone slab bearing the inscription under study was recovered from the mosque at **Bhāturiya**, about 20 miles from Rajshahi, headquarters of the District of that name in East Pakistan, by Mirza Mokhtaruddin Ahmad, Superintendent of Police, Rajshahi. It was presented to the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in August 1954. The inscription was published by Mr. Siva Prasanna Lahiry in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (September 1955), pp. 215-31, without any illustration. Recently I received a photograph of the epigraph from the authorities of the Varendra Research Society. On an examination of the record, it was found that there are many errors in Mr. Lahiry's transcript and translation of the document while his conclusions in regard to its historical importance are in several cases more unwarranted speculations.

The inscribed slab is stated to measure between 19 and 19½ inches in length and between 11½ and 11½ inches in height. The space occupied by the writing is about 18½ inches long and 10½ inches high. Individual *akṣaras* are about ¾ inch in height. There are altogether 20 lines in the record. The last line, which is nearly 13 inches long and is thus shorter than the other lines, has been incised in a central position leaving a space of a little above 2½ inches at the beginning of the line and about .3½ inches at its end. The letters are carefully and beautifully engraved and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory, though some letters are slightly rubbed off in the central area of the left half of the inscribed surface.

The characters belong to the Gaudya or East Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the contemporary records of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar. Of initial vowels, *a* (lines 2, 14, 16, 18), *ā* (line 15), *i* (lines 6, 20) and *ī* (line 19) occur in the inscription. The sign for *e* has been used to indicate *h*. The letter *ṣ* has three forms, viz. endowed with the *ā-mātrā*-like sign (cf. *mukṣa* in line 2), with a short stroke in the place of the said sign (cf. *Aṭṭa** and *ādhaṭṭa* in line 2, *Karṇāṭa* in line 11) and without the sign in question (*kapaṭa* in line 10, *Lāṭa* in line 11, *paṭṭa* in line 20). There is no appreciable difference between *y* and *ṣ* and between the subscript forms of *dā* and *e*. The sign for half nasal called *caṇḍrabindu* or *anuvāṇa* is used in line 11. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the word *evaśi* preceded by the Siddham symbol at the beginning in line 1. It is a *prāśasti* or eulogy in 15 stanzas composed in various metres. The author's style is simple. As regards orthographical peculiarities, there are some cases of the use of class nasals in the place of *anuvāṇa* and a few cases of *visarga-sandhi* as in *āṇḍā-śrōṭhiḥ* (lines 11-12) and *ārōṭaḥ-Saṅkaraḥ* (line 16). *Anuvāṇa* instead of final *m* has been used at the end of the halves of stanzas while final *m* has not been changed to *anuvāṇa* before *v*. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with the preceding *ṣ*. In line 18, the word *yātu* has been wrongly written as *yātu*.

The inscription bears no date. But it records a grant of king **Rājyapāla** no doubt belonging to the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Eastern India. The Pāla king Rājyapāla ruled in the first half of the tenth century and his reign period may be roughly assigned to c. 911-35 A.D.

* The inscription begins with a stanza (verse 1) in lines 1-2, which is in adoration of the god Śambhu (Śiva). Verse 2 (lines 2-3) introduces a locality called *Aṭṭamūla* which was the home of

the Dāsa family or clan. The said place is described as *Bṛihaddhatta-vinirgata* probably meaning that Aṭṭamūla originally formed a part of Bṛihaddhatta. Lahiry reads the two geographical names wrongly as Aṭṭamūla and Bṛihaddhattā. Verse 3 in lines 3-4 states that a person named Malhadāsa was born in the said family of the Dāsas of Aṭṭamūla and that Śūradāsa was the son of Malhadāsa, and Saṅghadāsa the son of Śūradāsa. Saṅghadāsa has been described as munificent to the supplicants just as Mount Rōhaṇa which is the same as the modern Adam's Peak in Ceylon. Verse 4 in line 5 states that the said Saṅghadāsa married Sarasvatī, the daughter of Sūryakunḍa and Durvāyī. Lahiry reads the stanza wrongly and fails to notice the name of Sarasvatī, wife of Saṅghadāsa, mentioned in it. Verse 5 (lines 5-7) introduces Yaśōdāsa, the son of Saṅghadāsa and Sarasvatī and the hero of the *prastā* under study. It is stated that Yaśōdāsa was made a *Mantrin* or minister by King Rājyapāla. Yaśōdāsa has been compared here to 'the lord of speech', i.e. Bṛhaspati, the priest and counsellor of the lord of the gods. This of course does not suggest that Yaśōdāsa was a Brāhmaṇa by caste. As will be seen below, Lahiry regards him as a member of the Chāshī Kaivarta community of Bengal on inconclusive grounds. The Kaivartas are fishermen and those amongst them who gave up their ancestral profession and adopted agriculture are the Chāshī Kaivarta or Māhishya. Yaśōdāsa may or may not have been a Kaivarta.

The following five stanzas (verses 6-10) describe the achievements of Yaśōdāsa. Verse 6 in lines 7-8 states that Yaśōdāsa received the designation of *Sachin* (i.e. a minister or counsellor) from the king while the next stanza (verse 7 in lines 8-10) says that the king made Yaśōdāsa his *Tantrādhikārin*. The official designation *Tantrādhikārin*, which literally means 'an officer in charge of administration', appears to be the same as *Tantrapāla*, *Tantrapati* and *Tantrādhyaksha* of epigraphic and literary records and an early commentator is known to explain the designation *Bṛihattāntrapati* as *Dharmādhikārin* or a judge.¹ The language of our inscription seems to make a distinction among *Mantrin*, *Sachin* and *Tantrādhikārin* and to show how Yaśōdāsa was raised by Rājyapāla from a lower post to a higher one on two occasions. Both these stanzas (verses 6-7) mention the king as *Rāmaparākrama*. The repetition of the expression in two consecutive stanzas seems to suggest that it was a sort of secondary name of the Pāla king Rājyapāla and not merely an epithet meaning 'one who is equal to Rāma in prowess'.

Lahiry understands the passage *aśōraśaiḥ-bhūmijaiḥ* occurring in verse 7 to mean 'on the score of the broad-chested Bhūmijas' and the *Bhūmijas* have been understood by him in the sense of the Chāshī Kaivartas. In his view, the verse mentions the Pāla king as having aspired for the status of Indra on the score of his elephants, Bhūmijas, land and gold and the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas. This has led him to a good deal of speculation regarding Yaśōdāsa having been the chief of the Chāshī Kaivarta community, the great help Rājyapāla may have received from this community, Yaśōdāsa having been appointed his Prime Minister as a reward for such help, the well-known Kaivarta chief Divya (who snatched away North Bengal from the hands of Mahipāla II about the end of the eleventh century) having been a distant descendant of Yaśōdāsa, etc. But there is nothing of all these in the stanza which may be translated as follows: "who (Yaśōdāsa) was made the *Tantrādhikārin* by the victorious [and] illustrious *Rāmaparākrama* who was aspiring, as it were, for the status of the lord of the gods by honouring gods and Brāhmaṇas with [the presents of] haughty elephants in rut, principal horses (*aśōraśaiḥ*) [and] men (*bhūmijaiḥ*) that had surrendered [to him] (*upanataiḥ*) [as well as] land covered with crops [and] many heaps of gold which were acquired [by him]." The verse merely refers to the fact that Rājyapāla obtained the possession of a large number of elephants, horses and infantry men (i.e. prisoners to be made slaves) as well as land and gold, all belonging to his enemies, as a result of his victories over the latter, and that he made presents of them all to the gods and Brāhmaṇas. There is no reference here to the Chāshī Kaivartas.

¹ See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 339.

Lahiry's contention that *Dāsa* (which is Yaśōdāsa's name-ending or family designation) should have to be taken to indicate the Chāṣṣī Kaivarta community and that *Kuṇḍa* (the name-ending or family designation of his maternal grandfather Sūryakuṇḍa) should have to be taken to be the same as *Kuṇḍa* which is now a family name among the Chāṣṣī Kaivartas of Bengal is equally unsatisfactory. Both *Dāsa* and *Kuṇḍa* are at present known to be the cognomens among various non-Brāhmaṇa communities of Bengal including the Kāyastha and Vaidya and there is evidence to show that even the Brāhmaṇas of Eastern India bore the said name-endings or cognomens in early times.¹

Verse 8 in lines 10-12 states that, when Yaśōdāsa was occupying the post of the *Tantrādhitārī* of Rājyapāla, his master's (i.e. the Pāla king's) command was obeyed by the *Ml̥cchhas*, *Āṅgas*, *Kāliṅgas*, *Var̥gas*, *Ōdras*, *Pāṇḍyas*, *Karpātas*, *Lāṭas*, *Suhmas*, *Gurjaras*, *Kṛitas* and *Chīnas*. Besides some errors in Lahiry's readings of the stanza, his acceptance of Rājyapāla's claim to have been obeyed by all the above peoples as a historical fact is unsound. There is little doubt that it is a conventional claim which is not quite reliable from the historian's point of view in regard to most of the peoples mentioned, even if a few of them may have been actually subdued by the Pāla king.

The *Ml̥cchhas* mentioned in the list appear to have been the Arab Muslims who were in occupation of the lower Indus valley since the first quarter of the eighth century, although the Pāla king had little chance of having come into conflict with them. The *Āṅgas* lived in the Monghyr-Bhagalpur region forming a part of the Pāla dominions in Rājyapāla's time. The *Kāliṅgas* may be identified with the Eastern Gaṅgas then ruling from the city of Kāliṅganagara in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. The *Var̥gas* lived in South-Eastern Bengal and the *Ōdras* of Orissa were then under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas of Guḍḍavarapātaka (modern Jāipur in the Cuttack District). The *Pāṇḍyas* ruled from Madurai over the southernmost Districts of India while the *Karpātas* may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhūṭa (modern Malkhed in the former Hyderabad State). The *Lāṭas* lived in the Nausāri-Broach region of Gujarat and the *Suhmas* in South-West Bengal. The *Gurjaras* were of course the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj.

The most interesting in the above list of peoples is the mention of the *Kṛitas* and *Chīnas* since neither of them generally finds a place in the conventional list of adversaries or subdued peoples found in the records of Indian monarchs. It may be suggested that the Sino-Tibetans are indicated by the name *Chīna*. But the identification of the *Kṛita* people is difficult, since they are not mentioned in the list of peoples found in the Indian epic, Puranic and geographical literature. It is of course tempting to suggest that *Kṛita* is a modification of *Kṛīṭa* which is the name of a well-known Himalayan people. But there is no evidence in Indian literary works in favour of such a modification. Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises the word *Kṛita* as the name of the people of a despised caste on the authority of Wilson, while a tradition recorded by Hiuen-tsang suggests that certain foreign rulers of the Kashmir region were known as *Kṛita* or 'the Bought'.² This reminds us of the name *Kṛita* (*Kṛīṭa*) or *Kṛita* applied in India originally to the Scytho-Parthian era of East Iranian origin, which later came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat.³

Verse 9-10 (lines 12-14) state how Yaśōdāsa was famous for his munificence in the cause of public welfare. Verse 11 (lines 14-16), which along with the next verse (verse 12 in lines 16-17) records the main purpose of the *pradasti*, says that Yaśōdāsa built a huge temple surrounded by eight other shrines and established the god Śaṅkara (Śiva) in his Liṅga form (i.e. a Śivaliṅga) in it. Verse 12 records that the king (i.e. Rājyapāla) dedicated the village of *Madhusrava* in favour of the god Vṛishabhadhvaṇa (Śiva) installed by Yaśōdāsa after having fixed the *nikara* at one hundred

¹ Cf. e.g., the list of the Brāhmaṇa donors in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, which contain seven names ending in *śaṣṭa* and two names ending in *dāsa* (Bhattacharya, *Edmond Spalding*, pp. 32 ff.). The cognomen *Dāsa* is popular among the Brāhmaṇas of Orissa.

² Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 265.

³ Cf. *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 286 note; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, note.

Purāṣas apparently per annum. The coin called *Purāṣa* is well known while the word *nikara* is recognised in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a suitable gift' and in Bengali, by an extension of that meaning, in that of 'an amount which is legitimately payable'. As we have shown elsewhere,¹ when a small amount of rent was fixed for gift lands, it was often designated by some other name than *kara*, such as *triṣṭodaka*, *agrahārapradēyāṁśa*, etc. The word *nikara* has been used in the present record in a similar sense. The inscription thus records a *kara-sāsana*. Many documents of this kind have been discovered in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. But the Bhāturiyā inscription seems to be the only one of the type so far found in Bengal. It may be pointed out here that Lahiry fails to understand this interesting nature of the record since he suggests that the word *nikara* should be corrected to *nishkara*, 'rent-free'. But the emendation is unwarranted in view of the fact that *nishkara* does not suit the metre of the stanza.

In this connection, it may also be pointed out that there is nothing unusual in the Buddhist king Rājyapāla making a grant in favour of the Brahmanical god Śiva. Most of the grants of the Buddhist kings of the Pāla and other dynasties of Eastern India are known to have been made in favour of Brāhmaṇas or Brahmanical deities or religious establishments.² It appears, however, that Yaśōdāsa had to pay an amount of money to the royal treasury in order to get the partially rent-free holding created in favour of the deity installed by him.³

Verses 13-14 in lines 17-19 are of a benedictory nature, while verse 15 (line 20), which is the last stanza in the *prāśasti*, states that the eulogy was engraved on the stone slab by the artisan Śrinidhāna. The name of the engraver has been taken by Lahiry to be Nidhāna. The author of the *prāśasti* is not mentioned in it. It might have been composed by Yaśōdāsa himself.

The inscription does not state where exactly Yaśōdāsa built the temple of Śiva. But probably it was built at Aṭṭamūla in or near Brīhaddhātṭa. These places cannot be identified. It is, however, possible to think that the site of Yaśōdāsa's temple lies within Bhāturiyā where the inscribed slab has been found. The gift village of Madhurava was also probably in the same region.

TEXT*

- [Metres : verses 1, 8, 13 *Śragdharā*; verses 2, 4, 15 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 3, 7, 11 *Sārdūlanikrīḍita*; verses 5, 9 *Mandūkāntā*; verse 6 *Haripī*; verses 10, 14 *Vasantatilaka*; verse 12 *Upajāti*.]
 1 Siddhant⁴ svasti | Vālad-dōr-ddanda-vēg-ānīla-vihata-mahā-kṣmādhār-ōttadga-śrīṅga-grāva-
 bhramā-ōpa-jāta-dhvanī-chakita-chalad-dig-gaj-ōmnkta-nādam(dam) | pāda-nyāsa-
 2 n-nimajjad-dharapi-tala-bhar-ābhugna-Bhōgindra-bhōgan-urittam-vaḥ⁵ pātu Śambhōr-mmu-
 kuṭa-śaśi-kal-ālīngita-vyōma-chandram(ndram) || [1*] Aṭṭamūlam⁶-iti sthānam-Vṛi(m-
 Bri)haddhātṭa-⁷
 3 vinirgatah(tam) | śochinān-dharmma-ślānān⁸-Dāsānām-asti janma-bhūh || [2*] Vash-
 āś-smin-payasān-nidhāv-iva śaśi śrī-Mahadāsō-bhavat-khyātas⁹-tat-tanayō-pi saurya-
 4 nilayaḥ śrī-Śūradāsah kriti | tat-sūnūś-cha¹⁰ samasta-nandita-subhrit-sammānit-ābhyāgataḥ
 sēvyō Rōhapa-bhūdhara-pratisamaḥ śrī-Saṅghadāsō-rthīnām(pām) || [3*]

¹ See JRS, 1932, pp. 4 ff.; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 114-15.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 2 and note 2; Vol. XXX, p. 162, note 4.

³ See above, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ From a photograph.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ Read *urittam* sub.

⁷ Lahiry reads *Aṭṭamūlam*.

⁸ Lahiry reads *ślānān*.

⁹ Lahiry reads *ślānān*.

¹⁰ Lahiry reads *śaśi bhara-khyātas*.

¹¹ Lahiry reads *sūnūś-cha*.

- 5 Upayēma sūtam aṣ-ṣi Dūrvāyī¹ Sūryakunḍayōḥ | Sarasvatīm-Umā² Sambhur-Mēnā-
Himavatōr-iva || [4*] Jātas-tābhyām jagati mahitō janma-bhūḥ sū-guṇānān.
- 6 khyātāḥ kṛtīyā³ diś diś Yaśōdāsa ity-uddhata-sṛḥ | dēvaḥ prithvi-valaya-tilakō jitvarāḥ
pāṭhivānāḥ-chakrō vācchām-sulupam-iva yam.
- 7 mantram Rājyapālāḥ || [5*] Lavaṇa-ja-adhi-śyām-ōpāntāḥ-diḥ-antara-gōchara-tvarita-
chakrā-kahōṇipāla-pratishṭā⁴-nidhānāḥ | sochiva-padaṣṭh.
- 8 yaamin-sāsaty⁵-akhaṇḍita-sāsanō vyadhita vasudhām⁶-ēka-chokhattrām sa Rāmaparā-
kramāḥ || [6*] Mātāṅgair-munada-garvvitair-upanatair-aśvōrasair-bhūmijai-
- 9 i-urvvyā⁷ sasya-samriddhaya⁸ va(ba)hutithair-bhōmāḥ-chayair-arjitair | sampajjya⁹ dviya-
dēvatāḥ Surapatēr-āditsun-ōv-ōpadam yāḥ śrī-Rāmaparākramēṇa
- 10 jayin¹⁰ taur-ādhi¹¹ kṛtāḥ || [7*] Mīśochchaitr-uchchhanna-kalpāḥ parijana-ni(vi)kalair¹²-
Aṅga-Kāliṅga-Vaṅgair-Ōddair-ōddha-jivair-apagata-kapaṭair
- 11 Pāpāya-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭair | Suhma¹³ s-ōpapradānair-asi-bhaya-chakritair-Gurjjara-
Kṛta-Chinair¹⁴-yaamā¹⁵-taur-ādhi¹⁶ karam-vidadhātī¹⁷ dadhir¹⁸ bharttur-ājā-
- 12 i-śrībhūḥ || [8*] Tōy-ādharair-amṛita-śīrair-ājya-dhār¹⁹-vinidair-agny-ājair-upahita-
mudhair-yajvanām-mandirair²⁰-cha || vidyā-sattrair-ghana-śi(t)l-śilair-dēva-
- 13 gēhair-matṭhair-vvā a-śka-dvārā diś diś guṇair-yaśya jāgertī kṛtīḥ || [9*] Ārāma-
-śi(t)tu²¹-maṭha-maṇḍapa-sattrā-dāna-prāsāda-saṅkrāma-jalāsaya-
- 14 sannivāsair | tair-ōbhair-ātma-charit-ōkti-padaḥ prāsastair-yāḥ svarū²² prāsasti-prithu-
pṛtham-iv-ākṛit-ōrvvīm(rvīm) || [10*] Aśtābhūḥ suta-mandirair parivṛitair
- 15 prāsādam-abhrasā-likam sampādy²³-ēndu-marichī-jāla-dhavalair-līpta(m) sudhā-karḍdamair |
tēn-āyāḥ naya-śālīnā śuchi-śilā-vinyasta-līg-ākṛitir-bhuktyā
- 16 dharoma-parāyaṇēna bhagavān-ārōpitaḥ-Saṅkarāḥ || [11*] Aśmai Yaśōdāsa-nivāsītāya śrī-
Rājyapālō Vṛishabhadvajāya | śatam parāṇā-nikaram²⁴ niyamyā
- 17 Madhuraravām grāmam-adāt-khittīḥ || [12*] Pāpū-Prachhava(ba)chir-Bharata-Dāśarath-
Ēkabhāskū-Rām-Agnimitrair kṛtīnām-pālanāya kṛtipatī-tilakair prārthi-
- 18 tam yatra bhūyāḥ | tāra vrū(hrū)mō na tāvad-vayam-ati-laghavō yā(jā)tu²⁵ kim prārthanā-
bhīr-yaśmād-viśv-ōpakāra-pragihita-manasaḥ pālayanty-ōva santāḥ || [13*] Aśy-ōdam-ā-
- 19 yatāpām-ākṛita-bāri-ōbhām saṅkalpa-siddham-iva niramitam-Indumaulēḥ | śtat-tu tā-
vad-śiḥa tishṭhata śaila-sindhū-saṁsthāna-sustham-avanīṭalam-asti yāvat || [14*]
- 20²⁶ Indranīla-maṇi-mugdhō śilā-paṭṭ-ō-tinirmalō | praśastir-iyam-utkirṇā Śrīnidhānēna²⁷
ūpamā || [15*]

¹ Lahiry reads *Dūrvāyī*. The comma after *śūryakunḍayōḥ* in the place of *danda* in Lahiry's transcript seems to be a misprint.

² Lahiry reads *Sarasvatī-prasāda*.

³ Lahiry reads *pratishṭha*.

⁴ Lahiry reads *yaamin-bhāṇṭy*. The idea in the second half of the stanza is that Yaśōdāsa was made a *Sachiva* as he was running the administration of the whole earth on behalf of his master.

⁵ Lahiry reads *vyadhita-mudhā*.

⁶ Read *sampādyas*. Lahiry reads *sampādyā* or *sampājya*.

⁷ Lahiry reads *vīṇā*.

⁸ Lahiry reads *chāpā* or *chāpā*.

⁹ Read *āśram-vidadhātī*.

¹⁰ Lahiry wrongly suggests, "Read either *gajvanam-mandirair-cha* or *yajvanam-mandirair*". The former reading is preferable.

¹¹ Lahiry reads *ato* and observes, "Reading *sū* is doubtful. The metre also does not permit it. Read *pūṛṭha* for *sū*."

¹² Lahiry reads *sū*.

¹³ Lahiry suggests the correction *nishkramā* without noticing that the emendation does not suit the metre. He understands the previous word as *parādām* and fails to grasp the real import of the stanza.

¹⁴ Lahiry retains *gāṇa*.

¹⁵ The line is smaller than the other lines and has been engraved in a central position and not from the beginning of the space.

¹⁶ Lahiry prefers *śrī Nidhānēna*.

BHATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA

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 १९. ...
 २०. ...

(from a Photograph)

No. 29—MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 5

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTACAMUND

(Received on 10.5.1958)

A set of **three** copper plates was recently discovered at the village of **Mallar** in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was secured by Mr. Amarnath Sao of Bilaspur, who showed it to Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma of Raigarh, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Pandit Pandeya advised Mr. Sao to send the plates for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. Sao was kind enough to agree with the request and the plates were received in my office about the end of April 1958.

The three plates, which have rounded corners, measure each about 5.4 inches in length and 2.95 inches in height. The thickness of the central plate is about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch, the other two plates being thinner (about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick). The plates are strung on a ring $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. But the **seal**, originally affixed to the ring, is now lost. There are in all 23 lines of writing, six lines each on the inner side of the first plate and the obverse and reverse of the second plate and only five lines on the inner side of the third plate. The weight of the three plates together is $32\frac{1}{2}$ tolas and that of the ring only $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The charter is written in 'box-headed' characters and its language is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription resembles very closely the **Āraṅg plates**¹ of the donor of the present grant, which is the only other record of the king so far discovered. The sign for medial *i* is made by inserting a dot in the circular sign indicating medial *i*. The *upadhānīya* and *jīhāmūliya* have been used respectively in lines 3 and 13 and lines 8 and 18. The numerical symbol 5 occurs twice in line 23. A horizontal stroke with a dot both above and below has often been used as a mark of punctuation (cf. lines 12, 16, 22). In some cases, a pair of horizontal strokes, one above the other, has been employed to indicate either the mark of punctuation (cf. lines 10, 16 and 17) or the sign for *visarga* (cf. lines 3 and 11). The normal sign of *visarga* made of two dots placed one above the other, which is also used in the inscription (cf. *bhū-mulak* in line 19), has been once used to indicate a mark of punctuation in line 5. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of double nasal and the reduplication of *t* after a nasal. Some consonants have often been reduplicated before and after *r*. The word *śiṃha* has been written *śiṅha* as in the **Āraṅg plates** of Jayarāja and some other records of the kings of Śarabhapura.

The record is not dated in any era. It registers a charter of king **Jayarāja** (Mahā-Jayarāja) issued from **Śarabhapura** which seems to have been situated near modern Sirpur in the Raipur District. The charter was issued on the **fifth day of the month of Kārttika in the fifth year** of the reign of Jayarāja who very probably flourished about the middle of the sixth century A. D., although his exact reign period cannot be determined.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and a sentence in lines 1-5 referring to the order of **Mahā-Jayarāja**, described as a *paramahāgarvata*, issued from **Śarabhapura** to the agriculturist house-holders of **Kadambapadrullaka** in **Antaranālaka**. The name of the gift village Kadambapadrullaka seems to be a combination of the names of two contiguous localities called Kadambapadra and Ullaka. The next sentence in lines 5-10 quotes the text of the order which is to the effect that the said village was granted by the king in favour of the **Brāhmaṇa Kapardivāmin** of the **Kautea gōtra**. The village was granted as a permanent rent-free holding on the

¹ Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

occasion of a lunar eclipse, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents, by means of a copper-plate charter. The following sentence in lines 10-12 advises the house-holders of Kadambapadrullaka to be obedient to the dones and to pay him the usual *bhōga* (periodical offerings) and *bhāga* (the king's share in the produce of the fields).

Lines 12 ff. contain the donor's request to the future rulers of the land for the protection of his grant. This is followed in lines 16 ff. by some of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses represented as the sayings of Vyāsa. The concluding part of the document in lines 22-23 states that the executor of the grant was the king himself (cf. *svamukhādyāyā*) and that the charter was engraved by Achalasinhha who was also the engraver of Jayarāja's Āraṅg plates. The last passage contains the date of the grant, which, as already indicated above, was the fifth day of Kārttika in the king's 5th regnal year.

The Āraṅg plates of Jayarāja were issued on the 35th day of the month of Mārgaśīra in the 5th year of his reign. It will thus be seen that the present grant was issued a few weeks earlier than the Āraṅg plates. The seal of Jayarāja attached to the present grant, like the seals of other copper-plate grants of the family to whom he belonged, bears the representation of Gaḍalakahmi above the legend which is a stanza in *Anuśṭup* arranged in two lines. The legend on the seal of the Āraṅg plates was read by Fleet as follows:

Prasanna-ā[rīda]yasy-aiva vikram-ākṛā[m]āta-viśvaśaḥ [||]*

śrīmāt Jayarājasya śāsana[m] ripu-śāsanam [||]*

On the seal of the Raipur plates of Śulīvarāja (Mahā-Sudēvarāja), son of Jayarāja's brother, Mānsmātra Durgarāja, the first and third feet of the stanza were read by the same scholars as *Prasanna-hridayasy-aiva* and *śrīmāt-Sudēvarājasya*,¹ though Pandit L. P. Pandeya read them respectively as *Prasanna-tanasy-ēdam* and *Śrī-Mahā-Jayarājasya* suggesting that Jayarāja's seal was attached to the charter of Sudēvarāja.² The reading of the first foot of the stanza on both these seals is apparently *Prasanna-tanasy-ēdam*, but that of the third foot appears to be *śrīmāt Jayarājasya* in both the cases. Jayarāja's seal attached to the recently published Sirpur plates of Sudēvarāja, which seems to offer the same reading as the seals of the Āraṅg plates of Jayarāja and the Raipur plates of Sudēvarāja, reads:

Prasanna-tanasy-ēdam vikram-ākṛāta-viśvaśaḥ [||]*

śrīmāt Jayarājasya śāsana[m] ripu-śāsanam[nam] [||]*

Jayarāja was the son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra who ruled sometime after Śarabha, founder of the city of Śarabhapura, and the latter's son Narēndra, known from his Pipardula and Kurud plates.* Since Śarabha's daughter's son Gōparāja is known from the Eran inscription⁴ to have died in 510 A.D., Śarabha and Narēndra appear to have flourished respectively about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. Prasannamātra and his son Jayarāja, who issued the charter under study, may therefore be tentatively assigned approximately to about the first and second quarters of the sixth century respectively.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Śarabhapura, the earlier capital of the family to which Jayarāja belonged, has already been indicated above. The other two geographical names are: (1) the gift village of Kadambapadrullaka, and (2) the district of Antaranālaka in which the village was situated. I am not sure about their exact location.

¹ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 197.

² *Mahākāśa Historical Society's Papers*, Vol. II, p. 41.

³ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 103, note 4.

⁴ Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139 ff.; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 263 ff.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1290.

14

14

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TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Svaati [i*] Śarabhapurāt dvi(vi)kkram-ōpanata-sāmantha(ta)-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-pra-
śk-āmbu-
2 bhir-dh[au]ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-smattō(nt-ō)ddharana-hētur-vvasu-vasudhā-
3 gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitri(tp)-pād-ānuddhyātā² īrī-Mahā-Jayarājaḥ
4 A[m]tta(ta)ranālakīya-Kaḍaṇ(da)mbapadrullakē prativāsi-k[ū]tumbinas-samā-
5 jñāpayati |³ viditam=astu vō yath-āsmābhir-ayaṇ grāmas-Tridaśapati-
6 sadana-sukha-pratiśṭhā-karō yāvad=ravi-śāli-tār[ā]-kīraṇa-pratihata-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 ghōr-āddha(ndha)kāra[m*] jagad-avatishṭhatē tāvad=upabhōjya(gyaḥ) sa-nidhis=s-ōpa-
nidhi-⁴
8 r=s-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāval(vō)śya[h*] sarva-kara-visarjitaḥ=K[au]tesa-gōtra-Brāhmaṇa-
Kapa-
9 rd[d]ivāminas⁵=sōm-ōparāgē mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivra(vi)ddha-
10 yē udaka-pūrvva[m] tāmbra(mra)-śāsanēn=ātī[s]ṛiṣṭas⁶=tē⁷ yūyam=ōvam=upala-
11 bhy-ā[e]y-ā[ñ]ā-śravaṇa-vidhāyā bhūtvā yath-ōchita-bhōga-bhāgām=upanayaṇttāḥ(taḥ)⁸
sukham
12 prativā[t*]syathā |⁹ bhaviṣyatas=cha bhūmipān-anudariṣyati |¹⁰ Dānā[d-vi]śiṣṭa-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 m=anupālanaṇam purāṇāt¹¹ dharmmaṣhu niśchita-dhiyaḥ-pravadatī(da)nti dharmma¹²
[i*]
14 tasmā[d*]=dvijāya suvisuddha-kula-śrūtāya dattāṇ bhuvam bhavatu vō mati-
15 r=ōva gōptum(ptum ||)¹³ bhavadvi(dbhi)t=apy-śhā dattir-anupāla-

¹ From the original plates and their impressions.² The *śisarga* is indicated by two horizontal strokes instead of the usual dots.³ The punctuation mark is indicated by a *śisarga* sign.⁴ Originally *dāi* was engraved.⁵ Correctly *śāminā*. But the sixth case-ending may have been used for the Brāhmana having paid some money for the purchase of the village.⁶ There is here an unnecessary sign made of two horizontal strokes placed one above the other. This may be regarded as a redundant *śisarga* rather than a mark of punctuation.⁷ We should better have *śā* instead of *ś* in such contexts.⁸ *Vinaya* is written here with two horizontal strokes.⁹ The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and another below.¹⁰ Read *purāṇāt*.¹¹ Read *dharmmaṣhu*. There appear to be an *anudda* sign above *mma* and the faint trace of a final *m* to its right.¹² The letters *matō=śa gōptum* | had been engraved here originally for a second time and were afterwards rubbed off.

- 16 yitavyā¹ Vyāsa-gītānīś-ch-ātra ślōkān-udāharashti(ti)² Agnēr-apatyam³
 17 prathamam suvarṇam⁴ bhūṭ-vvaishnavi sūryya-sutāi-cha gāvah⁵ []^{*} dattās-trays-
 18 s-tēna bhavaratti(ti) lōkā yah-kāñchanam gām(gā)ñ-cha mahīñ-cha dadyā[ti]⁶ []^{*}

Third Plate

- 19 Shat(Sha)hṭi-varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah []^{*} āchchhātā ch-ānumath-
 20 ttā(tā) cha tāñ(tā)ny-ēva narakō vasēt []^{*} Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājābhbbhi(jabhi)s-
 Sa-
 21 gar-ādibhih []^{*} yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadā
 22 phalam(la)m-iti []^{*} eva-mukh-ājñayā⁷ []^{*} uktī(tkī)ṛṇam Achalasūgbhēna⁸ []^{*}
 23 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara⁹ parṇ(pa)ñcha 5 Kārttika-diśō¹⁰ 5 []^{*}

¹ The mark of punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and another below.

² The mark of punctuation has been written here with two horizontal strokes.

³ There is here an unnecessary mark of punctuation written with two horizontal strokes.

⁴ Visarpa is written here with two horizontal strokes.

⁵ There is a faint trace of i in the original.

⁶ Read *rimbha.

⁷ Read *vatsardā.

⁸ Read divandā.

No. 30—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA II, YEAR 11

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.1958)

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved to the right of the *Sargacāśal* on the south wall of the fourth *prākāra* in the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at **Srīraṅgam**, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. The language as well as the script of the inscription is Tamil and it is engraved in characters of the 12th century A.D.

The record registers the gift of a golden lamp-stand with a ruby set in it to the god Raṅganātha and a sum of 683 *achche* for lighting the lamp on all the days of the year. The gift was made by Kōḍai Ravivarman, 'one of the *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ*' of Malaināḍu in the 11th year of the reign of **Kō-Parakēsarivarman** alias **Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ Rājarājadēva**. The record begins with the *Meykkīrti*: *Pū-nṭuruvīya tirumādam*, etc., and hence the ruler is to be identified with the second king of the said name in the Chōla dynasty. The details of the date, viz., 11th year, *Mirichchika* (*Vṛiśchika*) śu. 5, Monday, *Tiruvōṇam*, regularly correspond to November 19, 1158 A.D. The text of the inscription is drafted in the form of an undertaking given by the representatives of the administrative bodies of the temple such as *Śrīvaiṣṇava-cō-nāriyam*, *Śrībhāṇḍāra-vāriyam*, *Peṇ-payḍāriḷ*, *Kāṅḡāṇiṣeyvār* (supervisors) and the temple accountant. It is stated that, having taken charge of the lamp and having deposited the money in the temple treasury (*Śrībhāṇḍāram*), they would arrange for lighting the lamp on all the 365 days of the year with the interest accruing to the money deposited.

The inscription is important because it gives an earlier date for the donor, **Kōḍai Ravivarman**, who was a king of **Vēṇāḍu** and is known from some inscriptions from the Travancore region.² The date of our inscription would be equivalent to year 332 of the Kollam era, in which the Travancore records are usually dated. There is, however, no dated record from Travancore mentioning the reigning king between Kollam 325³ and 336⁴ thus leaving a gap of about 12 years in the history of **Vēṇāḍu**. On the former date the reigning king was Kōḍai Kēraḷavarman and it seems to be the latest date available for him. On the latter date, Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi is stated to have been ruling **Vēṇāḍu**. Of the name Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, Vira Ravivarman is the name and Tiruvaḍi a well-known designation adopted by the kings of **Vēṇāḍu**. The expression *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ* used in our record enables us to identify the donor Kōḍai Ravivarman with Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of **Vēṇāḍu** due to the proximity of the dates. The locative suffix *il* in the expression *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷil* can only indicate that there was at least one other member of the family with a title to the throne. On the date of this record, Kōḍai Ravivarman was perhaps the crown-prince while Kōḍai Kēraḷavarman or another person not known to us was the ruling king. The institution of the office of the crown-prince is indicated in the inscriptions of Travancore as *ṅaṅḡaru vāḷunnaruḷuṅḡara*.⁵ The name Kōḍai Ravivarman suggests that he may have been related to Kōḍai Kēraḷavarman. It is likely that Vira-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi identified with Kōḍai Ravi-

¹ A. R. Ep. No. 65 of 1936-37.

² See note 3 below.

³ *TAS*, Vol. IV, p. 21, No. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 7, No. 4. The opposite year to Kollam 336 is a mistake and hence the correct date would be Kollam 330. The corresponding date as pointed out by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar would be Saturday, April 29, 1161 A.D.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 78, text line 1. Could it be that the titles Vira and Tiruvaḍi were not applied to Kōḍai Ravivarman because he was only a crown-prince and that the record under publication pertains to a grant made to a temple lying in the territories of the Chōlas?

varman of our record came to the throne sometime after Kollam 332, the date of the present record, and continued to rule till at least Kollam 340, the latest date assigned to him.¹

In connection with the question of the relationship between the king of Vēpāḍu and the Chōla monarch, reference may be made to an inscription of this period from Puravaśēri² near Nāgarkōil in Vēpāḍu. It states that, in Kollam 340, some members of the Chōla military establishment stationed at Kōttāru, which is also near Nāgarkōil in the same territory,³ in association with some members of two other Chōla regiments made certain endowments to the god at Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the approximate date of the foundation of the colony being Kollam 336.⁴ It is evident that the military cantonments at many places including Kōttāru established by Kulōttuṅga I continued to have their presence felt for all practical purposes.⁵

During the period of Chōla suzerainty from the time of Kulōttuṅga I, the kings of Vēpāḍu appear to have been in close alliance with the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings. A Tirunelvēli inscription⁶ of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, whose date of accession is 1238 A.D., refers to the newly formed village of Iravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam stated to have been named after the [king's] *appāttar* (i.e., father's grandfather). It is not unlikely that the reference here is to Ravivarman of the present record, though the relationship cannot be exactly worked out at present. The contemporaneity of a Ravivarman of Vēpāḍu with Māravarman Śrīvallabha is, however, established on the basis of a few records from Puravaśēri in the Kanyakumari District of Madras State.⁷ The identity of Ravivarman of Vēpāḍu mentioned in the inscription of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II with his namesake who is considered to be the contemporary of Māravarman Śrīvallabha, a predecessor of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, implies a matrimonial connection between the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvaḍis of Vēpāḍu.⁸

The word *carakkōṭṭēṅga* (line 8) in this inscription seems to indicate that the king of Vēpāḍu was not himself present at Śritāṅgam but was represented by *Uḷḷiruppu Kaṇḍan Iravi*⁹ who was entrusted with the lamp and the money. *Uḷḷiruppu*¹⁰ seems to mean here the secretary for the internal affairs of the king. Kōḍai Ravivarman like most of the kings of Travancore seems to have had a strong leaning towards Vaiṣṇavism since he had also made a gift of lands to Puravari-Viṇṇagar-ālvār at Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

¹ *TAS*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Though Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar's suggestion assigning this record to Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi is not directly borne out by the record as pointed out by Mr. Velu Pillai (*Travancore State Museum*, Vol. II, p. 78, n. 3), it may be accepted till we get some definite date for Ravivarman's successor.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Mr. Velu Pillai (*loc. cit.*) has ignored the second of the two documents which is closely connected with the first.

³ Nāgarkōil, Puravaśēri and Kōttāru are situated within a territory called Nāḍji-nāḍu in contemporary Vēpāḍu inscriptions. This proves that Kōttāru, the military centre, formed part of the territory directly ruled by the king of Vēpāḍu.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1; cf. also No. 4. It may be noted that Singan Arāṅgan, the founder of the Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam colony figures in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, No. 2) which is dated in the reign of Māravarman Śrīvallabha.

⁵ The general position of the rulers of Vēpāḍu and the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings in relation to the Chōlas, the main suzerain power, has been correctly indicated by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 7).

⁶ *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 446, lines 8 and 13.

⁷ cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 72, where a different construction has been adopted.

⁸ *A.H. Ep.*, 1896, p. 5, para. 15. See also above, Vol. XXV, p. 84; *supra*, n. 4.

⁹ Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II was possibly the grandson of Jaṭavarman Kuladēvāra stated to be a son of Māravarman Śrīvallabha, whose inscriptions commence with the introduction of the *Pāṇḍya* and the great-grandson of Ravivarman of Vēpāḍu.

¹⁰ One Kaṇḍan Iravi of Mālachobāri is mentioned in the Kilimanṭir record of Kollam 343 (*TAS*, Vol. V, p. 84).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 3. Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar has interpreted the term as the name of an office connected with the tax department, while Mr. Sundaram Pillai takes it as the name of a place (*ibid.*, page 17 and note 4).

The endowment at Srirangam providing for the lighting of the lamp with ghee and camphor was made in *acchēu*, the coinage of the Travancore territory. The corresponding coinage of the Chōla country being the *kāṣu*, the rate of exchange is enumerated to be 9½ *kāṣu* for one *acchēu*. But, while the capital invested, i.e., 68½ *acchēu*, would yield at this rate only less than 632½ *kāṣu*, the amount required as capital is stated to be 633 *kāṣu*. The total money required in a year for both ghee and camphor comes to 118 *kāṣu* and hence the rate of interest works out to slightly more than 18½ per cent. per annum. The money was deposited into the treasury since it was felt that, if it was invested on lands, the endowment might suffer in case the lands fail [to yield].

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti Śrī [] Pā²-maruviya Tīru-māduṃ Puvī-mādu[m*] Jeya-māduṃ [* nā-maruviya Kalai-māduṃ Puḡa]-mādu-payandu pulḡa | aru-maṛai-vidi-neri[y-a]pattun*-ta|aiḡpa | varu-maṛai-arimai-maṇi-muḡi-sūdi-t | tiḡaḡ-veḡ[kuḡai-ttiṣai-kkaḡu(i)r-ettun- | taṅgu-tani-kkūḡan-
- 2 tāṅ-eḡa viḡaṅḡ-p | poru-Kali-ppattigai³-checheṅḡl turappa | poru-kadir-ā|[*]puvi vaḡa[r*]nd*-uḡaṅvara | Villavar yirattar⁴ Mī[pa]var Śiṅḡalar[Pallavar Nudaliyar⁵ pā[r]ttivar paṇiya | eṅṅ-aruḡ-kayṇil⁶ maṅḡaga[m*] puṇa[r*]ndadu⁷ | ṣempon-
- 3 vīra-śiṅḡāṣa[ṇat]tu-ppuvaya-[muḡu]dudaiyā|oḡum⁸ vīḡḡirund-aruḡiya Kā-Pparakēsaripa-rmar-āṇa Tribu[va]ṇa-choḡak[kara]va[r*]ttigai | Śrī-Rājarājadēvarakru yāḡḡu paḡiṇonḡvadu Mī(Vi)richchika-nāyarru Pārva-
- 4 paḡḡhattu-Ppaḡḡa[miyu]m Tiḡaḡ-kīḡamaiyum [pe]ḡḡa Tīru[vō]patti[ī]nā⁹ Tīru-vaṅḡam Periya-kōyilīl Tīru[va]ḡi-vaḡavaḡ=cheyḡḡa Tīruvaṅḡadāṣarum Tiruppadiyil Śrī-vaiyāḡavarga|il Paḡalai-Pperi-
- 5 ya-kōyil-dāṣaru[m] Ka|ndāḡai-Tīruvaṅḡa-Nā[rāya]ṇa-nam[bi]yum Kuravaṣeri-Tīruva-ṅḡa-va|al[ā]rum | Śrī-vaiyāḡava-¹⁰vāriyāḡ=cheyḡḡa Nālū[ri]r-Śiṅḡappirā-nambiyum Vaḡḡippuḡattu Tīruvā[y*]kkulattu Ā|vāḡum Vīraṅāṣya-
- 6 . . [vaḡḡu]varāpati Ta [Va]ḡamadurai-ppirandā Śrī-baṅ¹¹ riyam Tīru-vaṅḡattu sabaiyārīl Kavunḡiyar Tīruvaṅḡadēvaḡ Ā|kkonḡavilli-baḡḡanum Pārādāyan Kēṣavan Puruḡḡottama-baḡḡanum P[or]ḡ-paḡḡāriga| Pāra-

¹ From impression.² Several texts of this *prajastī* have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions* Series. Important variations from this text are indicated in the foot-notes.³ A *ḡanda* has been introduced in lines 1-3 at the end of each metrical line.⁴ Cf., *SII*, Vol. III, No. 35, where we have *ḡaḡittum aru-tamḡun-taḡi taḡaiḡpa* in a different metre.⁵ Loc. cit: *koruḡali-ppaḡḡiyai*; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 822: *Karuḡali paḡḡimāḡch=cheṅḡl turappa*. The use of the word *ḡol* in the next phrase supports the former and *patti* has accordingly to be translated as 'a stray bull' and not 'a prostitute' (ibid., Vol. III, p. 81).⁶ *SII*, Vol. III, No. 35: *vaḡiy-āḡi*.⁷ Cf. *pulī* in *Inscriptions of Pudukottai State*, No. 136, and *vaḡarḡum* in *SII*, loc. cit.⁸ *SII*, loc. cit. *Telungar*.⁹ Loc. cit: *mudaliyar* which yields a better sense.¹⁰ Loc. cit: *korpe* which is better.¹¹ Read *puṇarandā*: cf. *Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State*, No. 136: *puṇarandā* which is better.¹² Read **uḡaiyāḡodum*.¹³ Read *Tīruvaḡattu vāḡi*.¹⁴ Read **vaḡḡeṣe*.¹⁵ This gap may be restored as **ḡḡru-vā*.

- 7 [dāya]n Tiruvēṅgaḍavan A[na]ntagūṛāyaṇanum Pāradā āgaḷ Śi-Rāmanum śrī-bāgavata dāriga] pavūr [Śr] [laṭ-kiṛamaṇittanum Kaṅgāṇi sey-vārgaḷlī Āri[ya]n śrī-Pārāṅkulanambiyum Ā[vānnum Kōyir-kaṇakku Tiruvaraṅgappi-riyaunum
- 8 . v-aṇaivōm Malai-nāṭṭu Vēl-nāṭṭu Adigaḷlī śrī ci¹ Kō[dai]² nman vara-kkāṭṭiṇa kalaiyil ora māḷṇiḷḷam-aḷuttina ponnin³ tirukkuttivīḷḷakku i⁴ onru idu [i⁵]⁶ idu Emberumānār⁷ aru⁸ iḷcheḥeyalpaḍiy⁹ kaikkonḍu i-ttiruk.
- 9 .¹⁰ [la]giyamaṇavāḷa-Pperumā¹¹ tirumūḷēy tirumūḷ[ā]¹² ku eriya-kkaḍavad-āga i-ttiruvīḷḷakku¹³ yu¹⁴m-iḍattu Tiruvaraṅgaḍevanāl nā¹⁵ onrukku naṇu-ney nāḷiy-āga nā¹⁶ mun-nūṛru-aru-pattu aṇjukku ney mun-nūṛru aru-patt-aiy-āṇāḷiyum nā¹⁷ onrukku kaṇpūram irap[ḍu]
- 10 dī¹⁸ āga nā¹⁹ mun-nūṛru-aru-pattu aṇjukku-kkaṇpūram mu-ppattu aru-kaḷaḷi-araikum ippaḍi chandr-ā[ḍit[te*]var-chella-kkaḍavad-āgavum [i²⁰]²¹ idu ōellam-iḍattu pāṭṭiḷē nilaṇ-goṇḍu viḍum-iḍattu nilaṇḷaḷukku aḷivu vandaḷōḍu idu ōellāḍē oḷiyum-eṇnum āri ri²² baṇḍārat.
- 11 .²³ ponn-āga oḷukkiṇāl virattiyālē selvad-āgavum pā[r*]ttu Tiruvaraṅgaḍevaḷ[ā]ḷi naṇu-ney nāḷikkum kaṇpūram irap[ḍu] māḷṇiḷḷakku kāṇu onrukku-Tiruvaraṅgaḍevaḷ nēy e-ṇṇāḷi āgavum kāṇu onrukku-kkaṇpūram arai-kkaḷaḷi-āgavum ōr-āḍu nā²⁴ mun-nūṛru-aru-pa-
- 12 .²⁵ ttu aṇjukku vēḇḍu-kāṇu 633²⁶ aru-nūṛru mu-ppattu māṇnum kā[ḷu] oṇṇāḷē-kāḷukku aḷichu onr-āga aḷichu 683²⁷ aru-patt-eṭṭē-kāḷē-arai-kkālum Śrī-baṇḍāratte i-Ekōdai Iravipaṇmanukk-āga i-pponṇa tirukkuttivīḷḷakku i-v-aḷichu koḷuvan.
- 13 .²⁸ da Paduvāy-amaruḍa Nārāyaṇanum Śolama vivā Tiruvaraṅgaḍāsanum Irapaḍiṅga-Maṇavāḷanum Uḷḷiruppu-Ekaṇḍan Iraviyum Aḷagiyaṇavāḷa-pperumā²⁹ Tiru-ppaḷi-ttoṇḷaḷ-udaiyārgaḷlī Śrī-Kulaśēkhara-Ppiramamārāyanum Aṇi-araṅga-Ppiram-mārāyaṇum iv[v*]-aṇaivāṇi ko.
- 14 .³⁰ ḍu i-ttiru-ppaḍiyil munbu [iv-aṇaivōm³¹num] [Em]b[ḷe]ṇmānār aruḷcheḥeyal-ppaḍiy³² i-ppon Śrī-baṇḍāratte oḷukki(ku)vittu-kkaṇḍu virattiyālē chandr-āḍittavar i-ttiruvīḷḷakku-chella-kkaḍavad-āga naḍuvir-tirumāḷiḷlī Nāḷari-paṇḷen-Tiruvāḷiḷlī³³
- 15 .³⁴ Mērk-aḍaiya kaḷ-voṭṭiṇu-vittōm iv[v*]-aṇaivōm [i³⁵]³⁶ idu Śrīvaṇṇaḷaṇa³⁷ rakalai [i³⁸]

¹ This letter is superfluous.

² This may be restored as *Iravipa*. Cf. line 12.

³ This numeral is given in its Tamil form.

⁴ There is a gap of about five feet of space unengraved here.

⁵ The mention of *Emberumānār* is obviously in reference to the image of Rāmanuja since he is known to have passed away in Saka 1039=1127 A.D. according to the chronogram *dharma naktatē*.

⁶ This letter is superfluous.

⁷ This may be restored as *kōyil-A*.

⁸ The missing letters are *ciḷak*.

⁹ The missing letters are *eri*.

¹⁰ This has to be restored as *maṇḍiḷē*.

¹¹ This letter is superfluous.

¹² Cf. line 8 above.

¹³ The *naḍuvir-tirumāḷi* is evidently so called because, of the seven *prākāras* (*paṭṭa-āraṇa*) of this temple, the fourth (where this inscription is engraved) is the central one. *Nāḍari-paṇḷen Tiruvāḷi* is the original name of what is now popularly called *Svargavāḷi*.

¹⁴ Read *maṇḍiḷē*.

No. 31—BUDHERA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1351, SAKA 1216

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 19.2.1958)

About the beginning of 1955, I visited the small village of **Budhera**, about four miles to the south-east of Gudar in the Pichhore Pargana formerly belonging to the Narwar District of the Gwalior State but now to the Shivapuri District of Madhya Pradesh, in order to copy an inscription. Within the limits of the village there stands a hillock close to the north-eastern end of the Jhaloni tank and a roughly dressed pillar of stone, about eighteen feet high above the ground and 15 inches in breadth and 11½ inches in thickness, stands on the hillock. The inscription in seven lines of indifferently engraved and badly preserved writing was found on the said pillar.

The inscription was previously noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, Samvat 1986 (1929-30 A. D.)*, pp. 22 and 59-60 (No. 23), and in H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyakt Abhilekh*, p. 26, No. 170. The *Report* gives the name of the village both as Budera and Budhera and says at p. 22, "It (i.e. the pillar) bears a crudely engraved inscription dated V. S. 1351, which refers to Chanderi and its Bundela rulers. As the inscription is not fully legible, the exact purpose of the erection of the pillar is not clear." Elsewhere at pp. 59-60 it speaks of the inscription as written in the Hindi language and dated in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 during the reign of king Padmarāja and further says, "Refers to Kīrti-durga and mentions Padmarāja who is endowed with the royal title *śamasta-rāj-āvalī-samalanākṛita-paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Other names which can be read are Udaisiṅha and his son [Hari]rāja, etc. Being badly written and partially damaged, its object is not clear." Dvivedi's work quotes the same views; but he spells the name of the village both as *Budhērā* and as *Budhērā*.

It is not quite clear from the published notices of the inscription, referred to above, whether Kīrti-durga has been regarded as identical with the Chanderi fort and king Padmarāja has been taken to be a Bundela ruler. The authors of the notices have also not made it clear whether there is any possibility of Bundela rule at Chanderi so early as the end of the thirteenth century when the inscription was inscribed. Another important point they should not have ignored to discuss is that how an imperial ruler named Padmarāja was ruling at Budhera near Narwar and Chanderi at lat. 34° 42' and long. 79° 11' in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 when the Yajvapāla monarch Gaṇapati (known dates between V. S. 1348 and 1357, i.e. 1292-1300 A. D.) is known to have been ruling over the same region in the same period from his capital at Nalapura or Narwar at lat. 25° 39' 2" and long. 77° 56' 57". As a matter of fact, we have found on a careful examination of the impressions of the record that there is no mention in it of a king named Padmarāja or of Chanderi and the Bundelas, while it clearly speaks of an officer of Gaṇapati (line 3) apparently as stationed at Kīrti-durga. This Gaṇapati is undoubtedly the Yajvapāla king of that name. There are also a few other errors of omission and commission in the published notices of the inscription.

Owing to careless engraving and unsatisfactory preservation, it is no doubt difficult to read the whole record. A number of letters are damaged here and there, though the damage is greater in the second half of the epigraph than in the first. But the purport of the record is quite clear. The pillar is a hero stone raised in the memory of two persons who are described in the inscription as *hata* or killed apparently in a contest with certain unspecified enemies.

The inscription is written in the Dēvanāgarī characters of the mediæval period. Its language is not Hindi but corrupt Sanskrit. The date is quoted as V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 without any other detail. The year corresponds to 1294-95 A. D. The inscription seems to have been incised towards the close of 1294 A. D. or about the beginning of the following year.

The record begins with the date : *Sa[m]vatu 1351 Śake J[21]ṣṭhē*. This is followed in lines 1-4 by the auspicious word *svasti* and the passage *śrī-Kīrti-durgā(rgē) samasta-rāj-āvali-samalakṛita-paramabhaṭārka(paramabhaṭārka)... marāja-(śrī-Ga)ṇapati-mahāpradhāna-Dēva... vyāpāra-[m] [ka]rōti*. The two damaged akṣaras before *marāja* may be *padī*, so that the reading of this expression, which is clearly an epithet of *śrī-Gaṇapati*, may be *padimara(rāja)*. The authors of the notices of the inscription, discussed above, apparently failed to read the name *śrī-Gaṇapati* and regarded *padmarāja* (corrected from *padimara*) as the personal name of the *Paramabhaṭārka*. This cannot be the case, since, of the name *śrī-Gaṇapati* immediately following, the three akṣaras *ṇapati* are quite clear while traces of the two akṣaras *śrī-Ga* can also be easily recognised. What is then the meaning of the epithet that looks like *padimara*? In our opinion, it is a mistake for *paramarāja* which is found in a Bangla inscription among the epithets of king Gōpāla (known dates between V. S. 1336 and 1345, i.e. 1279-89 A. D.) of the Yajvapāla family, who was the father and predecessor of Gaṇapati. This epithet occurs in the following passage ; *paramabhaṭārkaḥ paramāhīvaraḥ paramamāhīvaraḥ paramaguruḥ paramarājaḥ*.¹ In the present case, we have only the first and last of the five epithets.

The name of Gaṇapati's *Mahāpradhāna* is difficult to determine. It may be *Dēu* or *Dēva*. This officer was apparently stationed at *Kīrti-durga*. A *Mahāpradhāna* named *Dējai*, *Dējē* or *Dējā* is known from the Bangla inscriptions to have served Gaṇapati's father Gōpāla.² He was probably stationed at *Nalapur-durga* or the *Narwar* fort which was the capital of the *Yajvapālas*. The Bangla inscriptions appear to state that *Mahāpradhāna* *Dējai*, *Dējē* or *Dējā* was conducting the *gadani* (or *madani*)-*vyāpāra*.³ Unfortunately the meaning of the expression is not clear to us. Another difficulty is that the two akṣaras before the word *vyāpāra* in the inscription under study are damaged and the word does not look like *gadani* or *madani*. Apparently, however, *Mahāpradhāna* *Dēu* or *Dēva* was the governor of the district round *Kīrti-durga* and the modern village of *Budhera* formed a part of that district. Some mediæval documents use the expression *mudrā-vyāpāraṁ paripanthayati* in connection with a high administrative officer like the viceroy⁴ and the intended reading in both the present record and the Bangla inscriptions may be *mudrā-vyāpāra*.

This raises the problem of the identification of the fort called *Kīrti-durga*. The *Chanderi* inscription of a *Pratihāra* ruler named *Jaitravarman*, who flourished in the eleventh or twelfth century A. D., states that his grandfather's great-grandfather *Kīrtipāla* built a fort named after himself as *Kīrti-durga*; but *Chanderi* itself is mentioned in the inscription as *Chandrapura*.⁵ It is therefore uncertain whether the *Chanderi* fort is referred to as *Kīrtidurga* in the inscription in question. Another inscription of V. S. 1154 (1098 A. D.), from *Deogarh* in the *Lalitpur* Sub-division of the *Jhansi* District, U. P., states that *Mahādihara*, chief minister of the *Chandella* king *Kīrtivarman*, built the fort of *Kīrti-giri* or *Deogarh*, apparently named after his master

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 3, text lines 1-3.

² Ibid., pp. 331 (Nos. 2-4), 332 (No. 6), 334 (No. 9), 335 (No. 10), 336 (No. 15).

³ Ibid., pp. 331 (No. 4, line 6), 332 (No. 5, line 6), 334 (No. 9, lines 3-4), 335 (No. 10, lines 4-5), 336 (No. 15, line 5).

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 152, note 2; 169, text line 6.

⁵ *Devadī's List*, No. 633; *Patil, The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 94.

BUDHERA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1231, SAKA 1216



Scale : One-half

Kirtivarman.¹ But in any case, Budhera near Narwar seems to be far away from both Chanderi and Deogarh. It is interesting to note in this connection that an inscription of the Yajvapala king Gajapati represents him as having captured Kirti-durga.²

The second half of the inscription in lines 4-7 seems to read: *Jatuhasti-pradhāna-Raviya-patni-Di... na-suta-Mudhaisiṃha-putra-[Harirāja-Jayarāja] [dau] hatai [1*] laghu-putra-Tridhan...* *ndi-su[pu]tre[na] [Ja]marājāya niraśit-āyām* || Although there are several lacunae in this section, the purport of the record is clear. In correct Sanskrit the passage would stand as follows: *Jatuhastīya-pradhāna-Raviya-patni-Di... na-suta-Mudhaisiṃha-putra-Harirāja-Jayarāja dau hatai | Laghu-putra-Tridhan... ndi-su[pu]tre[na] Yamarājāya niraśit-āyām* || It states that Harirāja and Jayarāja, sons of Mudhaisiṃha and grandsons of the Pradhāna Raviya of Jatuhasta, were both killed [in the hands of certain enemies] and that Yamarāja son of the younger son [of Mudhaisiṃha] performed the work of raising the pillar in honour apparently of the two persons who had lost their lives. This part should better have been preceded by a passage like *śrī-gaṇaiṃ kṛtā*.³ The name of Raviya's wife who was the mother of Mudhaisiṃha cannot be fully deciphered. The same is the case with the names of the parents of Yamarāja. The word used to indicate the erection of the pillar seems to be *niraśitā* (to go with a word like *śrī* and understood) without specifically indicating the nature of the work done. The same word appears to be employed in a similar sense in an early inscription.⁴

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kirti-durga, as already indicated above, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Jatuhasta or Jatuhatta was probably a locality near Budhera where the pillar stands.

TEXT*

- 1 Sa[m]vatu 1351 Sakā 1[21]6 || svasti śrī-KI-
- 2 rti-durgā⁵ samāta-rāja(j-ā)vali-samalaṅkṛta-par[am]⁶
- 3 [bha]ṅka⁷-[pa]dī[marāja]⁸-[ar]t Gajapati-mahāpradhāna-
- 4 Dēva...¹⁰ vyāpāra[m] karōti [j*]¹¹ Jatuhastī-pradhāna-

¹ Ehardarkar's List, No. 163.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 349.

³ Cf. the Bangla inscriptions, Nos. 1, 3-5 (above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 330-32).

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 83.

⁵ From impression.

⁶ Read *dupā*.

⁷ Read *parama*.

⁸ Read *bhaṅka*.

⁹ Read *paramarāja*.

¹⁰ The two aśṭakas lost here are difficult to restore. The intended reading may be *mudrā-vyāpāra*.

¹¹ A passage like *śrī-gaṇaiṃ kṛtā* is required here. Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, p. 330 (No. 1, line 3), p. 331 (No. 3, line 5; No. 4, line 4), p. 332 (No. 5, line 4).

¹² Sanskrit *Jatuhastīya*.

5 Ravija-[pa]tñ-Di...na¹-suta-Mudhaisiṃha²-pu-

6 [tra]-Ha[ri]rāja-Jairā[ju]³ [dau]⁴ hatau [i]⁵ laghu-putra-Tri⁶(dhau)-

7ndi⁷-[supu]trē[pa] [Ja]marāyana⁸ ni[vā]hēd-ē[yaṃh]⁹ ॥

¹ This name of Ravija's wife should have a feminine ending.

² Sanskrit *śiṃha.

³ Read *Jayarāja*.

⁴ Read *dau*.

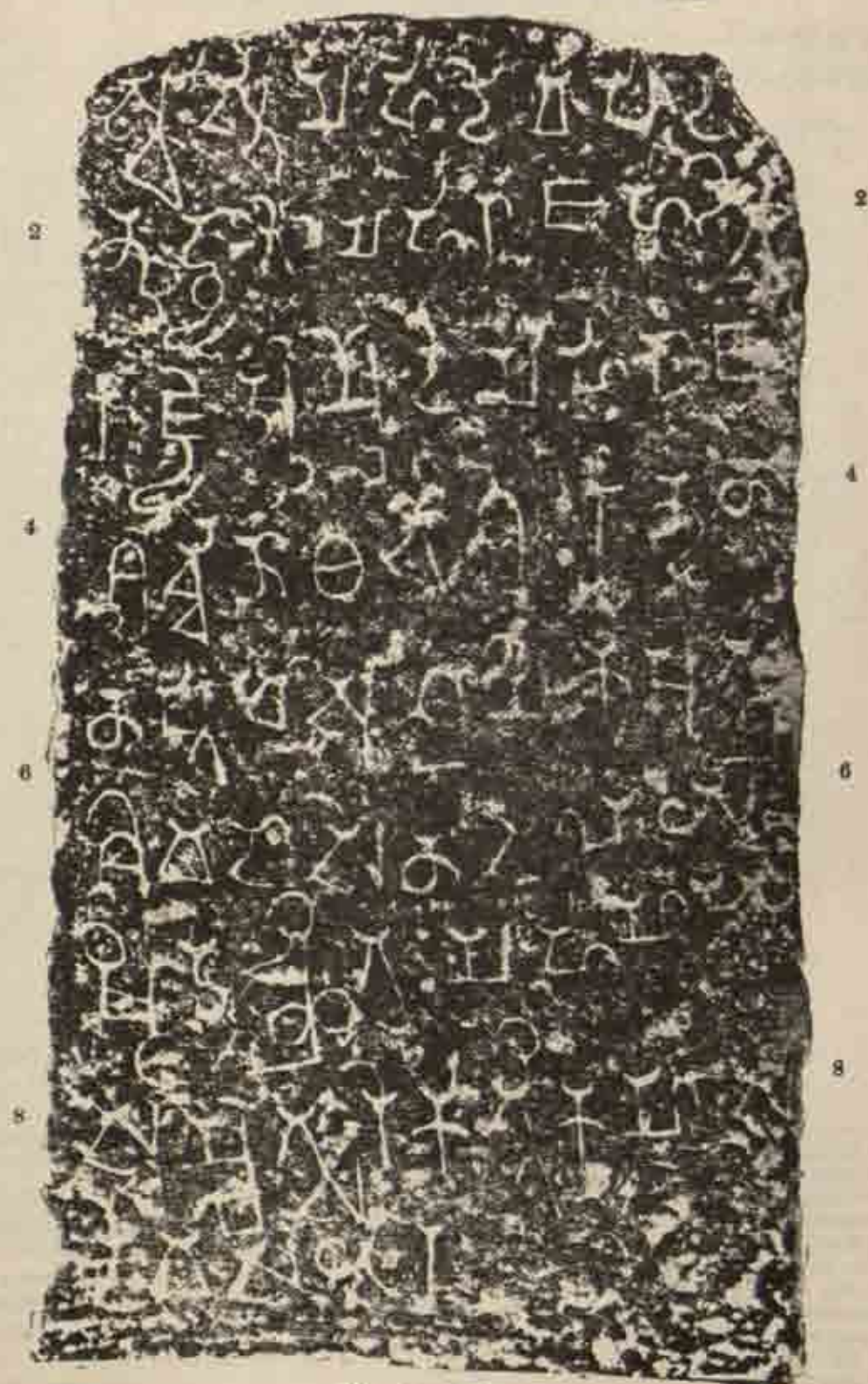
⁵ It is not clear as to whose *laghu-putra* (i.e. younger or youngest son) the person in question was. But he seems to have been the youngest son of Mudhaisiṃha and a younger brother of Harirāja and Jayarāja.

⁶ This seems to be the last akṣara of the name of the wife of the person who was the youngest son of Mudhaisiṃha and whose name was either Tridhau or began with those two akṣaras. The female name intended may have been something like *Ānandī*.

⁷ I. e. *Jamarāyana* (Sanskrit *Yamarāyana*).

⁸ Read *śivāśāṣṭyam*.

BHUMARA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF HASTIN



Scale: One-half

No. 32—NOTE ON BHUMARA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF HASTIN

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4. 6. 1958)

The stone pillar bearing this inscription was discovered at **Bhumarā** in the former Nagaur State in Central India by Cunningham who noticed the epigraph in his *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, Vol. IX, 1879, p. 16, No. 9, with a translation and an illustration (Plate IV, No. 9). The text of the inscription as read by Fleet in the *Crop. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 111, runs as follows :

- 1 Svasti []* Mahādēva-pād-[ā]-
- 2 nuddhyātō(ta)-mahārāja-Hasti-
- 3 rājyē **Amblōda** mahārāja-
- 4 **Sarvanātha**-bhōgā Indana-
- 5 naptrā Vāsu-grāmika-puttra-
- 6 Śivadāsa vala-ya-
- 7 spti[r*]-uchchhritah []* **Mahā-Māghā**
- 8 **samba(sariva)tsarā** Kārttika-māsa-
- 9 divasa 10 9 []*

As regards the reading of the text, it may be pointed out that the name at the end of line 4 is clearly *Indanā* and not *Indana*, while the numerical figure at the end of line 9 is 8 and not 9. The name *Sarvanātha* is spelt generally as *Sarvanātha* in the records of the king in question.

The date of the record is quoted in lines 7-9 as the 18th day of the month of Kārttika in the **Mahā-Māgha** year of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle. This year has been variously taken as corresponding to the Gupta years 165 (484 A. D.), 189 (508 A. D.) and 201 (520 A. D.).¹ The object of the inscription is to record the setting up of what is called a *valayashṭi* (no doubt the stone pillar bearing the inscription) on the date referred to above in **Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga** in **Amblōda** in **Mahārāja-Hasti-rājya** by Śivadāsa who was the son of the *grāmika* Vāsu and the grandson of Indanā. The word *grāmika* seems to have been used here in the sense of 'the headman of a village.'

Cunningham read the word *yashṭi* in lines 6-7 of the inscription, which he took to mean 'a sacrificial pillar'. But at the same time he observed, "I suppose the pillar may have been set up as a boundary-mark between the territories of the two Rājās (i.e. Hastin and Sarvanātha)." Fleet believed that the expression *vala-yashṭi* is a mistake for *valaya-yashṭi* which he understood in the sense of 'a boundary-staff or pillar'. His translation of the principal sentence of the record in lines 1-7 runs as follows: "In [the boundary of] the kingdom of the **Mahārāja Hastin** who meditates on the feet of [the god] Mahādēva; at [the village of] **Amblōda**; [and] in [the boundary of] the **bhōga** of the **Mahārāja Sarvanātha**;—[this] boundary-pillar has been set up." Like Cunningham, Fleet also suggests that the object of the inscription is to 'record the erection, at **Amblōda**, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two **Mahārājās**'.

The two kings mentioned in the inscription are **Hastin** of the **Parivrajaka** family and **Sarvanātha** of **Uchchakalpa**. Besides the present record, the **Parivrajaka** king **Hastin** is known from his charters issued in the Gupta years 156 (475 A.D.), 163 (482 A.D.), 170 (489 A.D.) and 191

¹ See Bhattacharya's List, No. 1861.

(510 A.D.) while the known dates of his son and successor Samkshobha are the Gupta years 199 (518 A.D.) and 209 (528 A.D.).¹ Similarly, the known dates of the Uchchakalpa king Sarvanātha are the Gupta years 191 (510 A.D.), 193 (512 A.D.), 197 (516 A.D.) and 214 (533 A.D.) and those of his father and predecessor Jayanātha are the Gupta years 174 (493 A.D.) and 177 (496 A.D.).² Roughly speaking therefore Hastin was the contemporary of the father of Sarvanātha who was the contemporary of Hastin's son. Some scholars wrongly refer the dates in the Uchchakalpa records to the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. instead of the Gupta era of 319 A.D.³ This is improbable in view of the fact that there is hardly any possibility of the spread of the Kalachuri era in the Uchchakalpa area in the age in question. On the other hand, the prevalence of the Gupta era in the same area during the age of the Uchchakalpa kings is indicated by the Parivrajaka inscriptions.⁴

The suggestion that the Bhumarā pillar bearing the inscription under study was set up for demarcating the boundary between the kingdoms of the two kings Hastin and Sarvanātha is highly improbable in view of the following facts. In the first place, as will be seen below, the expression *bala-yashṭi* is found in a similar context in another inscription of the same age and area and this clearly shows that there is no justification for correcting *bala-yashṭi* to *calaya-yashṭi*. It is clear from the record referred to that the intended reading for *bala-yashṭi* in the Bhumarā inscription is *bala-yashṭi*. We know that the records of the Parivrajaka king Hastin as well as others of the age and area in question often use *v* for *b* even though they employ *b* correctly or wrongly in some cases.⁵ Secondly, even if the emendation is regarded as justifiable, *calaya-yashṭi* would scarcely mean 'a boundary-pillar' since the word *calaya* does not really mean 'a boundary'. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe that an ordinary villager without any authority would think of taking upon himself the responsibility of fixing the boundary between the dominions of two neighbouring kings. Fourthly, the language of the record shows that the locality where the pillar was set up lay in both Hastin's dominions and Sarvanātha's *bhōga* and this hardly suits a line of demarcation between the kingdoms of the two rulers. Fifthly, Fleet's interpretations of the passages *Mahārāja-Hasti-rājya* and *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* respectively as 'in the boundary of the kingdom of Mahārāja Hastin' and 'in the boundary of the *bhōga* of Mahārāja Sarvanātha' are no doubt arbitrary, while the suggestion that they refer to the boundary between two kingdoms is quite unconvincing since it is unintelligible why Hastin's kingdom should be called a *rājya* and Sarvanātha's dominions a *bhōga*. Sixthly, the word *bhōga* does not really mean 'a kingdom'. Seventhly, the language of the epigraph suggests that Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga lay within the dominions of Hastin.

The expression *Mahārāja-Hasti-rājya* in such a context would normally mean 'during the reign of Mahārāja Hastin', even though the meaning 'in the kingdom of Mahārāja Hastin' may not be altogether impossible in a particular case. But whether the word *rājya* in our record is taken to mean 'sovereignty' or 'kingdom', the sentence in question makes it clear, as already suggested above, that what has been called *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* lay within the dominions of Hastin whose reign (less probably, kingdom) is specifically mentioned in relation to the setting up of the pillar bearing the inscription. What can be the meaning of the word *bhōga* in such a context?

¹ Bhandarkar's List, p. 399; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 264 ff.

² Cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 404.

³ Ibid., loc. cit.; also Nos. 1194-98, 1200, 1702.

⁴ For an inscription of the Imperial Guptas in the same area, cf. p. 172, note 1, below.

⁵ See, e.g., *Prākṛama* in line 5 and *Brāhmaṇa-bhōga* in line 9 of the Majhganam plates of Hastin (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.). Cf. also *sambhāra* (for *sambhāra*) in line 2 of this epigraph as well as in line 8 of the Bhumarā pillar inscription.

Fleet says, "*Bhōga*, lit. 'enjoyment, possession, government', is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the *bhukti* of other inscriptions." It is true that, like *bhukti*, 'a province', the word *bhōga* is often used to indicate a district of a kingdom. In many copper-plate grants, the gift village is stated to have been situated in a particular territorial unit styled *bhōga*. Mention may be made, e.g., of Kumārivadaś near Brihannārikā in Gōrajā-bhōga within Bharukachchha-vishaya in the Sarsavani plates (lines 19-20)¹ of Kalachuri Buddharāja; Kōṣṭhyānām near Bhāṭaūcīkā in Vajranagara-bhōga in the Vadner plates (line 19)² of the same king; Vira-grāma in Sāṭimāla-bhōga in Palayāṭṭhāna-vishaya in the Jejuri plates (lines 25-27)³ of the Chālukya king Vinayāditya; Jijīka-grāma attached to Vōṅkhāra-bhōga in the Jirjungi plates (line 11)⁴ of the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman; Vapikā-grāma in Āvaraka-bhōga within Hūṇa-maṇḍala in the Gaonri plates (B, lines 7-8)⁵ of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṇja; Kallāsa-pura-grāma belonging to Taraḍaṁśaka-bhōga in the Mallar plates (lines 5-6)⁶ of the Pāṇḍuvashāl king Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna, etc. It will be seen from some of these instances from inscriptions found in different parts of the country that *bhōga* was a smaller territorial unit than a district called *vishaya* or *maṇḍala*. It is also interesting to note that the same territorial unit is called Eḍevojā-bhōga in the Sorab plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya and Eḍevojā-vishaya in the Harihar plates of the same king.⁷ But, if the word *bhōga* in the Bhumarā inscription is supposed to be used in the sense of a territorial unit like a district or its subdivision, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga was a small district of the kingdom of Hastin, even though its name was associated with that of Mahārāja Sarvanātha, apparently the contemporary Uchchakalpa king of that name. This does not appear to support the suggestion that the pillar in question was set up in order to demarcate the boundary between the kingdoms of Hastin and Sarvanātha.

Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises the word *bhōga* in the senses of 'possession, property, wealth, revenue,' besides others. Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* mentions two kinds of *bhōga* or possession, viz. *sa-vāḍha* (with obstruction) and *nir-vāḍha* (unobstructed, undisputed). He also recognises the following expressions containing the same word: (1) *bhōga-lābha*, usufruct in lieu of interest; (2) *bhōgottara*, a grant of revenue for the enjoyment of a person or deity; and (3) *bhōga-bandhaka*, a kind of mortgage in which the articles mortgaged may be converted to use and the profits are to be appropriated by the mortgagee in lieu of interest. We have also inscriptions speaking of a *villā* (i.e. a shop or stall in a market) as *bhōg-ādhīnā śikhatī* and *bhōg-ādhīnā grhitā* with reference to its lying in the possession or being brought under the possession of an individual.⁸ From the sense of 'possession' the word *bhōga* came to be used in the sense of 'the property under one's possession.' The word is used in this sense, e.g., in the Vaṅḍiya Sāhitya Parishad plate⁹ of Viśvarūpasēna. The use of *bhōga* (and also of *bhukti*) in the sense of a territorial unit seems to be due to a further expansion of this meaning of the word.

Inscriptions often mention the expressions *bhōgika* and *bhōga-pati*. Since *bhōga-pati* is sometimes mentioned in association with *śri-pati* (i.e. king) and *vishaya-pati* (i.e. governor of a district)¹⁰,

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 298.

² Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 34.

³ Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 64.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 84, note 9.

⁵ Ibid., p. 108.

⁶ Ibid., p. 120.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 18.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 212-13.

⁹ N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 146, text line 42; *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 303.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, p. 249, text line 44; Vol. VI, 141 note, p. 300; Vol. XII, p. 34; Vol. XXIII, p. 109, text line 4; Vol. XXVII, p. 40.

it may be understood in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a territorial unit called *bhōga*', although the meaning 'one in the possession of a *bhōga*, i.e. landed property or *jāgīr*' is also not impossible in such cases. But the word *bhōgika* seems to be often used in the sense of a *jāgīrdār*.¹ Thus the donee of the Srungavarapukota plates (lines 9-10)² of Anantavarman is called *Achanta-pura-bhōgika* Mātṛīarman. It appears that Mātṛīarman was the *jāgīrdār* of the village of Achanta-pura and not the governor or resident of Achanta-pura-bhōga.

We have also other instances of the word *bhōga* being affixed to a personal name in a compound exactly as in *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* in the Bhumarā inscription. A stone inscription³, from Kosam (?) now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, reads as follows :

- 1 Siddham* [*] svasti [*] Mahāsāmantādhipati-śrī-Śrīdhara-bhōgē dushjasi-
- 2 hānī-Bha(Bhī)mēna kīrtan-⁴ōyam kārāpitā* || bhāṭāraka-Lāha-
- 3 jēna* || Sarhvat
- 4 [11]33 [*]

Mahāsāmantādhipati Śrīdhara's bhōga mentioned in this record, which is no doubt similar to *Mahārāja Sarvanātha's bhōga* known from the Bhumarā pillar inscription, appears to indicate the *jāgīr* or fief in the possession of Śrīdhara and not the district governed by him. Since it is impossible to believe that *Mahārāja Sarvanātha* was the governor of a territorial unit in the kingdom of Hastin, the sense of 'a *jāgīr*' is certainly more suitable to the word *bhōga* in the context of the Bhumarā inscription. It may be argued that a district originally named after Sarvanātha was later included in Hastin's kingdom. This is improbable in view of the fact that Sarvanātha was a later contemporary of Hastin.

As regards *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* lying in or comprising Āmbhōda within Hastin's dominions, there is nothing improbable, in our opinion, in *Mahārāja Sarvanātha* enjoying a *jāgīr* within his neighbour's kingdom. This possibility is suggested by the well-known story of the locality called Kāśī-grāma or Kāśī-nigama which lay within the dominions of the king of Kōśala but was for a considerable period of time in the possession of the king of Magadha.⁵ The said locality yielding a revenue of one lakh coins was given by Mahākōśala, king of Kōśala, to his daughter Kōśaladēvī for her bath and perfume money when she married king Bimbisāra of Magadha and, as a result, became a part of the Magadha kingdom. After Bimbisāra's death, Prasenajit, son and successor of Mahākōśala, withdrew the gift from Ajātasatru, son and successor of Bimbisāra. This led to a protracted war between Magadha and Kōśala. Ultimately Prasenajit gave his daughter Vajrā in marriage to Ajātasatru and the locality was given back as part of her dowry. It is not impossible that the village or territorial unit called Āmbhōda lay in or comprised a *bhōga* under the enjoyment or possession of *Mahārāja Sarvanātha* even though the area formed a part

¹ The word *bhōgika* is often used in the same sense. Cf. *Sec. 554*, pp. 64 f., etc.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 90.

³ This is No. 519 of 1937-38, Appendix B. See *ASIAR*, 1935-36, p. 93.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ For *Sākṣī*, cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 141-42. The designation *Dushjasi* seems to be the same as *Dushjasi* (or *Dushjasi*) mentioned in many records (cf. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185).

⁶ The word *hānī* is the same as *hāna* or *hāni* often used to indicate an image, a temple, a grant, etc., calculated to render famous the name of the person responsible for it. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.

⁷ Read *Kāśī*.

⁸ The intended reading may be *Lohadāya* since the object of the inscription seems to be to record the construction of a shrine for a deity named Lohadā.

⁹ See *Malala-kara, Dictionary of Pali Proper Name*, s.v. *Kāśāpura-Kāśīnigama, Kāśalī, Ajātasatru* and *Prasenajit*.

INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

A



Scale : One-third

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

Scale : One-third

of the dominions of *Mahārāja* Hastin, just as *Kāśī-grāma* or *Kāśī-nigama* in the kingdom of *Kōśala* was in the possession of the king of *Magadha* when *Mahākōśala* and *Prasūrajit* were on the throne of the *Kōśala* country, although it is difficult to say whether matrimonial relations existed between Hastin and Sarvanātha.

We have now to determine the purpose behind the setting up of the stone pillar at *Bhumarā* since it does not appear to be the demarcation of the boundary between the kingdoms of Hastin and Sarvanātha. Inscribed and uninscribed pillars of stone, found in different parts of India, are innumerable. They were raised for various purposes in all the ages of Indian history. Amongst the inscribed pillars, the earliest belong to the days of the Maurya emperor *Aśoka* (c. 269-232 B.C.).¹ These are called *stambha* (Prakrit *ṭhabha*, *ṭhabbha*, *ṭabha*, *ṭumbha*) or *śīlā-stambha* in the epigraphs they bear. There are some pillars which may be classified as *dhvaja-stambha*² (often standing before a temple and bearing inscriptions in some cases), *yaga-stambha*³ (often bearing the eulogy of a conqueror) and *kīrti-stambha*⁴ (often bearing the eulogy of a person who performed a pious deed calculated to make him famous). Certain memorial pillars known as hero stones⁵ (often with inscriptions recording the deaths of warriors while fighting against enemies) and *sati* stones⁶ (often bearing inscriptions which record the deaths of widows burning themselves in fire) are found in large numbers in the southern and western regions of India, though they are as well known from other parts of the country. Besides these, we have also other kinds of inscribed pillars bearing small inscriptions as the one on the *Bhumarā* pillar. Some of these are votive pillars set up in religious establishments by pious men, especially pilgrims, for acquiring religious merit. They are generally referred to as *stambha* in Sanskrit and *ṭhabha*, *ṭhabha*, *ṭhabbha* or *ṭumbha* in Prakrit in the records inscribed on them. Instances of such votive pillars are numerous in the inscriptions discovered in the ruins of old Buddhist *Stūpas* like those at *Bharhut*, *Sanchi*, and *Nagorjūnikonda*.⁷ There is another class of memorial pillars similar to the hero and *sati* stones. The erection of such pillars in honour of one's dead relatives is referred to in early records like the *Suvihar* inscription⁸ dated in the 11th regnal year of the *Kushāna* emperor *Kanishka* I and the *Andhra* inscriptions⁹ of the year 53 apparently referable to the *Saka* era and corresponding to 130 A.D. Such pillars are generally mentioned in the inscriptions inscribed on them as *yashṭi* (Prakrit *yāṭhi*, *laṣṭi*). The use of the word *yashṭi* in the expression *ṭaba-yashṭi* occurring in our inscription may suggest that the *Bhumarā* pillar was a memorial raised in honour of a dead relative of *Śivalāsa*. This relative was possibly his grandfather or grandmother *Indanā*, although it is not clearly stated in the inscription.¹⁰

¹ See *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. xv ff.

² Cf., e.g., the *Erān* pillar inscription of the Guy to year 163 (Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 86 ff.).

³ The *Erān* and *Mandana* pillars bearing the inscriptions respectively of *Samudragupta* and *Yasodharman* fall in this category. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 200 ff.; 203 ff. A *yaga-stambha* could sometimes be also regarded as a *kīrti-stambha*.

⁴ The *Talagunda* pillar bearing a portrait of the *Kaṭamba* king *Kāṣṭhavarman* who erected a tank near a *Siva* temple belongs to this class. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 450 ff.

⁵ See, e.g., above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff.

⁶ See, e.g., *Hirral's List*, p. 46 (No. 73), p. 22 (No. 93), etc. In many cases, the inscriptions on the pillar record both the death of a hero and the self-immolation of his widow. Cf. e.g., the *Erān* inscription of the *Gupta* year 101 (510 A.D.) in the same work, p. 40 (No. 83).

⁷ See *Barnes and Sinha, Bharhut Inscriptions*; above, Vol. II, pp. 87 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.; etc. Cf. *JHAB, Letters*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 6-8.

⁸ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 22-26. For several other pillars called *yāṭhi*, see *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68. A memorial pillar bearing the representation of a dead person is called a *śīlā-stambha* in a *Nagorjūnikonda* inscription (cf. *J. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. B 26).

¹⁰ We have other pillar inscriptions without indication as regards the object of setting up the pillars in question, especially when they were raised in a religious establishment. See *JHAB, Letters*, Vol. XV, pp. 5 ff.

It is interesting in this connection to note that another stone pillar inscription of the middle of the fifth century A.D., discovered in the Bhumara region of Central India, refers to the setting up of a *bala-yashī* in the following words: *eva-puny-āpyāyan-ārtham yashāḥ-kīrti-pravardhamāna-gōtra-śailikā bala-yashī[ḥ*] pratishthāpitā Varga-grāmikēṇa*.¹ This was a memorial pillar apparently raised in honour of several dead relations of a *grāmika* (headman of a village) named Varga and that is why the *bala-yashī* appears to be described as a *gōtra-śailikā*, 'a family stone'. There is absolutely no indication in the inscription that it could have been a boundary-pillar of any kind.

The meaning of the expression *bala-yashī* is not clear. The *Mālinikāha* recognises the word *bala* in the adjectival sense of *bala-yukta*, 'strong, stout', and this is suitable in the present context. *Bala-yashī* may thus indicate a strong or stout (i.e. everlasting) pillar. Even if *bala* is taken in its ordinary sense of strength, *bala-yashī* would offer the same meaning in a compound expression. It is difficult to say whether such memorial pillars were popularly and conventionally known to have been 'Balarāma's *yashī* or pillar' just as Aśoka's Delhi-Swalik pillar is called 'Bhīmasēna's *lāṭ* or *lāṭh* (from *yashī* or *lāṭhī* meaning 'a pillar')'.²

In this connection, reference may be made to a late pillar inscription³ from the former Rewa State, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. It reads as follows:

1 Siddham* []* Sarvat 1[4]17 samayā | Jyēṣṭhā⁴-vadi 13 Vuddhā⁵ Mahā-

2 rājādhirāja-āri-Vallāladēva-rājyē | atō⁶

3 Nāyakapāla[h] tasya vamsā(āḥ) su-putra-Mah[ā]rāja-nāmā

4 pratyutpannāḥ | tad-abbhāyāt-paramēvara-vaikūlyāt-sa-

5 tībhyā[m] saha para-lōk-āntaritaḥ | tad-artham gātra-

6 m-akārshīt | ā-chandra-bhānū yāvat-tāvat-tishṭhatv-idam(dam) |

7 Bhāmīṇa Sōmaka | tathā Chō[5] Sahadēva |⁷ kṛtām gātram(tram) |

This inscription refers to a memorial pillar raised by some persons in the memory of a dead man named Mahārāja whose two wives appear to have committed *Sati*, on Wednesday, Jyēṣṭhā-vadi 13, V.S. 1417 (May 13, 1360 A.D.) during the rājya or reign of Mahārājādhirāja Vallāladēva, as a *gātra*. The word *gātra* (occurring twice in the record in lines 5 and 7) in the sense of 'a pillar' is unintelligible. It, however, appears to be a mistake or modification of the word *gōtra* which may be a contraction of what is called *gōtra-śailikā* in the Rewa inscription of the Gupta period, to which reference has been made above. The pillar in question may be regarded as 'a family stone' since it was raised in memory of three persons (i.e. the husband and his two wives) of a particular family. It is interesting to note that the use of *gōtra-śailikā* and *gātra* in the sense of a memorial pillar has so far been found only in the said records of the Rewa region.

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 6. This is the Sopia (former Rewa State) pillar inscription of the reign of Śāhodagupta (458-87 A.D.), dated in the Gupta year 141 (460 A.D.). Cf. *CIL*, Vol. IV, p. 607 and note 7, to which my attention was drawn when the present note was going through the press.

² This is No. 528 of 1957-58, Appendix B. See *ASIR*, 1935-36, p. 96.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Read Jyēṣṭhā.

⁵ Read Buddhā.

⁶ A word like *atō* would suit the context.

⁷ Better read Bhāmīṇa-Sōmaka-Chō[5]-Sahadēva.

No. 33—STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS

(Received on 6.2.1958)

This is a single plate bearing inscription on both sides, which was purchased by the Government Museum, Madras, in 1955, from a person who is stated to have got it from **Tirupparan kuppam**, a suburb of Madurai. Obviously it belonged to a set of which the other plates are missing. I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. A. Aiyappa, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.

The plate measures $10'' \times 3.4'' \times .075''$. There are ten lines of writing on each side. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory excepting some letters at the beginning of a few lines on both the obverse and reverse of the plate. Though the inscription is fragmentary it is interesting in more respects than one.

The characters of the inscription are Tamil and the record may be assigned to *circa* 10th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. If the information about the provenance of the plate is correct, it may suggest that the charter was issued from the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This is to some extent borne out by the use of certain expressions in the record. Cf. *āṇḍiṣu* (lines 1-2), *Podurup* (line 6), *ṇavaṇ* (line 18), etc. The introduction of the Chōḷa variety of the Tamil script in the Pāṇḍya kingdom, where *Vatteḷuttu* was formerly in general use, was largely due to the Chōḷa kings who began to establish their sway over the Pāṇḍya region in the tenth century.

The expressions *rottar* (each member), *orōttar* (each member) and *orōkuḍi* (each family) are interesting. They are characteristic of the region where the record is stated to have been found. The use of *paḍu* in *ponpaḍuniḷam* is interesting because it refers to a period earlier than the stage of its use solely as a passive participle. The epigraph uses the marks of *puḷḷi* or *vīrama*, though not uniformly.

The passage that is preserved in this stray plate seems to record the settlement of one family each of the classes of shepherds, oilmongers, potters, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, *ṇavaṇ*, *Parambas* and *Paraiyas* in a village. Some of them were assigned lands belonging to a god with whom they were required to share the produce. Unfortunately other details are lost.

The term *āṇḍiṣukkāyam* and *niḷakkāyam* mentioned in the record require a word of explanation. The former stands for some kind of a tax levied from the people of the particular colony referred to in the inscription for the specific purpose of the festival of bathing the images of gods and goddesses in river water. The second term means 'the remittance both in kind and cash according to the land holdings that are leased out to them and enjoyed (*uṇḍadu*) by the various classes of people settled in a colony'. The word *kombu* occurs twice in the inscription in two different contexts. In the first instance it is associated with *nel* or paddy (line 4) and this paddy is said to be divided (into shares) and received as wage individually [by the labourers]. Here the term *kombu* indicates the quality of the paddy. In the villages, especially in the District of Ramanathapuram, the *meṅkkaṣṣu-ōḷ*, i.e. the man or woman employed on daily wages basis, is usually paid in kind and gets a quantity of paddy of the first quality. In the second instance, it finds a place in the passage *kombil kāl-māḍāyiyum* (line 8) as well as in the passage *ponpaḍuniḷattu orōttarkku kāl cheyyum kombil rottarkku [māḍāyiyum]* in lines 9-10. The word *kombu* is associated with *kāl-māḍāyiyum* in the first expression and with *māḍāyiyum* in the next. It,

therefore, seems to indicate a variety of land. The *Maṇṇāḍi* were thus granted two varieties of land. *Poṇṇaḍuṇḍam* is one variety and the other variety is qualified by the term *kombu*. While the former refers to the most fertile class of land usually situated near the residential site or central belt of fields in a village, the latter may refer to land situated in the outlying parts of the village.¹ This meaning seems to be quite in accord with the context.

The term *poṇṇaḍu-ṇḍam* means 'golden land', i.e. the most fertile land. It may be mentioned here that in every village, the lands are classified into several categories according to their fertility. By specifying the land as *poṇṇaḍu-ṇḍam* it is presumable that the place referred to in this inscription should also have other categories of less fertile lands and that the practice of classifying the land is an ancient one. Such expressions as *ūṭṭapayan*, *meṇṇāḍu* and *maṇṇaḍu* are equally interesting. Of these, the term *meṇṇāḍu*, as indicated above, is in vogue even today. The adjectives preceding the names of individual *Maṇṇāḍi* such as *paṇṇirriyan* seem to stand for the names of various classes among them. Of these adjectives *maṇṇaḍu* continues to be in vogue to this day.

The locality called *Paṇṇiyūr* was probably situated in the ancient *Pāṇḍyan* kingdom, though it is not possible to identify it.

TEXT²

First Side

- 1 l peru[va*]du [[*] āṇṇu-*[k*]*kāṇam samūha³ttil paṇṇiraṇḍu ūṭṭa-payan kū-i-
- 2 ṭṭu koḷḷum mudalum ūṭṭa-kkuraivum āṇṇu-p[*p**]aṇaiyam-āga koḷvadu [[*] A-
- 3 ṭṭil-paḷḷiyār paṇikk-urīyār āṇḍu-nā) roṭṭar⁴ kala nel peṇvadu [[*] Pa-
- 4 nri ūṇṇu-kālāru⁵ pāṭṭam ālavum tāḷiy-ālavum peṇr [[*] kombi nel
- 5 uḷḷir meṇ-kkāṇṇāḷ kūṇai vilaiy-āga kaḷattilē kū-iṭṭu koḷvadu [[*] i-chchēri-
- 6 [kku] Maṇṇāḍiga) Paṇṇirriyan Vāṭṭam Poḍuvaṇṇum Pūṣal Kāvaṇ-chellāṇu-
- 7 m [chēri]ppaṇ Nīlāṇ-kāvaṇṇum Maḷḷaṇ Kāvama[ra]i⁶yan Kūṇṇaṇ Kōḍai Aṇaiyaṇ-
- 8 m Maḷḷaṇ Sāṭṭam Vāṭṭaṇṇum [[*] Sāṭṭam Vāṭṭaṇṇukku kombi kālē-māḷāḷiyum ma-
- 9 ri[rai] Maṇṇāḍiga)akku poṇ-paḍu-ṇḍattu orōṭṭarkku kāl chey⁷yum kombi ro-
- 10 tta[rkku] mā[ḡāṇi]yum uḷḷu Dēvarraḍum⁸ pādi iṭṭ-uṇṇadu [[*] nīlakkāṇam kār-chey-

¹[This explanation is not convincing. The meanings given by the author for the word *kombu* in the two contexts are contradictory. In the first instance also it may mean 'paddy grown in the *kombu* variety of land'. The *Tamil Lexicon* explains the word as 'the farthest end of a tank bund'.—Ed.]

²From the original plate.

³Its head has been effaced due to corrosion of the plate; so it looks like *pa*.

⁴The word *roṭṭar* is in Grantha.

⁵This expression which has its variant *roṭṭar* in line 9, is in vogue in the Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts as well as in Kerala.

⁶This is a mistake for *m*.

⁷There is a dot over this letter.

⁸In the Ramanathapuram District, a *chey* is a measure of land, also called *ad*, comprising sixteen *maṇḍāḷi* which is approximately equal to 1/2 of a *veli* or 2 1/2 acres. [*Mā* was one-twentieth of a *veli* in those days.—Ed.]

⁹Read *Dēvarraḍu*. The letter *ra* is joined below the letter *pa*.

STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

First Side

1. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 2. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 3. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 4. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 5. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 6. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 7. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 8. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 9. கனகபுரம் நகரம்
 10. கனகபுரம் நகரம்

Scale : Nine-tenths

Second Side

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

Second Side

- 11 yā[ll=a]rai=¹kkāḷaṅḡu poṅ iruppadu [i*] Melle[utaṇum Tā[pa]riyum rotta
 12 r poṅ-paḍu-nilattu kālē-araikkāl nilam² Dēvarroḍu³ pādi iṭṭu uṇḡadu [i*]
 13 [nila]-kkāṇam rottar paḍiṇ-āḡ-arai-kkāṇam poṇṇ-iru[p*]padu [i*] Melle[uttan-
 14 [num Tā[pa]riyum āṭṭ-oruvar paḍi śeyvadu [i*] kālārum⁴ [Ma*]ṇṇāḍigaḷum kuḍiyi-
 15 [l]-mūttāṇ paḍi śeyvadu [i*] i-chēḥēri kuḍigaḷ kāl cheyyāl arai-kkāḷaṅḡu poṅ
 16 [nila]-kkāṇamom kalav-ariśiyum nāḷi neyyum iṭṭu Dēvar nilam uḷudu
 17 pādi iṭṭ-uṇḡadu [i*] Vāṇigaṇum Kuśavaṇum Kāvidiyum Taṭṭāṇu[m*] Tachchaṇum Koḷ-
 18 laṇum Vāṇṇāṇum Ilavaṇum Paṇambāṇum Paṇaiyaṇum orōkuḍi irup-
 19 padu [i*] Dēvar-vaṇṇāṇukku kāl cheyyāl oru paḍugaḷiyum kaḷa-ppērum āḡ-
 20 ḍuvarai pann-iru kala nelli poḡuvadu [i*] i-chēḥēri kuḍigaḷ [vā]ḡdōḥam⁵

¹ Read "yāi-arai".² Nilam preceded by kālā-araikkāl (i.e. §) seems to suggest that here it is a synonym of chey. (The language seems to suggest that chey was different from kālā-araikkāl.—Ed.)³ Read Dēvarroḍu.⁴ Read kālārum.⁵ The letters "pāḍaka" are in Grantha.

No. 34—ALLAHABAD MUSEUM PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, V. S. 1171

(1 Plate)

D. C. SENCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.2.1958)

When I visited the Municipal Museum at Allahabad in December 1957, Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to examine and copy two copper-plate grants in his custody. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the Gāhāḍavāla dynasty of Banaras. Both the inscriptions are engraved on single plates. The first of the two charters, written on both sides of the plate, was issued by the Gāhāḍavāla king Madanapāla (circa 1100-14 A.D.) and the second, written only on one side, by his son Gōvīndachandra (circa 1114-55 A.D.).

Madanapāla's document was issued on the occasion of the *Ākṣaya-tṛiṅgā*¹ on Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1151, corresponding to the 16th April 1108 A.D. The seal attached to the ring passing through a hole in the plate has the figure of flying Garuda above, the legend *śrī-Madanapāladēvaḥ* in the middle and the representation of a conch-shell below. The charter records the grant of the village of Sājā in the *Chaturāśikā* (i.e., Chaurāś or a Pargana consisting roughly of 84 villages)² of Mānīghapura in the *Ajūṛēsa pattalā* (district) in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādharaśarma of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The name of apparently the same *pattalā* is also found in the Fyzabad plate³ of Gāhāḍavāla Jayachandra (circa 1170-93 A.D.), dated V. S. 1233 (1187 A. D.), and it may be the same as the region around Arror, the older name of Partabgarh. The inscription was discovered at Badērā in the Kunda Tahsil of the Partabgarh District, U. P. The gift village of Sājā lies at a distance of seven miles from Badērā which is only two miles from Mānikpur (Mānīghapura of the inscription) near the Ghutni railway station on the branch line between Allahabad and Raibareilly. This inscription was published by K. C. Sinha and K. Chattopadhyaya in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, Part I, pp. 70 ff. The other charter issued by the Gāhāḍavāla king Gōvīndachandra is edited below.

As indicated above, this is a single plate inscribed on one side only. The ring bearing the seal passes through a hole measuring 8" in diameter about the middle of the first line of writing. The plate measures 17 inches in length, 13.5 inches in height and 1.5 inch in thickness. But the corners of the plate are rounded off and its length and breadth are slightly less at the sides. The seal bears, besides the usual Garuda and conch-shell emblems, the legend *śrīmad-Gōvīndachandra-(nāra)dēvaḥ* |. There are altogether 23 lines of writing on the plate. The findspot of the record is not known to me.

The inscription resembles the numerous other charters of Gāhāḍavāla Gōvīndachandra in palaeography, orthography and style. The vowel mark of *ē* is written both as *śrīḥ-mātrā* and *prishtha-mātrā*. *ē* is written like *p* and *rey* like *cl* and *dh* sometimes like *v*. There is no difference between *th* and *dh*. The use of *v* for *b* (except in *āmba* in line 9), *s* for *ś* and the class nasal for the *anuvāda* is noticed in many cases. The date of the grant is quoted as Monday, the full-moon tithi of the month of Kārttika in V. S. 1171. We have another charter issued by the

¹ This tithi was the occasion for the grant of several Gāhāḍavāla charters. Cf. the Kamauli plate of V. S. 1172 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 107-08), Patl plate of V. S. 1189 (ibid., Vol. V, pp. 112-13), Lar plate of V. S. 1202 (ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 98-100), etc.

² See J.B.R.S. Vol. XI, p. 10. Cf. the name of Vājā-chaturāśikā-pattalā in the Set-Mahet plate of Gōvīndachandra, dated 1156 (above, Vol. XI, pp. 70 ff.). For the Prakritism in the expression *chaturāśikā*, cf. *ḥayāśikā* (Sanskrit *drachasikā*) in the name of Rudamaṇa-bayāśikā-pattalā in the Kamauli plate of V. S. 1190 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 111-12).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 10 ff. No facsimile of the inscription was published. The name has been read as Azurāś.

same monarch exactly on the same day. It is the Kamsuli plate published above.¹ But in spite of the occurrence of the same date in two different documents, it has to be admitted that it is irregular since Kārttika-kr. 15 was not a Monday in V. S. 1171 (1114-15 A.D.).

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the word *svasti*. These are followed in lines 1-10 by nine stanzas which are already well known from the published Gāhaḍavāla charters.² The first of these verses contains an adoration of the goddess Śrī (Lakshmi) while the next (verse 2) introduces Yaśovigraha who is stated to have flourished after the rulers of the solar race (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj) had passed away. Verse 3 introduces Yaśovigraha's son Mahichandra and the next two stanzas (verses 4-5) Mahichandra's son Chandra who is stated to have obtained by his valour the empire (*ādhirājya*, i.e. *sāmrajya*) of Gādhīpura (Kānyakubja or Kanauj, i.e. the erstwhile Gurjara-Pratihāra empire), and protected the holy places in the Kāśī, Kuśika (Kuśikapura or Gādhīpura, i.e. Kānyakubja), Uttarakōśala (land around the city of Ayōdhyā and Śrāvastī) and Indrasthāna (Indraprastha or Delhi) regions. It is also stated that king Chandra eradicated all afflictions of the subjects of the Gādhīpura empire (or, less probably, suppressed their rebellion). Chandra's son Madanapāla is described in the next two stanzas (verses 6-7) and Gōvindachandra, who was the son and successor of Madanapāla and issued the charter under review, in verses 8-9. A passage in prose in lines 10-13, also known from the king's other charters, then re-introduces Gōvindachandra, described as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* and *Paramamāhēśvara* and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Madanapāla who himself meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of Chandra. Here also king Chandra is described as having obtained the possession of Kānyakubja (i.e. Kānyakubja or Kanauj). The claim seems to refer to the fact that the Gāhaḍavālas considered themselves successors of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors. It is often supposed that the reference is to the occupation of the city of Kanauj which is again believed to have been another capital of the Gāhaḍavāla monarchs besides Vārāṇasī or Banaras. But the language of verse 4 does not appear to support this interpretation and there is also no evidence to show that Kanauj was a secondary capital of the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras. The representation of the rulers of this dynasty as 'the Gāhaḍavālas of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja' thus appears to be inaccurate.³ Yaśovigraha, founder of the Gāhaḍavāla house, seems to have been ruling in the Banaras region as a subordinate of the latest rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, although there is no doubt that, before his grandson Chandra established his imperial status in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the Kalachuris of Tripurī had succeeded in extending their power over the said area. Baihaqi speaks of a Muslim invasion of Banaras about 1034 A. D. when the city belonged to the territory of Gang (i.e., Kalachuri Gāṅgēya, circa 1015-41 A. D.) while the rule of Karṇa (circa 1041-71 A. D.), son of Gāṅgēya, in that region is proved by epigraphic evidence.⁴ The Basahi plate, referred to above, also assigns Chandra's rise to the period after the death of the kings named Bhōja and Karṇa (i.e., the Kalachuri king of that name).

Lines 13 ff. record the details of the grant made by the king on the date discussed above after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī and having paid respects to the Sun-god and worshipped the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee of the grant and the officers and others addressed by the king are the same as in the other Gāhaḍavāla charters.

¹ Vol. IV, pp. 102 f.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 100, etc.

³ Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, 507. The Basahi plate (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103, text line 3) describes Chandra as having 'established his capital at Kānyakubja'. But the statement seems to indicate that, after having established his suzerainty over the former Kanauj empire, Chandra stayed at the city of Kanauj for sometime. A subordinate ruling family of the Rāshtrakūṭas had its headquarters at that city under the Gāhaḍavālas. See Rhandarker's List, Nos. 204, 1670.

⁴ See Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 773-753, 785.

The epigraph under study records the grant of the village of **Vaḍhavallī** in the *pattalā* or district of **Kaṣṇabhaḥvaṇa** in favour of *Paṇḍita* Gōvardhanaśarmaṇa who was a *Sāmavedin* Brāhmaṇa claiming the *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya gōtra* and the *Āṅgīrasa*, *Āmaḥiḥa* and *Arukha pravaras* and was the son of *Agnihōtrīn* Kōṣava and the grandson of *Paṇḍita* Mūḥaṇa. It may be pointed out that the *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya gōtra* is not mentioned in any early work, and it has no doubt been wrongly spelt in the inscription. But the mention of *Āṅgīrasa* among the three *pravaras* helps us in determining the correct reading of the names of the other two *pravaras* which have also been wrongly spelt. There is no doubt that the three *pravaras* are *Āṅgīrasa*, *Āmahayya* (or, *Āmahiyava*, etc.) and *Aurukshaya* which are assigned in early works to the *gōtras* of the *Kapi* group.¹ Unfortunately none of the *gōtras* of this group sounds like *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya*. Some authorities include a *gōtra* called *Sārāgarava* in this group² and *Sārkaṇḍya* or *Sārkaṇḍya* may be a wrong reading for *Sārāgarava*.

The document was written by *Karapika*-*Thakkura* Sahadēva who is already known from the *Kamauli*³ and *Don Buzurg*⁴ plates both issued by king Gōvindhachandra in V. S. 1176 (1120 A.D.). The record ends with the passage *māṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ* and the *akṣara chha* written twice between double *daṇḍas*. The said *akṣara* is an indication of the end of the writing.⁵ It is interesting to note that the *akṣara* occurs singly at the end of the grant proper in line 21. Its duplication thus indicates the end of the whole document while its single occurrence earlier means the end of a section only.

Besides the *Tirthas* in certain areas in the modern U. P. as well as *Gādhīpura* or *Kanyakubja* (i.e., *Kanauj*) mentioned in the description of king Chandra, only two other geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. They are the district of *Kaṣṇabhaḥvaṇa* and the village of *Vaḍhavallī*. I am not sure about their location. If *Vaḍhavallī* may be identified with one of the villages named *Badhanti* in the Districts of U. P., we may possibly suggest the one at lat. 28° and long. 78° 15', since there is at lat. 28° 25' and long. 77° 30' a village called *Kaṣṇa* which is the first part of the name of the *pattalā* mentioned in the inscription. The second part of this name may possibly refer to *Bhawan Bahadurnagar* at lat. 28° 35' and long. 77° 55'. In that case it has to be suggested that the name of the district was coined by joining the names of two prominent localities in it.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 10-11 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Indravajrā* ; verses 4, 7 *Sārdūlavikrīṭita* ; verses 5-6, 8 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 9 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 Siddham⁷ svasti || Akunṭh-ṣṭkanṭha-Vaikunṭha-kanṭha-piṭha-luṭhat-karab | samrambhah surat-ārambhā sa Sriyah śreyaś-śtū vah || [1*] Āśid-Āś(āt)adyuti-vana(vana)-jāta-
- 2 [ksh]māpāla-mālāṇa divaṇ-gatāṇa | sākāśad-Vivasvān-iva bhūri-dhāma nāma Yaso(āś)-vighraha ity-udārah || [2*] Tat-utō-bhūn-Mahichandraś-chandra-dhāma-nibham ni-
- 3 jam(jam) | yē-śpāram-akū⁸-pāra-pāre vyāpāritam yasah(hah) || [3*] Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aka-rasikah krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalō vidhva[st-ō]ddhata-dh[ra]yōva(dha)-timirah śrī-Chandra-

¹ See *Gōtrapravarānibandhakolamā*, pp. 43, 48, 55, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 106 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

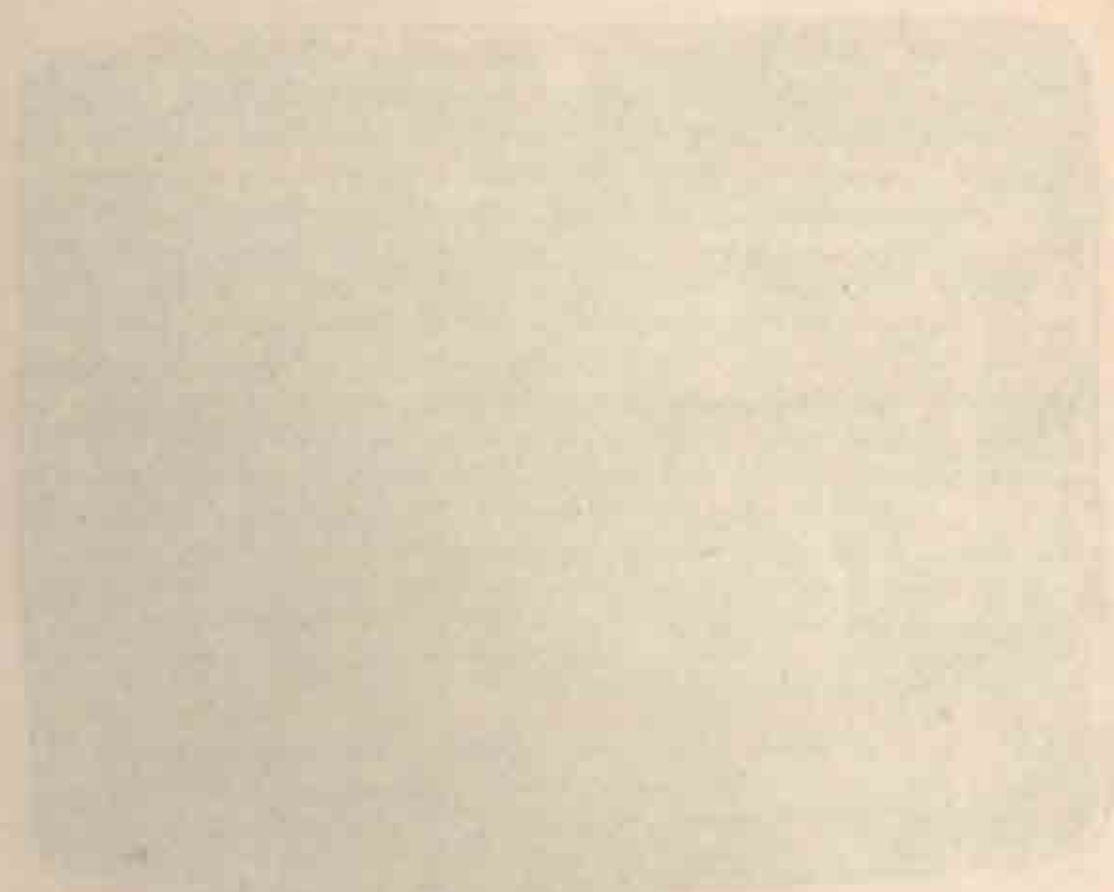
⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

⁶ From impressions.

⁷ Expressed by symbol.

⁸ *Ku* was originally inscribed.

⁹ Some records read *śrī*.





Scale : One-third
SEAL



Scale : Actual

- 4 dēvō nṛipah | yēn-ōdāratarā-pratāpa-sa(sa)mit-āsō(śō)śha-praj-ōpadravast śrīmad-Gādhīpur-
ādhirājyam-asmanm dōr-vvikramēp-ārjītatam(tam) || [1*] Tīrthāni Kāsi(śi)-Kūsi(śi)k-ō-
- 5 ttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni | paripālayat-ābhigamya¹ | hēn-ātma-tulyam-antisadī-
(śarī) dadatā dvijābhīyō yēn-ālēttā vasmatī sa(sa)tasa(śa)=tulādhī || [5*] Ya(Ta)-
- 6 sy-ālmajō Madanapāla iti kēhittē-śa-chūdā-magīr-vvijayatō nija-gōtra-chandrah | yasya-
ābhishēka-kalas-ōllasitāh payōbhūh prakshālitaś Kali-raja[h*] sa-
- 7 kalam² dharitryāh || [6*] Yaay-āśid-vijaya-prayāga-samayō tuṅg-āchal-ōchchais-chalan-
mādyat-kumbhī-pada-kram-āsama-bhata-(bhra)śya(śya)n-mahī³-mapdālō | chūdā-ratna-
vibhinnā-tā-
- 8 lu-galita-syān-āstīg-udgē(ūbhā)stīh Sē(śō)śhaḥ pēsha⁴-vasū(śū)de-iva kahapam-asun krōḍē
nīlīn-ānanah || [7*] Tasmād-ajāyata nī-āyata-vā(bā)hu-vallī-vam(bam)dh-āvarudhva(ōdha)-
- 9 nava-rājya-gājō narēndrah | sōd[ri]-āmṛita-drava-muchām prabhavō-gavām yō Gōvinda-
chandra(ndra) iti chandra iv-ambu-rāśēh(śāh) || [8*] Ma(Na) katham-apy-alabhanta
raṇa-kshamān=tis[ri]śhu di-
- 10 [kōh] gājōn-ādha(tha) Vajrinēh(nah) | kakubhī-va(ba)bhru(bhīa)mur-Abhramuvallabhah-
(bha)-pratibhātā iva yasya ghatā-gajāh || [9*] sō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-chara-
ṇah sa cha parama-
- 11 bhatāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-nija-bhu-ōpārjīta-
śrī-Kanyakuvjā(bj)-ādhīpatya-śrī-Chandradēva-pād-ānndhyāta-paramabhatāraka-
mahā-
- 12 rājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Madanapālādēva-pād-ānudyāta-
paramabhatāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śilmao-
Gōvindachandradē-
- 13 vō vijayī || Kas(n)avbha(bbha)vapa-pattalāyām Vādhavallī-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhīla-jana-
padān-upagatān-api cha rājs-rāja⁴-rājū-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhā-
- 14 ra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaśalika-bhishaka(śhaḥ)-naimittik-āntahpurika-tū(dō)ta-kari-
turaga-pattan-ākaraśtīhāna-gōkul-ādihikāri-purusa(śhā)n samājñāpayati vō(bō)-
- 15 dhayaty-ādīsa(śa)ti cha || yathā viditam-asu bhavatām(tām) | yath-ōparī-likhita-grāmah sa-
jala-śthulah sa-lōha-lavap-ākaraḥ sa-madhūka-chūta-(va*)na-vāṭikā-viṣapa-trīṇa-yūti-gō-
chara-pa-
- 16 ryanah s-ōrdhv-āvah(dhah) sa-gattī-ōsharāś-chatur-āghāta-visu(śu)ddhah s[va]śmā-pa-
[r*]ya[n]tah ēkasaptaty-adhika-sa(śa)t-aikādasa(śa)-sāmvata[t*]sarē Kārttikā-
paurṇamāsyām aṅkatah Sāmvata(vat) 1171 Kārttika-su-
- 17 di 15 Sōmē śrī-Vārāpasyām Ga[rh]gāyām suātvā vidhivan-ma[n]tra-dēva muni-mann-
ja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇān-tarppayitvā timira-pātala-pāṇa-paṇu-mahasam-Ushparōchisham-
upasthā-
- 18 y-Ānha[dhī]patisakalāsōsharam⁵ samabhyarchehya tribhuvana-trātur-Vvāsudēvasya pūjām
vidhāya [pra]chura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujam hutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha
pūya-yasō(śō)-bhūvridhā-

¹ Some records read *ādhipamya.² Some records read *paṭalam*.³ There is a redundant superscript *r* above *ma*.⁴ Sometimes the correction *śaśika* (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 12, Note 97) is suggested unnecessarily. The word *tes* need not be taken here to indicate *śiṣṭishā*.⁵ This word is redundant although the intended expression may be *rājopara* or *rājapāka*.⁶ Read *śāmlaśākharaḥ.

- 19 yē asmābhiḥ Sārkkavasya-gotīāya¹ Āngirasa-Āmahicha-Aruksha²-tri-pravarāya Sāmavēd-
ādhyāyinē paṇḍita-śrī-Mālhaṇa-pautrāya agnihōtri-śrī-Kēsa(ka)va-put(r)āya pa(m)ḍita-
- 20 śrī-Gōvardhanāyasaṁmanap³ Vṛā(Bṛā)hmapāya gōkarṇṇa-kusa(ja)-latā-pūta-karn-tai-śḍaka-
pūrvam-ā Padmasadmanō Hūhūk-āntam yāvach-chhāsanikṛitya pradatta iti matvā
yathā-dīyamāna-bhā-
- 21 ga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-Turushkadandā-kūḍi⁴-pabhṛiti-samita⁵-rāja-pratyādāyān
dāsyatha || chha || bhavanti ch-ātra ślōkāḥ⁶ | Bhūmā(m) yaḥ pratigrihā(hṇā)ti yas-cha
bhūmim prayachchhati | n-
- 22 bhau tau puṇya-karmṇāṇau niyatau(taḥ) eva(r)gga-gāṇau || [10*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā
bhuktā rājābhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmā(=ta)ya tasya tadā phalam(lam)
|| [11*] || likhi-
- 23 'taḥ karāṇika-Thakkura-śrī-Sahadōvēna || maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ || chha || chha ||

¹ The name is not found in the list of gōtras found in early Indian literature. The intended reading may be *Sārṅgavasya-gotīrāya* or *Sārṅgavasya-gōtrāya*.

² *Sandhi* has not been observed in this passage. Read *Āngirasa-Āmahaya* (or *Āmahāyā*, etc.)-*Arukshaya*.

³ Read *Gōvardhanāsaṁmanap* or *Gōvardhanāsaṁmanant*.

⁴ This seems to be the same as *kūḍika* of some inscriptions.

⁵ Read *samasta*.

⁶ Better read *bhūmāśch-ātra ślōkāḥ*.

⁷ This line is engraved below the second half of the previous line.

No. 35—PURI INSCRIPTION OF CHODAGANGA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND

(Received on 9.5.1958)

Some time ago I was informed that the removal of a coating of plaster from the walls of the temple of Śiva called **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** at the well-known city of **Puri** in Orissa revealed the existence of a number of inscriptions which had previously been hidden from the eye. In November 1957 I visited the temple and copied the inscriptions on its walls.

Out of the inscriptions copied by me from the walls of the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple at **Puri**, three were found to belong to the reigns of three kings of the imperial branch of the **Eastern Gaṅga** dynasty. All the epigraphs record the installation of perpetual lamps in the temple of the god **Mārkaṇḍēśvara**. The earliest of these records is engraved on the right wall of the second gate and belongs to the time of the great **Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga** (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the **Puri-Cuttack** region from the **Sōmavamśis** about the beginning of the twelfth century. The writing of the record is fairly well preserved. This inscription¹ is edited in the following pages.

The preservation of the other two **Gaṅga** epigraphs² in the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple is unsatisfactory. The earlier of these two inscriptions is engraved on the same wall as the record of **Chōḍagaṅga** and is dated in the **third year** of the regnal reckoning of **Rāghava** who was a son of **Chōḍagaṅga** and ruled in the period c. 1156-70 A.D. The passage containing the date at the beginning of the record in line 1, which is in Sanskrit, reads: [svasti] śrīmat(mad)-Rāghavadevasya vijaya-rājya-samvata(samvat) 3. No other details of the date have been quoted in the inscription. Since the **Aṅka** system of calculating regnal years may have been introduced during the reign of **Rāghava**'s elder brother and predecessor **Kāmārjaya** (c. 1147-56 A.D.),³ year 3 may be an **Aṅka** year actually referring to the second year of **Rāghava**'s reign. The next passage of the inscription in Oriya in lines 1-2 reads: śrī-Mārkaṇḍēśvara]dēvara kavaḍi-papa tini akhaṇḍa-dipa vāraha. It apparently refers to the investment of three **Papas** of cowries for the installation of twelve perpetual lamps in the temple of **Mārkaṇḍēśvara**. The third inscription, engraved on the right wall of the doorway, is fragmentary, its lower part being damaged. Its date portion in lines 1-2 reads after the **Siddham** symbol followed by the word svasti: śrī-vira-Bhāṇu[dēva]ya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvata 14 vāhā. The record was therefore incised in the **fourteenth year** of the reign of one of the four **Gaṅga** kings named **Bhānu**. The characters employed in the inscription are **Gauḍīya** and not **Oriya** and this fact may suggest that the king has to be identified with **Bhānu I** or **II** rather than with **Bhānu III** or **IV**. The year seems to refer to the **Aṅka** reckoning and to the twelfth actual year of the reign of the king in question. The next passage in lines 2-4 of this inscription reads: Hara-prityā dēvi Umāhara data śrī-Mārkaṇḍēśvaradēvanka [sth]irā ē-dīvasa ā-chandī-ārka akhaṇḍa-dipakāi. This clearly shows that a queen named **Umā** probably one of king **Bhānu**'s wives, created a permanent endowment (sthirā) for a perpetual lamp

¹ This is No. 406 of 1957-58, App. B. There is another inscription (No. 403 of the same App.) written partly in Telugu and partly in Sanskrit in **Gauḍīya** characters. It records that **Atyāṇḍi**'s son **Gaṅga-nārāyaṇa Vēlāṇḍi** alias **Chōḍagaṅga** deposited 5 **Māḍhas** for the provision of oil for a perpetual lamp in the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple on Thursday, Tuli-ṣu. 12, Śaka 1051 (possibly September 27, 1128 A.D.). The inscription, however, does not refer to the reign of **Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga**.

² These are *ibid.*, Nos. 404 and 407.

³ Cf. *SIU.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1322-34.

for the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The name of queen Umā, however, seems to suggest that the king mentioned in the record is really Bhānu III (c.1332-78 A.D.). Visvanātha-kavirāja, who wrote his *Chandrakalā-nāṭikā* during the reign of Gaṇapati Nīhāṇka-Bhānu (i.e. Gaṅga Bhānu IV reigning upto 1434-35 A.D.),¹ quotes in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,² composed some time afterwards,³ a stanza referring to Umādevī's husband Bhānu, as a contemporary ruler, from a work of his own father Chandraśekhara-saṇḍhivigraha. Apparently the same Umādevī is mentioned in the Bhubaneswar Pārvaṭi temple inscription⁴ of the 13th Aśka year of the king named Bhānu and in the Sunhachalam inscription⁵ of Śaka 1301, Mārgaśīrṣa ba. 1, Friday (25th November 1379 A.D.) falling in the reign of Narasiṃha IV (c. 1378-1402 A.D.). It thus appears that Umādevī's husband Bhānu should be identified with Bhānu III, the father of Narasiṃha IV and grandfather of Bhānu IV, as suggested by Rajaguru and Das.⁶

The inscription of Chōḍagaṅga, which forms the main subject of this article, contains nine lines of writing. The inscribed area covers a space about 13½ inches in height and 32 inches in length. Individual akṣaras are about 1½ inches in height. The characters of the record are Gaudīya and its language is Sanskrit. But it exhibits considerable influence of the local language and is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. In some of the sentences, the language is actually a mixture of Sanskrit and Oriya and often the meaning has to be conjectured. The date in line 1, given in the king's regnal reckoning, also offers some difficulty. The regnal year is written in two figures, the second of which is clearly 7. The first figure is exactly the same as found in the same date occurring in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, which has been published in the pages of this journal.⁷ This doubtful figure has some resemblance with the shape of 5, so that the date in both the Bhubaneswar epigraph and the present inscription would appear to be the regnal year 57. But the Bhubaneswar inscription shows that the same year of Chōḍagaṅga's reign corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram *ṛiṣa-Rāma-kh-ṇadu*, i.e. Śaka 1036-1114-15 A.D. Since the said Śaka year corresponded to the thirtyseventh and not fiftyseventh regnal year of Chōḍagaṅga who ascended the throne in 1078 A.D., the first figure in the number in question had to be read as 3. In view of this, Chōḍagaṅga's regnal year quoted in the inscription under study should also have to be read as 37. Thus the epigraph appears to have been engraved in 1114-15 A.D.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the date referred to above. The first sentence in lines 1-4 apparently means to say that, in the year 37 during the reign of the illustrious Chōḍagaṅgadēva, Sādhu Bhīmadēva, a resident of Nīvalō-grāma called an *āṅga-bhōga* of the god Puruṣōttama, as well as Ruda (Rudra?) and Hari (both probably of the same place) accepted some amount or coins of gold for one *chhāyā-dīpa* meant to be a perpetual lamp to be burnt before the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The epithet *sādhu* applied to Bhīmadēva shows that he belonged to the mercantile community. Possibly Ruda and Hari were also members of the same community. The expression *āṅga-bhōga* often occurs in Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions in association with *raṅga-bhōga* and *āṅga-raṅga-bhōga* is sometimes translated as 'decorations and illuminations of a god'.⁸ In the present case, the epithet *āṅga-bhōga* is applied to a village, the income from which appears to have been utilised for the *āṅga-bhōga* or decoration of the deity in question.

¹ See *JOHR*, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. 1 ff.

² Cf. Kane's ed., 1923, pp. 13-14.

³ Verses from the *Chandrakalā-nāṭikā* are quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

⁴ Cf. *JOHR*, Vol. III, p. 49. Umādevī is here wrongly taken to be the name of goddess Pārvaṭi.

⁵ *SI*, Vol. VI, No. 730. Umādevī's relation with king Narasiṃha is not stated in the inscription.

⁶ *JOHR*, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. v-vi. Another known queen of Bhānu III was Hīrādēvī.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 29 ff. (No. 1), and Plate facing p. 22.

⁸ Cf. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telugu Districts*, Part II, p. 201. For *bhōga*, 'a jōgi', cf. above, p. 170.

Thus the village of Niralō seems to have been a rent-free holding in the possession of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Puri. The expression *chhāyā-dīpa* means a lamp held in the hand of an image generally of the donor. The word *chhāyā*, 'image', is known from other inscriptions also. A Srikurmam inscription¹ of Śaka 1275, belonging to the reign of Gaṅga Bhānu III, speaks of the dedication of the *chhāyās* of the king's father Narasiṃha III and the latter's wife Gaṅgāmbikā, which were represented as holding lamps for offering light to the god in the Srikurmam temple. The responsibility of Bhīmadēva and his two colleagues was no doubt to supply oil for the lamp in lieu of the interest of the gold deposited with them.

The next sentence in line 4 states: "Now Bhīmadēva's son Nāna arranged for the discharge [of his obligation]." This shows that, probably after Bhīmadēva's death, his son Nāna refunded the deposit and thereby freed himself from the obligation of supplying oil for the perpetual lamp. That the responsibility fell upon the son of Bhīmadēva alone may further suggest that Ruda and Hari were his own brothers or sons. From the above two sentences we learn that formerly an endowment had been created by depositing some amount or coins of gold with Bhīmadēva and others and that, in the 37th regnal year of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, Bhīmadēva's son Nāna freed himself from the responsibility. But who created the endowment that was terminated by Nāna is not mentioned in these sentences. The names of the persons responsible for the creation of the endowment are, however, possibly known from the following sentences which describe the creation of a new endowment in the place of the terminated one.

The next sentence in lines 4-6 mentions three persons and refers to an image representing all the three of them. The following sentence in line 6 states that Jivanta-śrēṣṭhin accepted the gold for the lamp. This apparently means that the said three persons had originally created an endowment for the supply of oil for a perpetual lamp held in the hands of their own images in the temple of Mārkaṇḍēśvara and that, on the termination of the old endowment, they created another endowment by depositing the same gold with another person named Jivanta-śrēṣṭhin. The condition binding Jivanta-śrēṣṭhin is found in the following sentence in lines 6-7, which states that, in respect of the said perpetual lamp, god Mārkaṇḍēśvara would receive two hundred [measures] of oil every month. The name of the measure is not given in the record. In a similar context in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, referred to above, mention is made of the *karāṅka*, i.e. a small pot usually made out of coconut-shell and used in measuring oil.² The same *karāṅka* measure may be referred to in the present case as well. The names of the three persons who created the endowment are given as: (1) Hari, the *Pūjāhāri* of the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara, (2) Vandau (probably another *Pūjāhāri* of the same god), and (3) Vāsu, the *Pūjāhāri* of another god whose name appears to be Kōhṛiṇēśvara. *Pūjāhāri* is the same as *Pūjāri* meaning 'a priest'.

Lines 7-9 at the end of the record mention the names of the persons who were witnesses to the above transaction. These were: (1) *Mudrāhanta* Dēvadhara; (2) Nilakamuṇḍa (possibly another *Mudrāhanta*); (3) *Paśāpālaka* Śrīdhara; (4) Nārāyaṇa (possibly another *Paśāpālaka*); (5) *Sāṃmasāji* Mahādēva; (6) Dēvamēṇḍi (possibly another *Sāṃmasāji*); and (7) *Śrīkaraṇa* Hari. *Mudrāhanta* (Oriya *Mudiratha*) is now the designation of a class of servants of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Puri. Dēvadhara may have been a similar servant of the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. *Paśāpālaka* may be the same official designation found in inscriptions in the forms of *Paśāyita*, *Paśāita* or *Paśāyati*.³ *Sāṃmasāji* may be a mistake for *Sāmayāji*. *Śrīkaraṇa* is the designation of a scribe. These people appear to have been temple officials.

¹ *SI*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

² Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 30-31.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 107 and note 3.

- 4 grihitam¹ [I*] idānin(nm) sādhu(dhu)-Bhi(Bhi)madēvasya pūta².Nānēna v(I)sudhya³ kri-
(kri)yatē [I*] Mārkaṇḍēva(ēva)raṇ(dē)-
- 5 va-pūjāhāri-Hari(h) ēvaṇ Vand[au] ēvaṇ Kōhriṇēs(v)a(ēva)radēvasya pūjāhāri-Vāsu⁴ ēvaṇ
(ahām) t[bbh]I⁵.
- 6 r-jaṇā⁶ ēka(kā) chhāyē [I*] Ji(JI)vanta-srēṣṭa⁷ dvipa-sunā⁸ grihitam¹ [I*]
Mārkaṇḍēva(ēva)ra[d]ēvaṇ⁹ prati-mā-ē dvipa-
- 7 upajōgē¹⁰ taillya(lam) dā(dvā) satē¹¹ [I*] ātada-arthē¹² sākhi[ṇaḥ*] mūdrahavtha¹³.Dēvadhura¹⁴
ēva[m*] Ni(NI)lakam[u]-
- 8 vda(h*) paśāpālaka-Sri(Śri)dhar ēvaṇ Nārāyaṇa(h*) Śāhmanavāji¹⁵.Mahādēva(h*) Dēvamēṇḍi-
(h*) śrikara-
- 9 ṇa-Hari(h [I*])

¹ Read *grīhitam*.² Read *putra*.³ Read *vīśuddhā*.⁴ Read *Vāsu* *id.*⁵ The intended reading is *trīkṣi*; but read *trayāṣṭā*.⁶ The intended reading is *jandān*.⁷ Read *śrīśāhina*.⁸ Read *dīpa-svarāṇa* or *dīp-śrīkṣa-svarāṇa*.⁹ Better read *śāhman*.¹⁰ Read *mūṣa dīp-śāhman*.¹¹ The *idā* seems to be *śrī-kṣa-kuranta-parivāṇa*.¹² Read *śāh-arth*.¹³ Read *mūdrahavtha*.¹⁴ An unnecessary insertion above *va* seems to have been cancelled.¹⁵ The intended reading may be *Śāhmanavāji*.

No. 36—KALACHURI INSCRIPTION FROM KARITALAI

(1 Plate)

RAL CHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR.

(Received on 13.7.1957)

The stone slab bearing the present inscription was dug out by Sri Kanchhedi Lalji Patel in 1953 while he was ploughing his field in the village of **Kārtalāi**¹ in the Murwara Tahsil of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. In April 1955, I visited the place and examined the inscription. The inscribed stone was later removed by me to the Raipur Museum.

The slab measures 2' 7½" in length and 1' 3½" in height. The inscription contains 13 lines of writing. A piece of stone has broken away from the top left corner of the slab causing loss of four letters in line 1 and of two letters in line 2. The middle and lower parts of the record are also damaged.

The record is well written and neatly engraved. The characters are Nāgari of about the 10th century A.D. and resemble those of the stone inscriptions of the early Kalachuri rulers.²

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, except the words *śubham* and *mr̥galaṁ* at the end, it is metrically composed throughout. There are in all 12 verses. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is often reduplicated. *V* is always written for *ṣ*. The sign for *uṣ-* *dhmāniya* has been used thrice in lines 1, 2 and 10. The inscription is not dated.

Verse 4 of the record mentions the Kalachuri king **Yuvarājādēva** (I), son of **Mugdhatuṅga**. The damaged portion in verse 6 seems to have contained the name of his son **Lakṣmāparāja** II whose minister **Sōmēśvara** is mentioned in verse 10.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *kūpa* (well) in the heart of the city of **Sōmasavāmpura** (obviously **Kārtalāi**) by **Sōmēśvara** who was a minister of Kalachuri **Lakṣmāparāja** II and is known from another record³ to have erected a temple of **Vishṇu** at **Kārtalāi**. His father **Bhākamiśra**⁴ (**Bhāmiśra** of the present inscription) was one of the two ministers of king **Yuvarājādēva** I.

Verse 1 seems to praise **Vishṇu** and **Lakṣmī**. Verse 2 praises the moon, while verse 3 refers to the kings of the lunar race. The poet has compared the qualities of the lunar race with those of the moon in phrases having two meanings. In verse 4, we are told that **Yuvarājādēva** (I), son of **Mugdhatuṅga**, was born in the said family. Verse 5 describes the exploits of the former and states that his elephants had pressed the **Gauḍas**, punished the **Kōśalas**, beaten the kings of the south and conquered the **Gōrjaras**. Thus, unlike the **Bilhari** inscription,⁵ the present record which is definitely earlier than the former, claims for **Yuvarājādēva** I *alias* **Kēyūravaraḥ**, the victories

¹ The village is 36 miles north-east of Katni, headquarters of the Murwara subdivision. The following inscriptions were discovered at or near **Kārtalāi**: (1) copper plate of **Jayanātha**, Gupta year 174 (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.); (2) inscription of **Lakṣmāparāja** I, Kalachuri year 593 (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 256 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 37); (3) inscription of the time of **Lakṣmāparāja** II, which records the erection of a temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' (i.e. **Vishṇu**) by his minister **Sōmēśvara** (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 42); (4) Sati record of the time of **Vīrakīśadēva**, **Vīrakama** Śamvat 1412 (*ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 113; *Hiratal*'s List, No. 48). See also *Hiratal*, op. cit., No. 74.

² Cf. above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 256 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 37 and 42.

³ *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 42.

⁴ **Bhākamiśra** and **Gōllāka** *alias* **Gauḍa**, son of **Bhānu**, were the two ministers of **Yuvarājādēva** I (cf. *ibid.*, pp. lxxiv).

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 236 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 45.

KALACHURI INSCRIPTION FROM KARITAJAI

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(from a Photograph)

over the Gaudas, Kōśalas, the South Indian kings and the Gūrjaras only. The views of scholars,¹ who doubt the statement of the Bilhari inscription that Yuvarājādēva 1 had even conquered Kaśmīra and the Himalayan countries, find support from the present inscription. On the other hand, it adds two new victories to the list, i.e., those over the Kōśalas and the Gūrjaras.

Verse 6, which is fragmentary, possibly contained the name of Lakshmaparājādēva whose merits are described in verses 7-9. Sōmēśvara and his father are referred to in verses 10 and 11 respectively. Verse 12 records the object of the inscription which, as indicated above, was the excavation of a well by Sōmēśvara in the city of Sōmasvāmpura.

The city of Sōmasvāmpura (verse 12) may have been named after the shrine of Sōmasvāmin, which seems to be identical with the temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' built by Sōmēśvara and mentioned in Lakshmaparājā's inscription from Kāritalai referred to above.

TEXT²

[Metres Verses 1, 7 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2 *Śrugaḥarā*; verses 3-4 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 5-6, 9, 12 *Sāndilavakridita*; verse 8 *Prithvī*; verse 10 *Upajāti*; verse 11 *Āryā*]

- 1³ कमलस्मीभ्यां सह साञ्चजितायते । यस्मृतौ न द्विषी सैन्यं सहसाञ्चजितायते ॥ [१*]
स्वर्गलोत⁴ प्रबाहप्रथमहिमगिरिर्वात्⁵ पुत्रात्त्रिचक्षुःशुक्तिप्र-
- 2 — —⁶ मुक्ता त्रिपुरहरगिरिश्चाञ्चतस्वेताद्मः⁷ । कामान्तर्यामिदेहो दहनदिवसकूमण्डलान्तो⁸
त्रिपुत्र⁹ पुण्यज्योतिश्चकास्ति त्रिजगति कमलावा(वा)लव(व)म्भुः
- 3 मुधाह्वः¹⁰ ॥ [२*] स्वच्छाशयस्फुरितनिर्मलमण्डलायसंक्षोभिताखिलदिशाश्रयवाहिनीशा ।
सोमात्सदुद्गतितरतीयकरा नरेन्द्रचन्द्रावली पववृते प्र-
- 4 तिबि(बि)म्बि(म्बि)तेव ॥ [३*] तत्प्रभवद्भुवनभूषणभूतभूतिः श्रीमृगधनुर्ज्ञतनयो युवराज-
देवः । यस्यांघ्रिवारिरुहि वा(वा)दमलीयमानाः प्रापुर्द्विषस्तपदि स-
- 5 पदमापदञ्च ॥ [४*] मै[गो]डाः परिपीडिताः सरभसं यैः कोसलाः शासिता यैः
क्षुण्णाः¹¹ गतदक्षिणैः [५*] क्षितिभूतो यैर्गुञ्जरा निज्जिताः । विप्रेभ्यः प्रतिपा-
- 6 विताः प्रतिदिनं ते येन वान्या ॥ — — — — — पुरपुरं दण्डोद्ध-
[ताः] सिन्धु[राः] ॥ [५*] इन्द्रोः सुन्दरतां वु(वु)धादि बुधतामेतावुलां शासिता¹² -
मायोराय-

¹ *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 89.

² From the original stone and impressions.

³ [The last letters may be restored as *Śrīvatsa-śa*.—Ed.]

⁴ [The reading is *giri = Dhāri*.—Ed.]

⁵ [The missing letters may be restored as *iyagra* or *iytha*.—Ed.]

⁶ [Read *padman*.—Ed.]

⁷ [Read *śānta(nā)-tri*.—Ed.]

⁸ [Read *śubhānta*.—Ed.]

⁹ [Sandhi has not been observed here.—Ed.]

¹⁰ [The reading seems to be *Buddha-tribhūtan = Aśhi = kaśi = śānta = d*.—Ed.]

- 7 वदारमायुषविधावृत्साहि[ता] — ७ — [1] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ —
 —[व्यापि चोतस्य¹ यस्तस्मात्त्वदमणराजदे]वनपतिः श्रीमानभूम्बा[न]भूः ॥[६*]
 भूम्भ(म्भ)ही
- 8 करिणः कीटाः पाषाण[ा] रत्नराशयः ।]
 [रणे] पात्यं विलक्षता² ॥[७*] अभू ७ पटकारिणां ७ ७ न — ७ — — ७ — ७
 [भि]स्तितललेखिनां मधु -
- 9 बिलिप्तचन्द्रार्पिणा(शाम्) । अहो सुमहदद्भुतं वचनमद्भुतोद्भाविनां न मेन
 विनिवेशितं हृदि कथाप्रसंगादपि ॥[८*] नेत्रस्याननिविष्टवारिविसरं दन्मुक्तकेशोत्क-
- 10 रेहंतालीद्वितयान्तरार्पिततृणस्तम्बै(म्बै) रणप्राङ्गणे । वर्षासूनुतिभाजि मेघपटमे
 यद्धारणासौहिणीत्या सेनेव पुराणशास्त्रवशिर)पिण्डास्य-
- 11 कूर्तः स्थितं(तम्) ॥ [९*] पदेनवद्यो निपुणः प्रमाणे वाक्ये विपक्वः श्रुतिपार-
 दृषवा । वा(वा)लाग्नि³होत्र्यी कुशलः कलासु सोमेश्वरस्तस्य व(व)भूव मन्त्री ॥
 [१०*] धिषणान्वितोपि
- 12 काव्यप्रियोपि बु(बु)धसंगतोपि तच्चित्त्रं(त्त्रम्) । यत्सकलपहरहितः श्रीमद्भूमि-
 असूनुरसौ ॥[११*] सोमस्वामिपुरान्तरालतिलकं स(सु)व्यापकं वापिकारुणं कूपमचीका[न]-
- 13 [त्स] ७ ७ लादप्युत्तमं पावनं(नम्) । यन्नि[र्मा]पणकालकर्मठवृष — — कद
 — ७ — — वत्तं ७ समन्ततोपि कमठपृष्ठस्य पुष्ट[स्तटः]⁴ ॥ [१२*] [शुभं(भम्)] ॥
 मंग[लं(लम्)] ॥

¹ [The reading may be *viratyā(vsa).—Ed.]

² [The reading is *Pāṭikā śilakṣatā*.—Ed.]

³ [Read (kā)l-āgni.—Ed.]

⁴ [The reading is defective and doubtful and does not suit the metre.—Ed.]

No. 37—UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA'S TIME, YEAR 19

(I Plate)

B. CH. CHARRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 17. 6. 1958)

A fairly extensive site with remains of a Buddhist *chaitya* has recently been brought to light on the west bank of the Buckingham Canal, somewhere between the railway stations of Chinna Ganjam and Uppugundūr, the railway line lying about half a mile south-east of the site. There is a lake, called Rumperu, beyond the railway bridge at that point. The lake is connected with the sea, about 5 miles from there. In ancient times, the sea might have been nearer the site, as it abounds in shells as well as in brickbats, stone pieces and potsherds, lying about or stuck in the ruined structure of the *stūpa* which appears to be of a large size.

The nearest village, Uppugundūr, in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District, is about 2 miles west of the site. The land within which it is situated belongs to one Sri Gogineni Nagiah. The site was accidentally exposed by the landlord's men while digging a deep channel for draining out excess rain-water from the paddy fields nearby. The antiquities laid bare included broken stone statues, sculptured pillars, slabs, etc. Some of these have been removed to Uppugundūr where they are kept in an enclosure, close to the Village Munsif's Office, for safe custody. Among the exposed antiquities was a marble pillar which had some figures and designs carved on the top and a Prakrit inscription incised on its lower part.

On receipt of information regarding the discovery of the inscription, I visited the site on January 21, 1958, in the company of Sri Pallela Pulla Reddi, the acting Village Munsif of Uppugundūr. On arrival there, to our great surprise and disappointment, we found that the inscribed part of the pillar had been broken away and missing. The chisel marks on the remainder of the pillar as well as a quantity of unsoiled chippings strewn thereabout were proclaiming, so to say, that the act of vandalism had been perpetrated freshly. I was told that, at the time of the removal of a damaged Buddha statue and some sculptured pieces to the village of Uppugundūr, the inscribed pillar had been allowed to be left *in situ*, the landlord having taken it upon himself to take care of that. It is a pity that this pillar was not removed to a place of safety along with the rest of the finds. Luckily, the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project, had already secured an estampage or two of the inscription, a photograph of which is reproduced here.

As may be seen from the photograph, the inscription has undergone some damage at its lower end. The extant portion shows 10 lines of writing, the first six being complete and the remaining ones progressively damaged. Unfortunately, the most important part of the record, in which its object was mentioned, has been lost to us in the portion already broken away. The tenth line, the extant portion of which reads [ya]ḥ-paṣane mahā,¹ obviously mentioned the name of the place (*paṣana*, Skt. *pattana*), followed by what might have been *mahāchetsyam*, the erection of which must have been the object of the record.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmi of about the 3rd century A. D., akin to the one used in many a similar stone inscription from Nāgārjunakonda and places round about.² The ornamental treatment of the top and bottom strokes of various *akṣaras* is its chief characteristic.

¹ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. Amarāvati, Jaggaṃyapeta and Chaptāḍila are some of the other places that have yielded similar inscriptions.

The language is Prakrit as is the case with the majority of the inscriptions just referred to from the same region.

As for its contents, it begins with the auspicious formula *siddhāṃ*, followed by a symbol which ordinarily stands for *Om*.¹ Thereafter comes adoration to the Buddha. Then comes the date, the details of which we shall presently notice. After the mention of the date comes the record proper. It states that one Saṅghila, son of a merchant (*vāṇija*, Skt. *vāṇij*) or *vāṇija*, called Vaira (Skt. *Vajra*), and grandson of a householder (*gahapati*, Skt. *gṛihapati*), called Saṅghila, performed a meritorious deed, the details of which are lost in the missing part of the inscription. It may be observed that the donor is named after his grandfather in accordance with a well-known custom in ancient India.² The inscription further informs us that the donor's grandfather hailed from **Dharmākaṭa**. This place is mentioned also in some Prakrit inscriptions from Amaravati under the variant readings like *Dharmākaṭa* and *Dhanakāṭa* (both from Skt. *Dharmakāṭa*). The Mayidavolu plates³ of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, however, mention the place-name exactly as it occurs in our inscription. It is generally identified with *Dharmakota*.

An indication as to the nature of the pious deed performed by Saṅghila is afforded by the few surviving letters, that read [*ya*]pātane mahā, in line 10. Possibly he erected a *mahāchetiya* (Skt. *mahācetiya*) at a place the name of which ended in *pātana*. This must refer to a sea-port or a flourishing coastal town which must have existed on the site of the present ruined *stūpa*. Future discoveries will throw more light as to the identity and the history of the place.

Saṅghila allowed a number of his near relations to be associated with himself in the merit of the pious act, who are specifically mentioned. They are his mother *Dharmavānikā*,⁴ his brother *Nāgilaṇṇaka*, his sisters *Budhamānikā* and *Saṃudamānikā*, his wife *Sāgarāṇṇikā*, his brother's wife *Saṅghaṇṇikā*, and children.⁵ Some more names are mentioned further on, but their relationship with the donor is not clear owing to the damaged condition of the inscription. They are *Vairasīrinaka*, *Nāgilaṇṇaka*, *Dharmāṇṇikā* and *Nāgasatthamāṇṇikā* besides those damaged. There is a mention of children again after the name of *Nāgilaṇṇaka* in line 8. They possibly refer to the children of *Nāgilaṇṇaka* who is most probably identical with Saṅghila's brother mentioned earlier in line 5.

The inscription is dated the 13th day of the 4th fortnight of the Summer season (*gimha*, Skt. *grīṣma*) of the 19th year of [the reign of] the **Ichāku** king **Mādhariṇi** **Siri-Virapurisadatta**. The highest known regnal year of this king is 20 which is cited in the *Jaggayyapeta* inscriptions already referred to above. On this score, thus, our inscription does not add much to our knowledge. However, by its location, it throws some fresh light on the extent of this king's dominions.

¹ Its occurrence in a Buddhist record is odd, but instances are met with. Inscriptions F and H of Nagārunakonda have it; but it has been left unread. The same is the case with one of the *Jaggayyapeta* inscriptions. See Plate LXIII in *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta* by J. Burgess, London, 1887, pp. 110 f. Compare also Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (CII, Vol. III) p. 46, note 3, and the Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva; above, Vol. XX, p. 43 and note 2.

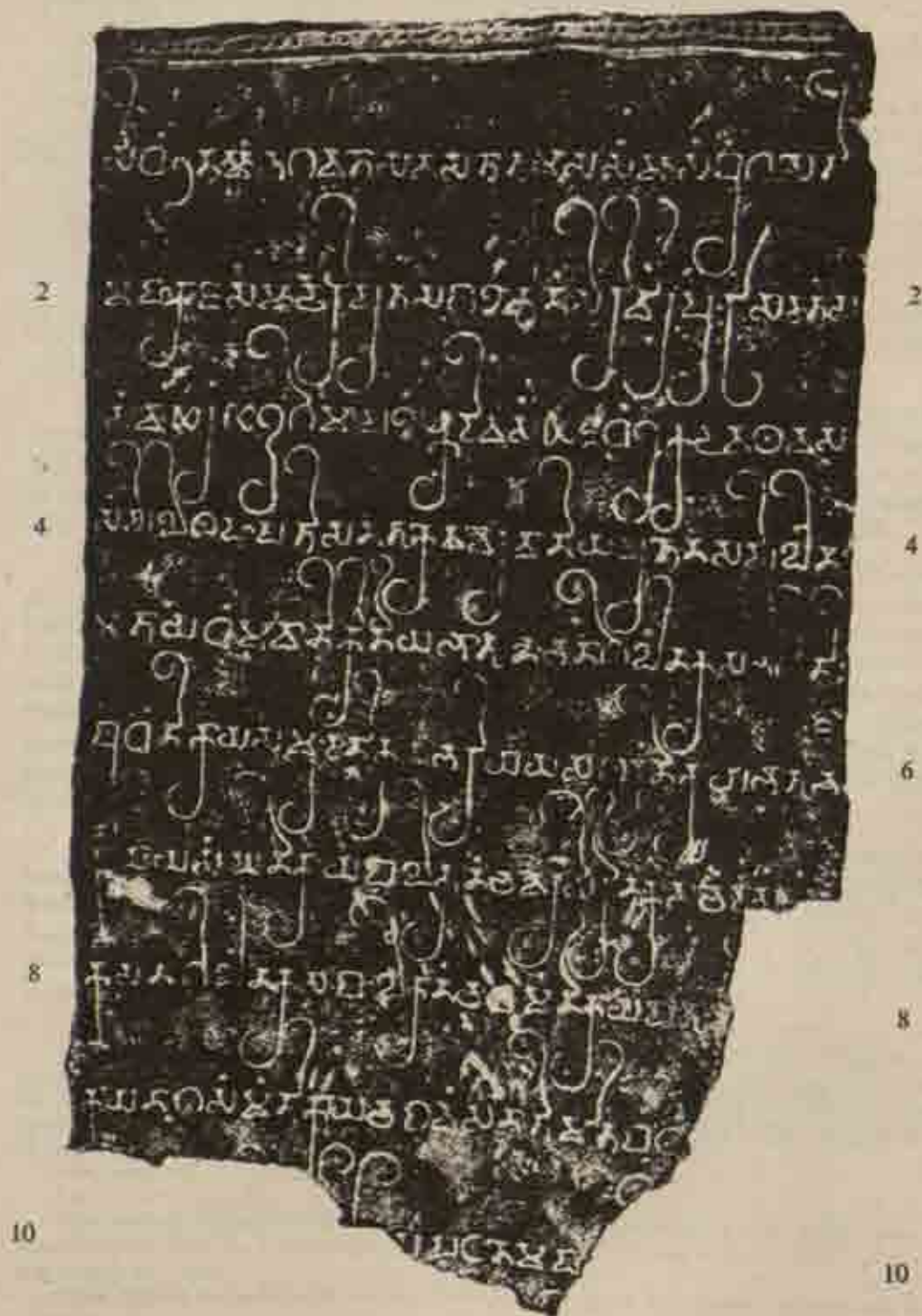
² See above, Vol. XX, p. 6 and note 2.

³ Ibid. Vol. VI, pp. 34 ff.

⁴ The latter part of the name is the feminine of *vāṇija*. It is also possible that her proper name has not been mentioned here. She is only respectfully referred to here as *Dama vāṇikā*, i.e. "the pious lady, consort of the merchant [Vajra]."

⁵ These children may refer to those of the donor himself, for those of his brother are mentioned separately further on.

UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA'S TIME,
YEAR 19



(from a Photograph)

My reading of the inscription is based on the photograph which I owe to the courtesy of the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavations Project.

TEXT

- 1 Sidham Om¹ [[*] namo bhagavato sava-sat-otamasa Sammasambudhas-eti [[*]
- 2 mahā[r]ājasa Mādhariputasa Ikhākunaṁ siri-Virapurisadataṁ
- 3 samvaccharaṁ 10 9 gimba-²pakhaṁ 4 divasaṁ 10 3 Dhammakaḍa-vathavasa
- 4 Saṅgha-gaḥapatiṁ natukena Vaira-vāṇiya-putena Sa[r]ghilena
- 5 matāya Dhammavāṇikinīya bhātuno cha Nāgilaṁnakasa bhagini-
- 6 Budhamnikāya Samudamnikāya bhariyāya Sāgarāṁnikāya bhātu-bha-
- 7 riya-³Saṅghanikāya bālakā⁴nam ch. Vairasirnakasa Charāda . . m . m .
- 8 kasa Nāgilaṁnakasa bālakānaṁ cha Dhamamnikāya patu
- 9 kāya Nāgasaṁmānikāya cha evaṁ sa-nāti-mita-baṁdha
- 10 -[ya]⁵ paṇane mahā⁶

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² The form of the *otthara* meant to be *mā* is not regular.

³ Two medial *i* signs are seen here over the damaged letters.

⁴ Only the right side of the letter is visible.

⁵ [For the symbol in line 1, *wa* is a variant of one found in *Kanaka* inscriptions, see *Index Inscriptions*, p. 150, note 3. In line 8, the word is *bālakānaṁ* which is preceded by the list of Saṅgha's sons (cf. *bālakānaṁ* in line 7) and followed by that of his daughters. It is better to read *bhagini* [see *] in line 5.—Ed.]

No. 38—MODASA PLATE OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1067

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACANUND

(Received on 12. 6. 1953)

A set of photographs of the inscription published here was received from Pandit Purani Utsavalal of Mōḍāsā, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Sabarkantha District in the Gujarat area of the Bombay State, through Dr. M. R. Mazumdar of Baroda.¹ The locality was formerly in the Prantij Taluk of the Ahmedabad District. The Pandit's interest was aroused by the mention of the geographical names Mōḍāvāsaka and Sayanapāṭa in the record since he could easily identify them respectively with the present Mōḍāsā and the village of Sinvāḍa in the Mōḍāsā Taluk. Unfortunately the original plates were not available for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, though the inscription is decipherable from the set of photographs referred to above. Considering the welcome light the record throws on the history of the Paramāras of Malwa, it is edited in the following pages.

The inscription is stated to be incised on both sides of a single plate measuring about 9 inches in length and about 6 inches in height. There is a hole in its upper margin; but no ring or seal was available. There are in all 21 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 on the first side and 6 on the second. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory. The weight of the plate is not known.

The inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of about the eleventh century A. D. They are rather carelessly engraved and cannot be compared with the beautifully incised letters of the inscriptions of the Paramāras such as the Gāonri plates of Muṣṣa, dated V. S. 1038 and 1043.² They may, however, be compared with those of Bhoja's Beṇṇā plates³ of V. S. 1076; the characters of which are not as beautiful as those of the Gāonri plates but are nevertheless much more carefully engraved than those of our epigraph. It may be remembered in this connection that the present charter is not an Imperial Paramāra record.

An interesting feature of the palaeography of our epigraph is the incomplete formation of the letter *ś* (without its vertical right limb) in a large number of cases; cf. *śuḍi* in line 2, *vāśaka* (for *vāsaka*) in line 6, *śrutā* in line 7, *Śayana* in lines 8 and 9, *śut* (for *śut*) in lines 12 and 14, etc. Medial *ś* has been written both as *prishtha-mātrā* and as *śiṣṭ-mātrā*. In some cases, the *śiṣṭ-mātrā* type of medial *ś* has its top curved towards the right; cf. *paramēvara* (for *paramēvara*) in line 3, *maṇḍalā* in line 6, etc. See also the medial signs of *ai* and *ā* in *ikāśina Vallā* in line 7. *ṣ* has been written by the sign for *v*. The letter *ṣ*, rarely found in early inscriptions, is once used in a personal name in line 15.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are many grammatical and orthographical errors in the text. The record is entirely written in prose, there being not even the usual imprecatory verses. Its orthography is characterised by a confusion between *ś* and *s* (cf. *paramēvara* for *paramēvara* four times in lines 3-5 and *śuta* for *śuta* in lines 12, 14, 18 and 20) besides other errors of spelling. There are many cases of the redundant use of a *daṇḍa*, while sometimes it is placed quite close to a letter so as to look like an *ā-mātrā*.

¹ See *J. R. Ep.* 1957-58, No. A 23. See also H. G. Shastri's article on the epigraph in *IAI*, Vol. V, 1946, Supplement, pp. 37-40.

² See above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 108 ff., and Plates.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 220 ff., and Plates.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 1-2, both in words and in figures, as **Sunday, the first of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the year 1067** [of the V. S. which was Kārttikādi]. This date corresponds regularly to the 6th May, 1011 A.D.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the date discussed above. Then it introduces (lines 2-6) the *rājya* of the illustrious *Paramahattāka Mahārājādhīrāja Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva* who meditated on the feet of (or, was favoured by) *P. M. P. Sindharājadēva*. King Sindharāja is similarly stated to have succeeded *P. M. P. Vāpatirājadēva* who is likewise described as the successor of *P. M. P. Siyadēva*. It is difficult to say whether the expression *Bhōjadēva-rājyē* used in the text means 'during the sovereignty of Bhōjadēva' or 'in the kingdom of Bhōjadēva', since both interpretations would suit the context. But the word *rājya* is generally used in the sense of 'sovereignty' in such contexts in epigraphic records. Lines 6-7 introduce a subordinate ruler named *Vatsarāja* who was apparently ruling over *Mōhadavāsaka* or the *Arddhāṣṭama maṇḍala* in it and is described as *bhōtkāramahārājaputra*. In the signature of the ruler copied in line 20, his name is written as *Vachcharāja*. There is no doubt that *Mōhadavāsaka* mentioned in our inscription is identical with the *Mōhadavāsaka vishaya* known from the *Harsēlī plates* of *Paramāra Siyaka*, dated V. S. 1005.

The expression *bhōtkāramahārājaputra* may be a mistake for *bhōtkāri-mahārājaputra*. In that case, *Vatsarāja* is called *Mahārājaputra* probably because he was an as yet unknown son of the *Paramāra* king *Bhōja*, although the possibility of *Vatsarāja* having been the son of some other ruling chief is not precluded. The word *bhōtkāri* would suggest that *Mōhadavāsaka* or a part of it lay within the fief under *Vatsarāja*'s possession. This interpretation is quite probable in view of the passage: *Kāṭhapadma-rājyē varṣamānab(nā) śrī-Kintipādēva-putra(h*) Sindhava-bhōtkā(kṛ)-rājaputra-Lakha(hama)ṇapālho(la)-rājaputra-A(ttr-A)bhūyapāla(hu)* occurring in a record of the *Chāhamūnas* of *Naṭṭā*.² Otherwise the passage *bhōtkāramahārājaputra* would have to be taken to mean that *Paramāra Bhōja*'s feudatory *Vatsarāja* ruling over the whole or a part of the *Mōhadavāsaka* district was the son of a chief named *Bhōtkāra-mahārāja*. But this is less likely.

Lines 7 ff. record the grant of two *hala* measures of land in *Śayanapāṭa-grāma* made by *Vatsarāja* probably in favour of a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Dēddā* who is described as *Vallōṭakiya* and *Chāturjātaṭkiya*. *Śayanapāṭa-grāma* was situated in *Arddhāṣṭama-maṇḍala* lying within the *Mōhadavāsaka* district, mentioned above. Lines 11-12 give the *Brāhmaṇa*'s name as *Dēddāka* who seems to be further described as belonging to a family pertaining to the *Upānasya gōtra* and hailing from *Harshapura* and as the son of *Gōpāditya*. The *Upānasya gōtra* is not found in early Indian literature and it is difficult to determine whether it is a mistake for *Apamanyava*. The expression *Vallōṭakiya* in the *Brāhmaṇa*'s description suggests that he was either the inhabitant of a locality called *Vallōṭaka* or belonged to a community of *Brāhmaṇas* known as *Vallōṭaka*. The same word also occurs in line 13 as an epithet of certain other *Brāhmaṇas*. The epithet *Chāturjātaṭkiya* (lines 7 and 12) applied to the donee apparently means a member of the *Chāturjātaṭa* of the *Cintra prāsasti*,³ which was no doubt an administrative board of four like the *Chauthā* of *Rajasthan* (cf. *Pañchatula* or *Pañchāyat* which was a similar board of five administrators).

The language of the grant portion of the record discussed above is defective and may also indicate that it was the *Brāhmaṇa* *Dēddā* or *Dēddāka* who was the donor of the grant and that *Vatsarāja* merely ratified the transaction. If such was the case, the donee was the son of *Gōpāditya*; but his personal name is not mentioned.

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 230 ff. and Plates.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 49, text lines 3-5; cf. *ibid.*, p. 5, text lines 2-5, where the same princes are described as *Samādāya-Māṇḍa*.

³ Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 741 ff.; A. K. Majumdar, *Chauthayats of Gujarat*, pp. 250-51.

Lines 9-10 describe the gift land as producing such crops as *kōdava* (a species of grain eaten by the poor people), *tala* (*sesame*), *mūlga* (a kind of pulse), *vrīhi* (paddy) and *kaśikā* (cumin seed) while lines 10-11 state that the land was given together with a house, a threshing floor, and a quantity of paddy apparently stored there, no doubt in the village of Sayanapāṭa.

Lines 13-15 give the names of the *pārśvika*s [of the gift land]. By the word *pārśvika* was apparently meant persons owning lands in the neighbourhood of the two *kala* measures granted to the donee in the village of Sayanapāṭa. The list of the *pārśvika*s includes the names of the following persons: *Itiyāthyakṣa* (probably, 'a judge') *Vidita*; the *Brāhmaṇa*s *Tāta*, *Nāta* and *Pāhlya* who were residents of Vallūṭaka or members of the Vallūṭaka community; the *Brāhmaṇa* *Gōvardhana* as also *Kōḷāditya*; *Ṭhakura Rāṇaka*, son of *Dantivarman*; and the *Pottakila* (i.e. *Paṭṭil*) *Jhambāka* as well as *Lallāka* and *Gōggaka*.

A similar list of witnesses is found in lines 15-19 and it is stated that the charter was engraved in their presence. This list includes the following names: *Ṭhakura Kōśavāditya* described as the 'lord of the *Samkaskas*'; *Tāmpālka* and the *Mihara* (village headman) *Vallabhārāja*; the *Śrēṣṭhina* *Jāṇḍi* and *Bhahha*, both sons of *Kapashṭi*; *Vōivaḷa* (*Vaivasvata* ?), *Gūḍhayati* and *Saṅgēma* (possibly *Saṅgama*); and *Ṭhakura Chundrika*, son of *Killā* or *Killa*. The real meaning of *Samkaskaka* used in this section is difficult to determine. Possibly it is the name of a tribe or community and does not stand for *samkaskaka*, meaning 'an agriculturist', since 'a lord of the cultivators' is difficult to think of.

Lines 19-20 state that the document was written by the scribe *Chhaḍḍaka* who was the son of *Annaka*. A copy of the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates under study is found in line 20. But, as already indicated above, the name is given here in the Prakrit form of *Vachchharāja* instead of *Vatsarāja* as found in line 7. The document ends with a *maṅgala* in line 21.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, *Vatsarāja* mentioned in it is not known from any other source. Secondly, it is the earliest inscription referring to the reign of the great *Paramāra* king *Bhōja*. Thirdly, it speaks of *Bhōja*'s rule over parts of the *Sabarkantha-Ahmadabad* region, not far from *Anahilapātaka*, the capital of the contemporary kings of the *Chalukya* or *Solanki* dynasty of *Gujarat*.

The tradition recorded by *Mērutunga* and others that *Paramāra Vākpati Muṇja*, also called *Utpala*, was succeeded not by his younger brother *Siṃdhurāja* but by the latter's son *Bhōja* is contradicted by *Padmagupta*'s *Navasāhasākhacarita*¹ as well as by epigraphic evidence. Like the records of the Imperial *Paramāras*, our inscription, issued by a subordinate ruler, applies imperial titles to *Siṃdhurāja* and represents him as the successor of *Vākpati* and the predecessor of *Bhōja*. According to *Mērutunga*,² *Vākpati Muṇja*, while he was leading an expedition against the *Chalukyas*, was defeated in a battle and captured by the *Chalukya* king *Taḷa II* who put him to death at a later date. The *Chukkerur* (*Dharwar District*) inscription³ of *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara* *Āhavamalla* (i.e. *Satyāśraya*, son of *Taḷa II*), dated Śaka 917, *Jaya*, *Phālguna*-audī 15, *Saturday* (possibly February 18, 959 A.D.), states that he was just then moving towards the north for fighting against *Utpala* (i.e. *Paramāra Vākpati Muṇja*). This not only shows that the *Paramāra* king was captured sometime after February 955 A.D. but seems also to suggest that he was already in the *Chalukya* territory in the course of his fatal expedition. It appears that the *Chalukya* crown-prince's movement from

¹ *Prabandhachintamani*, Tawney's trans., pp. 31-32, 36.

² XI, 68.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-36.

⁴ Above, pp. 121 ff. The inscription of course states that *Āhavamalla* proceeded against *Utpala* in connection with his northern *dis-sujaya* after having subdued his enemies in the south. But the fact cannot be ignored that its date is too near that of the *Paramāra* king's southern expedition. The inscription shows that *Āhavamalla* *Satyāśraya* was then his father's governor in the *Dharwar* region and that he was under orders of transfer.

the southern part of his father's empire towards the north was part of a scheme of general mobilisation of the fighting strength and resources of Taila II for the defence of the northern regions of his dominions which had been invaded by the Paramāra monarch. Since Muñja was killed some time before the death of Taila II in 997 A.D., it further appears that, from the date of his departure on his last expedition against the territory of the Chālukya king about the beginning of 995 A.D., Sindhurāja was ruling the Paramāra kingdom, first as his brother's representative and then (after Muñja's capture or death) as the latter's successor. The beginning of Sindhurāja's rule may thus be assigned to about the commencement of 995 A.D.

The duration of the rule of Sindhurāja and the date of the accession of his son Bhōja cannot be determined. Some scholars have suggested that Bhōja ascended the throne about 1005 A.D., while others have placed his accession to about 1010 A.D.¹ But there is a definite tradition in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Bhōjaprabandha* recording the duration of Bhōja's reign and there is hardly any reason why it should not be accepted as genuine. According to this tradition, Bhōja ruled for 55 years, 7 months and 3 days.² While the earliest known date of Bhōja's son and successor Jayasimha is V. S. 1112, Āshāḍha-vadi 13 (probably the 13th June, 1036 A.D.) when his Mandhata plates³ were issued, the *Chintāmaṇisūrayikā*, composed by Daṣabala at Bhōja's court apparently in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.),⁴ seems to offer the latest date for the reign of Bhōja. Thus Bhōja seems to have ruled from the middle of 1000 A.D. to the end of 1055 A.D. His father Sindhurāja therefore ruled for about five years between 995 and 1000 A.D. The fantastic stories of Sindhurāja's exploits given in the *Narasāhasāṅkcharita* (the date of the composition of which is doubtful although it is sometimes believed to be 1005 A.D.) can scarcely be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning a longer reign to Sindhurāja.⁵

No inscription of Paramāra Sindhurāja has as yet been discovered; but we have a number of dates for the reign of his son and successor Bhōja. Besides the *Chintāmaṇisūrayikā* composed at Bhōja's court in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.) and referred to above, the *Rājamarigāḍhakaravaṇa*, ascribed to Bhōja, was composed in Śaka 964 (1042-43 A.D.).⁶ Bhōja's copper-plate grants discovered so far offer the following dates: (1) Banewāra plates⁷ issued on Māgha-sudi 5, V. S. 1076 (probably January 3, 1020 A.D.); (2) Betmā plates⁸ issued on Bhādrapada-sudi 15, V. S. 1076 (probably September 4, 1020 A.D.); (3) Ujjain plates⁹ granted on Sunday, Māgha-vadi 3, V. S. 1078 (probably 24th December, 1021 A.D.) and issued on Chaitra-sudi 14 of the same year (probably March 19, 1022 A.D.); and (4) Depālpur plates¹⁰ issued on Chaitra-sudi 14, V. S. 1079 (probably March 9, 1023 A.D.). Besides these, there are (1) the British Museum Sarasvatī image inscription¹¹ of the reign of Bhōja, dated V. S. 1091 (1034-35 A.D.); (2) the Tilakwādā plates¹² issued by Bhōja's feudatory Yaśōrāja of Saṅgamakhēṭa-maṇḍala on the occasion of the Sōma-parvan on Monday in the

¹ See Bühler, *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Intro., p. 9; above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33.

² Cf. *Bhōjaprabandha*, ed. Vāsudev Panikar, p. 2: *Pañcāśat-pāñcha varshāni sapta-māsa-dina-trayaṃ | Bhōjarājāna bhūktarāṇa sa-Gaudā Dākṣiṇyāpothāḥ*. See also *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, ed. Durgashankar Kavalim Shastri, p. 32.

³ Above, Vol. II, p. 48; Bhandarkar's List, No. 132. Bühler assigned Bhōja's death to a date after 1062 A.D. on inadequate evidence.

⁴ See *JOB*, Vol. XIX, Part II, 1932, Supplement.

⁵ See above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33; cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 80-81.

⁶ Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 220 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Asi.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53 f.; Vol. XIX, p. 361.

¹⁰ *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff.

¹¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 120.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 128.

month of Mṛga, V. S. 1103 (possibly November 17, 1046 A.D.); and (3) the Kalvan plates¹ issued by another of the Paramāra king's feudatories, named Yaśovarmān, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Chaitra-vadi 15 (March 17, 1048 A.D.). It will be seen that the earliest date for Bhōja supplied by these records is Māgha-sudi 5, V. S. 1076-January 3, 1020 A.D., although we know that he ascended the throne earlier since Chālukya Jayasimha II claims to have defeated him by Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.).² The present epigraph issued on Sunday, Jyēṣṭha-sudi 1, V. S. 1067-May 6, 1011 A.D., is nearly nine years earlier than the earliest of Bhōja's inscriptions so far published.

The inclusion of the Sabarkantha-Ahmadabad region in the dominions of Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1000-55 A.D.) is an interesting information supplied by the record under study. So far the said area was known to have formed a part of the kingdom of Bhōja's grandfather Siyaka (c. 948-74 A.D.). Our inscription suggests that, in spite of the foundation of the Chālukya power at Aṣṭhalapātaka by Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.), the region continued to be under the rule of Siyaka's successors. It is interesting to note in this connection that the inscriptions of Mūlarāja and his immediate successors do not mention any place to the east of the upper course of the Sabarmati river, which was probably the eastern boundary of the Chālukya kingdom during the period in question.³

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are: (1) the district of Mōhaḍavāsaka; (2) the sub-division of Ardhāṣṭama-maṇḍala (literally, 'the sub-division of 7½ [villages]') in the above district; (3) Śayanapāta-grāma in the above maṇḍala; and (4) Harshapura. Whether Vallṭaka was the name of a locality near Śayanapāta cannot be determined. Of these, the location of Mōhaḍavāsaka and Śayanapāta-grāma has been indicated above. The identification of Harshapura, whence the donee's family hailed, is uncertain. It may be modern Harsōlā in the Prantij Taluk formerly of the Ahmadabad District but now of the Sabarkantha District, though the name also reminds us of the place of the same name mentioned in the Harsandā (old Harshapura in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh) inscription⁴ of Paramāra Dēvapāla, dated V. S. 1275 (1218 A.D.).

TEXT⁵

Obverse

1 Siddham⁶ | Samvatsara-śatēṣu daśasu(su) saptashaptīya(ṣṭīya-a)dhikēpna(ṣu)
Jyēṣṭha-śukla-patka(kha)-pratipa-

2 dāyāṁ Samvat 1067 Jyēṣṭha(ṣṭīya)-[śu]di 1 Ravāv-ady-śha samanta-vṛi(bṛi)had-
rāi-āvali-

3 pva(pū)rvam(rvva)-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-śri-Siyakadēva-
padanulhyata'-pa-

4 ramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-śri-Vākpatira(rā)jadēva-pād-ānudhya-
(dhyā)ta-paramabhaṭṭā-

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. R.D. Banerji's views (*ibid.*, p. 70) that the issue of the grant by a feudatory indicates the decline of Paramāra power and that the charter was issued during the troubled days after Bhōja's death are unsound.

² Cf. above, Vol. I, p. 230.

³ Cf. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Ujjain*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

⁵ From a set of photographs.

⁶ Expressed by symbol. The following mark of punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke.

⁷ Read *pād-ānudhyāta*.

5. nua-mahā(nā)raja(ja)dhirāja¹-paramēśva(-va)ra²-**Siṃdhurājadēva** pa(pā)l-ānādhya(dhyā)-
ta-paramahatṭāraka-ma-
6. ha(hā)raja(ja)dhirāja-paramēśva(-va)ra²-**Bhōjadēva**-rājyē ³ci-Mōhadavā[śa(sa)]k-
Ārdhāṣṭama-mamḍalē
7. bhōtkāra⁴ mahārājaputra-⁵ci-**Vatsarājō(ja)** ihā aiva Vallōjakīya-chāturjātakīya⁶-[ś]rut-ādhyā-
8. yana-sa[m⁷]ama(ma)-pravara-Vrā(Brā)hmanya-Dērdhaya⁸ | **[Śa]yanapāta-grāmē** pradatta-
hala-dva-
9. ya-bhūmī-sā(sā)nanāḥ prayachchayaty⁹-ācari yathā | **[Śa]yanapāta-grāmē** kōśrava-
tila-[* mu]dga- [*]
10. vrīhī- [* kanti(gi)k-āli-[ksh]ittra-bhūmī sya chatur-āgla[¹⁰tanayachayaty¹¹ tathā grāma-
madhye grīha-khala-
11. dhānya-samētā asya Vrā(Brā)hmanasya **Harahapura**-vīrṅgatāya Upānasya¹²-sagōttrāya [*
12. Gōpādītya-[su(su)]tāya [* chāturjātakīya-ch(vi)pra-Dēddāka¹³ dharmā(rma)-bōtayō
nā(ā)nan-āka(kā)rāṇa prada-
13. tātā | bhūmī-pārasikā¹⁴ lakhyatā¹⁵ | [*] rājādītya[kōma]-Vidita[h¹⁶] | Va[llō]jakīyā Vrā(Brā)-
hmanā[h¹⁷] Tāta[h¹⁸] Nāta[h¹⁹] [*
14. tā(ta)thā [* Pāhīya[h²⁰] | Vrā(Brā)hmanya-Gōvarādīhama[h²¹] | Kōla(lā)lītya[h²²] | Darū-
tivarma-[ś]n(pu)ta- [*]hakura- [*Rānaka[h²³] pa[²⁴]a-
15. kila-[*] Jhamvā(nabā)ka-[*] Lallāka-[*] Gōggaka-ādīhī | parisakatvā²⁵ bhūmī datritā²⁶ |

Reverse

16. sā[kshī]gōh(gō) h(h)khyantē || trutrā²⁷ | Saṅkasakānām=adhipati- [*] thakura-Kōśavādītya-
[h²⁸]
17. tathā Tāmpālka[h²⁹] | mēhara-Valladharāja | Kapush(hi)shri-anta-śrēśhi(śh[hi])-Jāudī[h³⁰]

¹ The *nā* is written below the line.

² As indicated above, this may be either a mistake for *ādītya* or, less probably, the personal name of Vatsarāja's father.

³ Cf. the expression *chaturjātakīya-vijaya* in line 12 below.

⁴ Read *Dērdhaya*; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to determine whether Dērdā was the donee or the real donor of the grant which was ratified by Vatsarāja probably with Bhōja's permission. The name of the Brāhmana is written as *Dēddāka* in line 12 below.

⁵ Read *prayachchayaty*.

⁶ The *ācari* is redundant.

⁷ Read **śpātāya-asāgūlā*.

⁸ This may be a mistake for *Anparamayara*.

⁹ Read *Dēddāka*; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to say whether Dēddāka was the donee or the donor of the grant in favour of the son of Gōpādītya. The name of the Brāhmana is written as *Dērdā* in line 8 above.

¹⁰ Read *pārasikā*.

¹¹ Read *līkhyantē*.

¹² Read **dīlulā pārasikatoṣ*.

¹³ Read *datritā*.

¹⁴ Better read *yathā*.

- 18 Kapashāḥi(ahī)-śu(su)ta-Bhahha[h*] | tāthā Vēiva[ā]u[h*]¹ Gu(Gū)ḍhayati[h*] Saḍgāmā²
 Kū[ī]ā³-śu(su)ta-⁴ thaku-
- 19 ra- ⁵ Chūnd[er]ik-ā[ī]⁶-samasta-jana-pratyakha[m*] sūsanam samukīritam⁷ || likhitam
- 20 chātata⁸ likhya(lēkha)ka- ⁹ Annaka-śu(su)ta-Chchhaḍḍakēna ||¹⁰ iti || śrī-Cha(Va)chchha-
 (taa)rājasya¹¹ ||¹²
- 21 maṅgalam mahā-śrī[h*] ||¹³ ||

¹ It is difficult to say whether the intended name is Vaiśnavata. The intended reading may also be Vāśa-śata.

² The intended reading may be Saḍgamaḥ |

³ The intended reading may be Kūla followed by an unnecessary *daṣḍa*.

⁴ The *daṣḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *Chūndrika ity-ādī*.

⁶ Read *śamukīritam*.

⁷ Read *śamukīritam*.

⁸ The *daṣḍa* is redundant. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁹ The *daṣḍas* are superfluous.

¹⁰ This represents the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. Note that the name of the donor is written as Vatsarāja in line 7 above.

¹¹ There are two spiral symbols here between the double *daṣḍas*.

No. 39—KANCHIPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ACHYUTARAYA,
SAKA 1453

K. G. KRISHNAN AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7. 12. 1957)

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the east wall of the old Sabhānāyaka shrine in the **Ēkāmrānātha** temple at **Kāñchīpuram** in the Chingleput District, Madras. The inscription contains two parts, one in **Sanskrit** engraved in **Grantha** characters and the other, which is incomplete, in **Tamil** in the **Tamil script** mixed with **Grantha**. The **Sanskrit** portion is couched in verses in *Anuṣṭubh* intercepted by a prose passage which has also been numbered along with the rest. There is nothing particular to note regarding palaeography or orthography. The inscription is important from the point of view of literary history as it throws light on the authorship and date of four literary compositions in **Sanskrit**.

The epigraph is dated in the reign of **Achyutarāya** of the **Tuluva** dynasty of **Vijayanagara** and the details of the date, viz., **Śaka 1453**,² **Khara**, **Kumbha** śu. 3, **Rāvati**, **Friday**, correspond to **1532 A.D.**, **February 9**, the *nakṣatra* being current till 34 of the following day.

The epigraph commences with two stanzas invoking respectively the gods **Vighnēśvara** and **Śiva**. Then it introduces king **Achyuta** of the **Tuluva** dynasty, whose greatness is described at length and who is described as the son of **Narasa**. The king's commander-in-chief **Sajaka Tirumala** is described next as the lord of **Āndāga-maṇḍala**. It is stated that he defeated the **Pāṇḍya** and **Kōṛala** kings and acquired sovereignty over them. This **Tirumala** is then stated to have installed **Bhōgarāja**, son of **Timmarāja** of the solar race, as governor at **Kāñchi**. Then the record proceeds to narrate an important event that happened during the governorship of **Bhōgarāja** at **Kāñchi**. **Bhōgarāja** worshipped Lord **Ēkāmrānātha** and summoned an assembly of learned **Śiva**-**Brāhmaṇas**, **Māhēśvaras** and temple officials before the god **Ēkāmrēśvara**. Two other persons, one described as **Rāmachandra's** brother and the other as **Nārāyaṇa**, were also present. On that occasion, the assembly listened to four literary works in **Sanskrit** composed by **Śrinivāsa**, viz. *Śimabhaktivilāsa* (stated to have been an account of the lives of the 63 **Śaiva** devotees), *Charaṇāṣṭakāra*, *Bhōgāvali* and *Nāmaṇḍali*. **Śrinivāsa**, the author of these works, is represented as the son of **Śitārāma** of the **Bharadvāja** *gōtra* and as a resident of **Chōyārūr**. He is also stated to have been well-versed in the **Sāmaveda** and to have performed the **Vājapēya** sacrifice acquiring thereby the singular privilege of carrying the white umbrella.³ In appreciation of the compositions mentioned above, the *sabha* is said to have made presents of ornaments and clothes to the poet and to have also arranged for the poet's permanent residence at **Kāñchi** by purchasing a house for him. The house stood on a site, 40' wide⁴, in the northern part of the eastern row of houses in **Nallakampa-vīthi** to the south of the outer *prākāra* of the **Ēkāmrānātha** temple. The poet also received a *śīmaṇḍa* of rice daily and five *bhāras* of grains and five *peṇas* per month, to be enjoyed hereditarily. It was further enjoined upon the members of the *sabha* to see that this gift continues uninterruptedly. The **Tamil** portion, which is unfinished, refers to the above four works, to the assembly and to **Bhōgarāḍēva-mahārāja**, the *karṇāṭa* of the place.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1955-56, App. B, No. 274.

² The **Śaka** year is obtained from the chronogram *Śakānt. 1453* which is apparently a mistake for *Lakṣmī. 1453* because the latter form, besides being more sensible, agrees with the cyclic year **Khara** which corresponds to **Śaka 1453**. The chronogram is based on the *Kojapōddi* system.

³ That the persons who performed the **Vājapēya** sacrifice were entitled to hold the white umbrella as an honour is indicated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa*, Canto 45, verses 22-23, and *Gōvīṇḍarāja's* commentary thereon.

⁴ The length of the site is stated to have been the same as that of the adjoining house.

Salaka's son Tirumala, described in the record as Achyuta's commandar-in-chief, is the well-known brother-in-law of the king. Tirumala is described as the lord of Ōndāpa-maṇḍala. Ōndāpa is unknown to us as the name of a territory. But, among the numerous inscriptions referring to this chief, two, one from Gūḍūr¹ in the Nellore District and the other from Vēmulūrupāḍu² in the Guntur District, mention *Ōndāpamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa* as one of his titles, meaning perhaps the chief of the *maṇḍalika*s each of whom had an elephant. It does not seem to refer to any *maṇḍala* Ōndāpa by name, as our epigraph would make us believe. It is possible that the composer of our record arrived at this form in his attempt to transliterate this *biṇḍa* of Salaka Tirumala without knowing its significance. But there is no doubt that this Tirumala is identical with Pedda Tirumala whose genealogy, as gathered from the Vēmulūrupāḍu inscription and some other inscriptions, from Śrīraṅgaṇa, may be recorded here.



Bhōgarāja, installed as *kasttar* at Kāñchi, is called Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja in the Tamil section of the record. Some inscriptions³ from the North Arcot and South Arcot Districts mention a Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja always in association with Salakarāja Tirumala. One of them⁴ from Tiruppanaṅḡāḍu states that, when Tirumalaidēva-mahārāja was camping at Kāñchi in the month of Makara in Śaka 1453, Khara, after having captured Vira-Narasimharāya-nāyakkar, Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja enquired at his instance into a complaint lodged by the authorities of the temple at Tiruppanaṅḡāḍu against the misappropriation of 50 *poṇ* of *jōḍi* by the captured chief. The amount is stated to have been formerly remitted by Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Narasimharāya-nāyakkar withheld the amount even after a reminder from Śāḷuva Timmayar. Bhōgayadēva

¹ *Ins.Nel. Dist.*, Part I, Gūḍūr, No. 108. The text given there reads *Ōndāpa-maṇḍa*. A Tamil inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 576) from Kāñchi-puram gives this expression as *Ōndāpai-maṇḍa*.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, No. 544.

³ *Ibid.*, 1938-39, No. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1950-51, No. 318; cf. also Nos. 323-24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1938-39, No. 3; 1950-51, No. 340.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1924, No. 170.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1906, Nos. 174, 175 and 253; 1921, No. 358; 1939-40, No. 266.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1907, Part 6, para. 80.

recovered this amount. In another inscription² from Elavānāsūr, a Bhōgaiyadēva is referred to as the son of Tippayadēva-mahārāja who is described as *Chōlu-kula-tilaka* and *Uraiyūr-puravar-ādhiśvara* and stated to have served Tirumalaiyadēva-mahārāja. Bhōgaiyadēva is mentioned in our record as the son of Timmarāja and as having belonged to the Sūrya-vamśa. If *Timma* and *Tippa* can be regarded as variants of the same name, Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja of the present record would be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Tiruppanāṁgādu and Elavānāsūr inscriptions.

The theme of Śrinivāsa's *Śivabhaktivilāsa*, stated to be a *kōṅga* dealing with the lives of the 63 devotees of Śiva, is the same as that of the fine Tamil poetical work entitled *Periyapurāṇam* also known as *Tiruttoṇḍarparāṇam* composed by Śākkilār in the first half of the 12th century. *Śivabhaktivilāsa* has been noticed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.³ *Charaṇādistava*, called *Pādūdikāśastava* in the Tamil portion, is evidently the same as *Ēkāṁrōśa* noticed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*.⁴ The works are assigned by Aufrecht to Śrinivāsa-dikshita who is no doubt identical with Śrinivāsa-yajvan of our record, the titles *yajvan* and *dikshita* being synonymous. *Charaṇādistava* was no doubt a description of the god commencing from his sacred feet and ending with the glory of his crown or the head. It is sometimes composed also in the reverse order. It appears that both the types were chosen to describe a god while the latter was employed only to describe a man. The other two works *Bhōgūrali*⁵ and *Nāmācali* are evidently names of two types of compositions. Apparently they too were compositions on *Ēkāṁrōśa*. The munificence of the gifts made to the poet is sufficient indication of the patronage that men of letters enjoyed during the period in question.

Choyarūr, the native place of the poet, cannot be identified due to want of further details.

TEXT*

1. Śubhamo-astu ||*| Vām-āṁk-ārūḍha-vāmākṣī-vakṣhōj-āsakta-pa-
2. śhikaram | vāraṇāḥ vighna-tamasāni Vāraṇāsyam-upāsmahō ||1||*| Kāmā-
3. kṣhī-tunga-vakṣhōja-kṣhikṣa-āṁkita-vakṣhasam* | śhlayē sthi-
4. tam-Ēkāṁra-mūlā Rāśandaśkhara'm | [2]*| Yasy-ājñān sarva-
5. bhūpālā vahantō nija-mūrdhhabhū | nīrajayanti kōṭira-ratna-dī-
6. palh pad-āṁ*|hujam | [3 | *| Na[ta]-mūrdha-pad-āṁgushṭha-nakh-āgra-kṛita-randhrataḥ |
yā-pratāp-śaśv-
7. jvālā-jālair-ut-arppibhiḥ mṁśhuḥ | 4 | Brahmāṇḍam makha-nikṣipta-nava-palla[va*]-suh-
8. hatōḥ | suvarṇa-pūṇa-kumbhasya vibhramanī vahatī sphuṭam | [5]*| [Na]-

¹ Ibid., 1906, No. 174.

² See p. 670.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ For the nature of this composition, see *Pratāparudīya* (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. LXV), Kāśya-prakarana, p. 98.

⁵ From the original and inked impressions.

⁶ Cf. *Māhātmya*, Aryāṣṭakam, verse 15.

⁷ Tamil *r* is used here.

- 9 |a-Nābhāga-Nahusha-Nṛiga-Rāma-mukhān nṛipān | atisṛṣṭe pavitrēṣa charitē(trē)ṇa
 10 |ijēna yab | 6 | Asau Narasa-bhūpāla-tanayō vinay-ōjva(jj)va|ab | Achyutēndra-
 11 |mahārāya-nāmā śmā su-vartmanām | 7 | Yadā bhujēna Bhōglodra-bhōga-ka-
 12 |pēna sat-prahūḥ | vahaty-aśāha-vasudhā-valayath valayath yathā | 8 | Tadā tasya chamū-
 nāthas-sarva-sāmra-
 13 |ya-dhūr-vahab | Ōndāya-maṇḍal-ādhisas-Saṣaka-kehmāpa-bhūr-abhūt | 9 | Yab Pāṇḍya-
 Keraḷa(|-ā)dhīsam(śau) parā-
 14 |jitya tataḥ karam | karan-tat-prithivī-rājya-lakṣmyā iva tad-āgrahit | 10 | Asau Tirumala-
 kehmāpas-ta-
 15 |sy-āptam prāpta-tōjassam | Sūryya-vaṁś-ābdhi-sāmanam Surēndra-sama-vikramam | 11 | Ti-
 mmarāja-bhu-
 16 |va|ṁ Bhōgarājam Kānchyān-nyavōṣayut | sa tatra kārayan pūjām-Ēkāmṛtasya
 bhūyasūn | 12 |
 17 |Sakṣmibhāgyāḥ Śakasy-ābdā Khar-ābdā Kumbha-gō Ravau | sita-pakṣāḥ
 tṛitīyāyām
 18 |Rēvatyā(|m*) vāsarē Bhṛigōḥ | 13 | Praṇamy-Aikāmṛtaramaṇan-tasy-āgrā samupāviśat |
 R-
 19 |machandr-ānujanmāḥ Nā[rā*]yaṇō-¹pi cha | 14 | Gautamāḥ-cha Bharadvāja(|h*) Kausi[kā]h*
 Kāśyapāḥ-tathā | Ag-
 20 |tyāḥ-cha mahānmā(tnā)naḥ Śiva-dviṣa-kol-ōttamāḥ | 15* | Kulē śilē sad-āchārō tyāgō bhōgō
 śamēdamē | prathitāḥ
 21 |kiścha(n-cha) kṣālās-sakalāḥ kalāḥ cha | 16 | Mahāśvarāḥ-cha mahitāḥ | ² karaṇās-cha
 guṇ-ālayāḥ | | * | ā-
 22 |y)-Aikāmranāthasya purataḥ-tridaśā iva | 17 | Tadā tata(tō) Bharadvāja-Sita(tā)rāma-
 mtaḥ-sadhūḥ | Vājaṇy-ārjjita-ācēta-
 23 |ja(chchha)tra-maṇḍala-maṇḍitaḥ | 18 | Pada-vākya-pa[mā]ṇṣhu Bharat-ādi-kalāḥ cha |
 prathitāḥ-Āḥyārūr-grāma-vāsi

¹ See p. 199, note 2.

² After *jasmā we have to read *cha* *śṛiṅga* to suit the metre.

³ The letters *kāḥ* are written below the line.

⁴ The number 13 was originally engraved and later it appears to have been corrected into 15.

⁵ This *darṣa* was wrongly engraved here instead of at the end of this hemistich.

⁶ The sign for medial *si* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

- 24 Bām-āb̄dhi-pāragah | [19/*] Śrīnivāsas-Śivasy-ājñā(jñā)-vaśata[h*] svēna nirmmitam | tri-
[sha*]jsh̄ti-bhaktā-chāritra-dyōtakam kāvyam-utta-
- 25 mam | 20 | Śivabha[kti]vilās-ākhyam-asrāvayad-imām sabbām | Cha[ra]ḡādistavam Bhōgā-
valin Nāmāvalin¹-api | 21 | Etā-
- 26 n prabandhān-ākṛṣya santuṣṭās-[t]ē sabhāsadaḥ | prasannam Śivam-āla²kshya lakṣma-
bhīḥ pūrva-sam[am]sitaiḥ | 22 |
- 27 Praśa-sy-aitam kavim bhūṣhā-vastr-ādyaiḥ pratipūjya cha | kṛi(ka)lpayanti sma ch-āvāsah
Kānchyām-ēv-āśya santatam | 2[3] |]
- 28 'Ēkāmraṇātha-bāhya-prākārād-dakṣiṇatō Nallakampa-vīdhi(thi)-ārsh̄thi-rathyā-pūrva-
śrōpy-[u]ttara-prānta-sthi-
- 29 ta[n*] dakṣiṇ-ūtterataś-chatvārīṣat-pada-vistṛitam | prativēśa-griha-prācharayāma³-sam-
āyāmam Ēkāmrō-
- 30 sēna ka(kṛa)ya-labdham nī[dh]y-ādy-ashta-bhōga-sahitam-ēka-nikōtanaū-ch-āsmō(smai)
Śrīnivāsa-
- 31 yajvanō dattavantaḥ | 26 | Ēkāmrōś-ālayāt prāpyam-amunā [ka]vin-ānv-aham |
- 32 Śiva-māna-mitam śālī-taṇḍulānān-cha sañchayam | 27 | Māsē māsē tataḥ
prāpya[n*]
- 33 vṛthgām bhūra-pañchakam | pañānām pañchakamam-api⁴ prasādam Pārvatīpatēḥ |
2[8] |]
- 34 Etat-sarvvan-dvija[sy-ā*]jya bhōjyam putr-ādikair-api | yath-ēsh̄ta-viniyōg-ārham-ā-
kalpāntam-akalpa-
- 35 yam | 29 | Śrīnivāsas vidushā prāptam-Ēkāmrā[n]yakāt | prasannād-ētaḥ-akhilam pāla-
nīyan-na-
- 36 rādhīpaiḥ | 30 | Mūhēsvarair-Mmahādēva-divy-ājñā-paripūlakaiḥ | sthānakaiḥ-cha Śiva-
- 37 prīti-kartṛi-dharmm-ārttha-kāmkṣībhiḥ | 31 | Kāmākṣī-ku[cha]-mudr-āhkaś-Śaṅkaraḥ
kinkarān-nijān | avyā-
- 38 ā-avyāja-kāruṇya-kallōlita-drig-añchalaiḥ | 32 | Śubham⁵

¹ Below *ti* there is another unnecessary letter looking like *thi*.

² The word *Nāndraut* is written below the line.

³ The letter *la* is written below the line.

⁴ The passage running from this upto *dattavantaḥ* in line 31 is in prose; yet it is enumerated as though it is equal to three verses, thus carrying the number to 26.

⁵ Read *prākār-āpāma*. The vertical line of *cha* appears to have been projected downwards.

⁶ Read *pañchakam-cha-āpi*.

There is a punctuation mark here consisting of two symbols resembling the Tamil figure 10 flanking a sign resembling the letter *o*.

- 39 Tiruvēkambam-ūḍaiya Nayinār Arupatti(ttu)mūvar-purāṇam Śanskṛta-bā(bhā)ṣaiyir(yiṛ)-
chey-
- 40 da Śivabhaktavilāsattaiyum¹ tamnuḍaiya Bhōgāvallī(liyai)yum² Nāmāvallī(liyai)yum³
Pātā(dā)dikēśastavamum⁴
- 41 ugandu tiru(ch*)chevi-ch*chātti aruṇga(gai)yil i-kkōyil Tāpattārum Māhāvararum
eantōshi-
- 42 ttu sthalattukku kattar(rttar)-āna Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja⁵

¹ The letter *yam* is indicated by a symbol.

² Read *śaravallaiyam*.

³ The letter *ō* is redundant.

⁴ The writing stops here abruptly.

No. 40—NOTE ON MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF GAURI

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11. 7. 1958)

The fragmentary inscription of a ruler named Gauri belonging to the Mānavāyana family was discovered at Mandasor in Madhya Pradesh while another record of the same ruler, dated V.S. 547 (491 A.D.), was found in a temple in the vicinity of Chhōṭī Sādṛī near Neemuch about 32 miles from Mandasor. Both the records were edited by me above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120-32, with Plates.¹ A king named Ādityavardhana is mentioned about the beginning of the Mandasor epigraph of Gauri, apparently as ruling from Daśapura (Mandasor). The Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription does not mention this ruler. One of the several possibilities suggested by me regarding Ādityavardhana's identification was that he may have been Gauri's overlord and a later member of the Aulikara family of Daśapura.

In an interesting paper entitled "New Light on the Ancient History of Malwa", which has appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, December 1957, pp. 314-20, Prof. V. V. Mirashi has tried to show that king Ādityavardhana mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of his feudatory Gauri whose known date is V.S. 547 (491 A.D.) and king Dravyavardhana mentioned in the *Bṛhatkathā* (LXXXVI, 2) of Varāhamihira who flourished in the sixth century A.D. were later members of the Aulikara ruling family of Western Malwa just as king Yaśōdharman Viśhṇuvardhana, one of whose Mandasor inscriptions is dated V.S. 589 (532 A.D.), and that all these three Aulikara kings had their capital not at Daśapura (modern Mandasor) but at Ujjayinī. As regards the second of the two suggestions, Prof. Mirashi observes, "Dr. Sircar seems to think that Daśapura was the capital of Ādityavardhana... There is no basis for this conjecture." I am afraid, Prof. Mirashi has not been successful in proving his point.

We have two pillars² of the nature of *jaya-stambhas* raised by Yaśōdharman Viśhṇuvardhana at Daśapura (Mandasor) and it is generally believed that he was ruling from the said city.³ This is quite possible since the early kings of the Aulikara family very probably had their capital at Daśapura where most of their lithic records have been found.⁴ The suggestion is supported by one of the Mandasor inscriptions of this family, which clearly states that, in V.S. 493 (436 A.D.), Aulikara Bandhuvarman was the ruler of Daśapura while the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta 'was ruling over the earth'.⁵ This shows that the Aulikara king Bandhuvarman, who was a feudatory of Kumāragupta and flourished in the second quarter of the fifth century, had his capital at Daśapura. But Prof. Mirashi says, "The pillars commemorate the memorable victory which Yaśōdharman obtained over the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. The battle appears to have been fought at Daśapura, about 75 miles north by west of Ujjayinī. Hence the memorable pillars were erected at Daśapura, the site of the battle, and not at Ujjayinī, the capital of Yaśōdharman." The theory, however, does not appear to be quite convincing in view of the facts that most of the stone inscriptions of the Aulikara kings, as indicated above, have been found at Daśapura and none at all at

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. xi.

² *CH*, Vol. III, pp. 142 ff.

³ Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PH&J*, 1938, p. 504.

⁴ See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 3, 6-7; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff. For early Aulikara records found elsewhere (not far away from Mandasor), cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 4; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff. The two inscriptions of Yaśōdharman Viśhṇuvardhana, a later member of the family, were both found at Mandasor (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 9, 1870).

⁵ *CH*, Vol. III, pp. 79 ff. Cf. Kumāragupta's *prithivīśaśanā* in verse 23 and Bandhuvarman's *śaśanā* in verse 29.

Ujjayini and that one of these records mentions an early Aulikara king as having his capital at Daśapura, while, on the other hand, there is absolutely no evidence to show that the Aulikaras—earlier or later—had anything to do with Ujjayini.

Verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandasor inscription of Gauri reads as follows :

Jitvā ripu-balam samikkhā(khṛ) ranyam pura[m] daś-ādī . []**

...[na]ra-vyāghrē narēndr-Ādityavarddhanaḥ ||¹

In my opinion, the damaged *akṣara* at the end of the first half of this stanza is certainly *kaṁ* while the word lost at the beginning of its second half, as I have suggested, may be restored as *pālayati* or *prāṇīyati*. The above restoration is supported by the style of epigraphic records including the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvārman (verse 29) referred to above. There can be little doubt that the stanza represents Ādityavardhana, probably an Aulikara, as the ruler of Daśapura; that is to say that he had his capital at Daśapura. Prof. Mirashi, it is interesting to note, admits that 'the name Daśapura appears [in the verse quoted above] in a fragmentary form', that Ādityavardhana is said to have 'done something to a town whose name contained the word *daśa* (probably Daśapura)', that 'as the name of Ādityavardhana is used in the locative case, the intended meaning seems to be that he was ruling at the time', and that the kings Ādityavardhana and Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana 'were connected in some way or other with Daśapura (Mandasor)'. In spite of all these admissions, however, he, strangely enough, comes to the conclusion that the said stanza 'gives no clear indication' as regards Ādityavardhana's relations with Daśapura. But, if it is admitted that the name of Daśapura occurs in the verse in the accusative along with that of Ādityavardhana in the nominative absolute, I do not see how Prof. Mirashi can easily escape, without resorting to unwarranted conjectures, from the natural conclusion that the king was ruling at the city in question.

It will be seen that, while in our opinion verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandasor inscription of Gauri apparently speaks of Daśapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana, it offers no indication on the point to Prof. Mirashi. It is, therefore, natural to expect that he has stronger grounds to show that Ujjayini, and not Daśapura, was the capital of Ādityavardhana as well as of Dravyavardhana and Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, all the three kings probably belonging to the same family. Unfortunately the two points Prof. Mirashi has raised as evidence in support of his theory do not appear to be convincing at all as both of them are based on misunderstanding.

The first point raised by Prof. Mirashi in this connection is based on the mention of *Maḥārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana as an *Avantika* or *Avantika-nripa*, i.e. 'the king of Avanti', in the following stanza of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, to which reference has been made :

Bhāradvāja-matam dṛṣṭvā yach-cha śrī-Dravyavardhanaḥ |

Avantikah prāha nripo mahārājādhirājakaḥ ||

Prof. Mirashi takes the name Avanti occurring in the expression *Avantika*, to indicate the city of Ujjayini. But unfortunately he forgets that Avanti was primarily the name of a people or their country (identical with West Malwa) and only secondarily the name of the chief city of the said people or country.² Of course it is well-known that, during certain periods of the history of the Avanti country, Ujjayini was its chief city. The expression *Avantika* thus means both 'the lord of the Avanti people or country' and 'the lord of the city of Avanti (identified with Ujjayini)'. One has to note that the Paramāra kings like Bhōja are called 'king of Avanti' even though they had their capital at Dhārā and not at Ujjayini. It will, therefore, be seen that the epithet *Avantika* applied to Dravyavardhana does not prove that his capital was at Ujjayini and not at Daśapura.

¹ I do not find any justification for Prof. Mirashi's remark, "The metre appears defective."

² See Fargiter, *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*, trans., p. 344, note; Apte, *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, App. III, s.v. *Avantika*.

³ Cf. *Avanti-bhāṣā* in Monier-Williams' *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Avanti*.

Prof. Mirashi's contention that 'the aforesaid passage from the *Bṛhatkasmīd* thus suggests that the later Aulikara kings Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Vishnudevardhana (Yaśōdharman) ruled from Ujjayini' therefore stands on a shaky foundation.

Prof. Mirashi's other argument in support of his theory is based on the Mandasor inscription¹ of V.S. 589 belonging to the reign of Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana. He says, "It (i.e. the Mandasor inscription of V.S. 589) tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by one Nirdōsha who was a *Rājasthāniya* appointed by Yaśōdharman and had his headquarters at Daśapura. This clearly indicates that Yaśōdharman himself was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place like Ujjayini." He refers us to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 154, with the following remark: "The name of the viceroy was Nirdōsha and not Dakṣa as shown by Kielhorn." We are sorry to note that there are not only several errors in these statements but also that the inscription does not prove Prof. Mirashi's theory at least to our satisfaction.

In the first place, the inscription does not really mention any 'country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra mountains'. Verse 19 of the record actually speaks of the land bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra and the Sea (Arabian Sea) apparently meaning the region lying to the west of the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra and to the east of the Arabian Sea. There is nothing in the record to show that the city of Daśapura was situated in this land. As a matter of fact, the area indicated seems to have been situated to the west of the city in question. Secondly, the person represented in the stanza as the *Rājasthāniya*, i.e. viceroy or governor, of the said region is not Nirdōsha but his father's elder brother Abhayadatta. Verses 20-21 suggest that, on the death of Abhayadatta, the viceroyalty of the above land fell on Dharmadōsha who was a son of the former's brother Dōshakumbha. Thirdly, it is uncertain whether Abhayadatta was a contemporary and a viceroy of Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana, although Dharmadōsha was in office in V.S. 589 when his younger brother Nirdōsha excavated a well apparently at Daśapura in the name of his deceased uncle Abhayadatta. Verse 21 of course seems to suggest that Dharmadōsha was a viceroy of Yaśōdharman; but he may have been mentioned by Nirdōsha merely to indicate his own importance as the brother of an important personage like the governor of a district. Fourthly, for similar reasons, Nirdōsha's mention of his relations with Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha scarcely proves that Daśapura, where he excavated the well, lay within the territory under the viceroyalty of his elder brother and paternal uncle, even if both of them were viceroys under the Aulikara king Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana. Fifthly, the inscription does not mention Daśapura as the headquarters of Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha, not to speak of Nirdōsha who is not stated to have been a ruler. Sixthly, the mention of the two names together in two different stanzas shows that Dakṣa was the second name of Nirdōsha.² Seventhly, even if Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana had his capital at Daśapura, Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha could have acted as governors of the metropolitan district of the Aulikara empire with their headquarters at the capital city.³

The points raised above will make it clear that the Mandasor inscription scarcely proves the location of Yaśōdharman's capital at Ujjayini. Prof. Mirashi's statement that 'all these kings (viz. Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana) were ruling from Ujjayini' is thus an unwarranted conjecture, especially in view of the discovery of most of the Aulikara inscriptions at Daśapura and of the fact that verse 2 of the Mandasor inscription of Gauri

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 150-58.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 392, note 3.

³ It may be noted that, when Mahārāja Brahmadatta or Mahārāja Jayadatta was ruling over Puṇḍravardhana-*dhukṣi* with headquarters apparently at the city of Puṇḍravardhana, there was also the office of an *Ayāuktika* (no doubt the governor of the district round the city) at the same city. See above, Vol. XV, pp. 135 f., pp. 138 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

apparently represents Daśapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana just as the earlier Aulikara king Bandhuvarman is mentioned as the ruler of the same city in another Mandasor inscription.

Prof. Mirashi thinks that Mahārāja Gauri had his capital at Daśapura. But this view seems to go clearly against the evidence of verse 2 of his Mandasor Inscription, unless of course Gauri is identified with Ādityavardhana. As indicated above, we have only the following two inscriptions of Gauri: (1) the Chhōṭī Sādri epigraph, and (2) the Mandasor inscription recording the excavation of a tank by him in the suburbs of Daśapura for the merit of his deceased mother. Of course Gauri's activities recorded in these inscriptions do not prove that he had his capital at either of the two places where his records have been found or at a third place, since a ruling chief could build a temple or excavate a tank at his capital or elsewhere in or outside his own territory. Thus according to an inscription¹ of Śaka 983 (1060 A.D.) from Barsur in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh, a Teingu-Chōḍa Mahāmaṇḍalēvara named Chandrāditya-mahārāja, who had his headquarters at Ammagrāma, is known to have built a temple of Śiva called Chandrādityēśvara and excavated a tank called Candrādityasarōvara at Bārasūru which was the capital of his Chhindaka overlord, Mahārāja Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa.

Another fact that cannot be ignored in this connection is that Daśapura was in early times one of the celebrated holy places in Western India² and that death at a place of pilgrimage was considered by the people as highly meritorious.³ Gauri's mother may, therefore, have visited Daśapura on pilgrimage with a view to meet her end at the holy place. The excavation of wells at Daśapura by both Nirdōsha and Gauri in the name of their dead relatives in such a case becomes clear.⁴

Moreover, as already indicated above, verse 2 of the Mandasor fragmentary inscription of Gauri suggests that Daśapura was the capital of his overlord Ādityavardhana probably of the Aulikara dynasty. It is, therefore, impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that Gauri of the Mānavāyana family, who was a feudatory chief and not a governor, had also his capital at the same city of Daśapura.

We also find it difficult to agree with Prof. Mirashi's view regarding the date of Dravyavardhana who is mentioned in the *Bṛhatasaṃhitā* and may be supposed to have belonged to the Aulikara family. The date of the composition of this work is uncertain, although it may have been written some time about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.⁵ It is, therefore, impossible, without further evidence, to prove whether Dravyavardhana ruled in the fifth or sixth century A.D. or whether he was a predecessor or successor of Ādityavardhana. Prof. Mirashi conjectures that Dravyavardhana was a successor of Ādityavardhana and a predecessor of Yaśōdharman Vishnudevardhana and says, "Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana of Avanti mentioned by Varāhamihira (c. first half of the sixth century A.D.) must, therefore, be placed in the period V. 552 to 589. He may have ruled from c. V. 552 to 572 (A.D. 495-515). He was thus a predecessor of Yaśōdharman and might have been his father." He lays special emphasis on the last sentence by putting it in italics. Unfortunately, however, all these statements appear to us to be nothing more than guesses unsupported by any evidence worth the name.

¹ See *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1908-09*, pp. 111 ff.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, pp. 158-59; *The Classical Age*, pp. 216, 220. For another similar inscription, see Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

² Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 161, text line 2.

³ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 43 ff.

⁴ Cf. *JAHRS*, Vol. XIX, p. 207.

⁵ Varāhamihira probably composed his *Pañcāsiddhāntikā* in Śaka 427 (505 A.D.) since in that work the said Śaka year has been taken as the basis of calculation. The *Bṛhatasaṃhitā* appears to have been composed at a later date. The tradition that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 (587 A.D.) is now generally regarded as of dubious value. Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 323.

No. 41—MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDRARAJA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 18.7.1958)

About the middle of the year 1957, Pandit L. P. Pandeya of Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, informed the Government Epigraphist for India of the existence of a copper plate inscription lying in the possession of Shri Badri Prasad Rai of Dhobahar in the Bilaspur District of the same State. Under his instructions, Shri Rai was good enough to send the inscription on loan to the Government Epigraphist for India in July 1957, and it was soon returned to him after examination. The owner of the plates was stated to be Thakur Ratansinghji of Malgā, P. O. Kotma, District Shandol, Madhya Pradesh.

The inscription is written on a set of three plates which measure about 9½ inches by 4 inches each and are strung on a ring measuring about 2½ inches in diameter and about ¼ inch in thickness. The ring passes through a hole about the middle of the upper side of the plates. The first plate has writing only on the inner side while the other two plates are inscribed on both the sides. The record contains 30 lines of writing, 7 lines each on the inner sides of plates I and III and the obverse and reverse of plate II, and only 2 lines on the outer side of plate III. The rectangular seal soldered to the joint of the ring contains only the legend *śrī-Indrarājaś* (correctly *śrī-Indrarājāś*) in embossed characters. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh 119 tolas.

The characters belong to a variety of the Siddhamātrikā alphabet and are assignable to a date roughly between the Bodhgaya inscription¹ (c. 585 A. D.) of Mahānāman and the Apsad inscription² (c. 670 A. D.) of Ādityasēna, that is to say, about the first half of the seventh century. The letters are, however, more angular in shape and their top is formed by a hollow triangle of a bigger size than the solid triangle at the top of the letters of the Bodhgaya and Apsad epigraphs. Letters with a hollow triangle forming the top are sometimes met with in early inscriptions, e.g., in the recently discovered Mallar (Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh) plates³ of Vyāghrarāja, written in Southern characters assignable to the 6th century A. D.

Among initial vowels, *a* occurs in line 29; *ā* with length indicated by a curve in lines 1 and 8 and by an angular sign in lines 13, 16, 21 and 24; *i* in lines 6, 8, 26 and 28; *u* in line 28 and 29; and *ē* in line 29. The medial signs of *ā* and *ē* (cf. also medial *ō*) are sometimes a *śrīṣ-mātrā* and sometimes a *prishṭha-mātrā*. Medial *u* is written with a downward vertical stroke (cf. *ṛphulla* in line 2), or a curve attached to the lower end of the letter (cf. *tuṅga* in line 3). The sign has been written differently in *ru* in *gugur-u* in line 1 and *chāru* in line 2. Medial *ā* is indicated by a downward curve added to the left of the vertical stroke of a medial *u* (cf. *mātrā* in line 4), or a curved stroke added to the right side of the *u* sign (cf. *śrībhūte* in line 16). The sign for medial *ā* in *śāṅgā* in line 23 is of a different type. The subscripts *ch* and *v* are not clearly distinguished (cf. *sesti* in line 1 and *ś-chāru* in line 4). The letter *m* is written with a straight stroke or a globular mark added to the lower left corner of *p* (cf. *śrīmā* and *matī* in line 6). The form of subscript *y* is angular and the top of the letter *ś* is flat. In the ligature *vy* (cf. *pargana* in lines 5 and 13),

¹ *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff. and Plate.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

³ No. 6 of 1958-59, App. A. Cf. also above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.

r looks different from the form of superscript r added to other consonants. Visarga is represented either by two dots (cf. *samaḥ* in line 1) or by two slightly curved strokes placed one above the other (cf. *śāstrāḥ* in *ta-parikarāḥ* in line 11).

The orthography of the record shows a considerable amount of carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. Words like *arabati* for *arhati* (line 24) exhibit the influence of local pronunciation. Though a separate sign for *ḍ* was not unknown (cf. the erased word *Buḍay-yakē* in line 9), the letter has been represented by *ṣ* throughout as is generally done in the contemporary inscriptions of North India. Occasionally consonants are doubled in conjunction with *r* (cf. *mūrttiṣṣ* in line 4 and *pitṭṭṣṣ* in line 13). Sometimes the signs for *anusvāra* and *visarga* have been either omitted (e.g. in *yaṣṣṣ* in line 2), while often one of them is written for the other (e.g. in *pakṣhaṣṣ* for *pakṣhaṣ* in line 5, and *vāṣṣaṣṣ* for *vāṣṣaṣ* in line 17). In some cases, *visarga* is unnecessarily added (e.g. in *ghaṣṣṣṣṣ* in line 4). Class nasals have been generally used instead of *anusvāra* (cf. *Indra* in line 1; *paṣṣṣṣṣ* in lines 2-3; *tuṣṣṣṣ* in line 10). *Anusvāra* is once wrongly changed to *a* in *vaṣṣṣṣ* for *vāṣṣṣṣ* in line 17. While it is wrongly used for final *m* in *phalaṣṣṣ* in lines 20 and 26, it is wrongly retained in *daṣṣṣṣṣ* in line 22 and *saṣṣṣṣṣ* in line 30.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, and the composition is a mixture of prose and verse. For instances of grammatical errors, see *Śailendrarāja* for **rājāḥ* in line 3, *nirjīta* for *nirjīta* in line 5, *Indrarāja* for **rājāḥ* in lines 6-7, *śāminarya* for *śāminya* in line 15, *rājāṣṣṣ* for *rajabhīṣ* in line 19, etc.

The record belongs to the time of *Sāmanta Indrarāja* and is dated in his regnal reckoning without mentioning any era. The details of the date are given as the *eleventh day* of the *first fortnight* of the month of *Jyēṣṭha* of the *first* (or, *eleventh*) year apparently of *Indrarāja*'s reign, the week-day being *Tuesday* and the *nakṣatra* *Uttarabhaḍra*. The month was no doubt *Pūrṇimānta*. The details are, however, not sufficient to determine the exact date of the record. As indicated above, the palaeography of the inscription suggests a date about the first half of the 7th century A. D.

The document starts with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. The first verse that follows introduces *Sāmanta Indrarāja*'s father whose name was probably *Kṣhītipati*. The next verse describes the donor of the grant, *viz.* *Indrarāja*, as a great fighter.

A long passage in prose in lines 7-17 records *Sāmanta Indrarāja*'s declaration from his residence at *Maṇḍaka* to his officers including the *grāmakūṭa* (village-headman) and the chief persons and residents of *Sālagrāmāmantamaraka* (or *Sālagrāmāmantamaraka*) within *Gulagrāmaka* which was situated in *Ākāśa-rāṣṭra* forming a part of the *Chhōḍaparāṅga* *vishaya*. The village was granted as a tax-free holding to *Bhavasvāmin*, son of *Nāgasvāmīśa*, rman of the *Śāpḍilya* *gotra* and the *Vijasanāyaka* *Mādhyandina* *śākhā*. The order regarding the execution of the grant was passed by *Indrarāja* himself. The above section is followed by *Indrarāja*'s request in lines 17-19 to the future kings to protect the grant. After seven imprecatory verses, some of which are not usually met with, the document is said in lines 27-28 to have been written by *Rājaputra Dēva* and engraved by *Dr̥ṣṭāka*, son of the goldsmith *Īvara*. The date of the charter, quoted at the end of the record in lines 28-30, has been already discussed.

The inscription under review is interesting in that *Sāmanta Indrarāja* and his father are known for the first time from it. Unfortunately we have no clue to determine the dynasty to which they belonged. *Indrarāja* was a *Sāmanta*, i.e. a feudatory ruler. But there is no mention of his overlord. The issue of the charter, dated apparently in his own regnal reckoning, without any reference to the overlord, suggests that *Indrarāja* was a semi-independent chief, although

¹ Cf. *śāminarya* in the Umachal rock inscription (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 67).

² Cf. *rājāṣṣṣ* in one of the Pandukovar plates (ibid., p. 209.)

he seems to have been the ruler of a small territory in the Shahdol region in the former Rewa State. The area was under the kings of Kanāmbī in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.¹ and later came under the possession of the Imperial Guptas.² In the 6th century, the Maukharis of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, whose dominions are known to have comprised the neighbouring Kālāñjara region of Bundelkhand,³ may have extended their power over the Rewa area. It is, therefore, not impossible that Indrarāja originally owed allegiance to the Maukharis and ruled semi-independently for sometime between the death of Maukhari Grahavarman about 605 A. D. and the establishment of Harshavardhana's power over the former Maukhari empire shortly afterwards. The semi-independent period of Indrarāja's rule may possibly also be assigned to a date following Harsha's death in 647 A. D. In such cases, the record under study may be assigned roughly to the second decade or the middle of the 7th century.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record, Maṇḍaka whence the grant was issued seems to have been the capital of Sāmanta Indrarāja. It is difficult to say whether the name of Malgā, the findspot of the inscription, is a modification of that of ancient Maṇḍaka. The gift village is called Śālagrāmāmantamaraka or Śālagrāmamantamaraka which is apparently made out of the names of two localities, viz. Śālagrāma and Amantamaraka or Mantamaraka. These two localities forming one unit were a part of the village called Gula-grāmaka which was situated in a *rāṣṭra* or subdivision called Ākāśa within the *viśaya* or district called Chhēṇḍaparaṅga. None of these can be identified.

TEXT*

[Metres : verse 1 *Śārlūkarīṇḍita* ; verse 2 *Śrīgīharā* ; verses 3-9 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham¹ svasti [||]* Āsi(s)ḍ=Indra-smaḥ kabitau **Kahita(t)patu(h*)** śaktyā ktri(kri)-yāhīre-gupair-u-
- 2 tṣhull-āmala-chāru-vimva(mba)-vadanā ya(m*) Śrī(h*) sadā sēvatō | yō dēva-dvija-sādhn-[pa]-
- 3 ṣḍita-janasy=ādhā²ra-bh(ū)tō ha vā³ siddh-[ā]dhyāsita-hēma-tuṅga-ākharah Śailai(lō)ndra-rājā(jō) yathā [||]*
- 4 Jāta(s-ta*)ṣy-āma(jō)-pi prakṣa-gha(ga)ja-ghaṣa(tā)-ghatṭanaḥ(na)s-ch[ā]ru-mūrtti-[r*)=nitya(m*) dāt=ābhīmā-

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.

² An inscription of Candagupta has been found in the former Rewa State, while Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Chattisgarh. See *ibid.*, pp. 267-68; below, pp. 306 ff.

³ Bhandarkar's List, No. 25; above, Vol. XVII, pp. 15 ff.

* From photographs and impressions.

* Expressed by symbol.

* The letter dāt is written above the line.

* Better read *ābhīmā*.

- 5 ni raga-chapala-pajuh¹ bhānta-paryanta-[h]rti[h] (*) nirjitvā(ty-ā)rāti-pakṣaḥ(kṣam)
prasabham-apahi(hri)-
- 6 tō(tā) yēcha(na) lakṣmī viśālā sa śrīmā(h*)-śrī-nikētaḥ prati-mati-suchitaḥ **Indra-**²
- 7 rājā(jō) narēndraḥ || 2*] Maṇḍakāt-para[ma*]māhēsvatā(rō) mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātāḥ
śrī-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 sāmā(ma)nia **Indrarājā Chchhō(Chhō)ṇḍaparaṅga-vishaya-prativaddhaḥ³ Akāśa-**
rāshtrē Gula-
- 9 grāmako⁴ |⁵ Sālagrām mantamarakē⁶ grāmaku(kū)ṭa-di-ṣṇāgika-
- 10 gaṇḍakānāyaka⁷-dēvavārika(kā)ḥ(n*) sarvāmē(n-ē)va pramukhā(h*) yathā-prativāsinatā-
(naḥ) samājñā-
- 11 payati viditam-astu bhavatā(h*) yathā-āsmābhūt-aya(h*)grāma(h*) s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ
- 12 a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēḍa⁸ sa-nidīḥ s-ōpanidīḥ(dī)ḥ-chōra-dayḍa-yalitaḥ⁹ chatuḥ-d(ś)-
- 13 m-ādhāna-paryanta ś-chandr-[ā]rka-kṣiti-tārakā-nirōdhēna¹⁰ mātā-pittrōr-ātmanas-cha
punyā(ṇy-ā)-
- 14 bhividdhaye |¹¹ Śa(Śa)ṇḍīya-gōtra-Vājasaneyā-Māddhyandina-Nāgasvāmi-puṇa(tra)-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 Bhavasvāminasya¹² pratipādī-ṣṭy-s¹³vagemya |¹⁴ yathā-ōchita-bhōgan-upana-
- 16 yanta(h)¹⁵ ājñā-śravapa-vidīryair-bhūtvā sukhāḥ prativā(va)stavyam-iti svayam-ā-
- 17 jñāparā | yē ch-āmad-vaṇṣṭ¹⁶ samū(tu)tpadya(taya)ntē rājānaḥ(na)s-tairapanīya¹⁷
dattir-ann-

¹ Read *pajur*. Originally *dā* may have been engraved in the place of *ju*. The reading of the word may possibly be *maṇḍā* also.

² Read *rachitach-Indra*.

³ Read *ṇḍakā*.

⁴ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁵ The letters *lagrām* are engraved where *lāḍḍḍḍ* were originally written and afterwards erased. Between *marakē* and *grāmānīya*, the four letters *lāḍḍḍḍ*, originally written, have been erased. If the *ā* sign of *vā* is regarded as the part of an erased letter the reading may be *Sālagrāma-Mantamarakē*.

⁶ These two expressions are not known from any other record. It is difficult to say whether they are mistakes for *dēvavārika* and *śarvāmāyaka*.

⁷ Read *pramukhā*. There is an unnecessary slanting stroke after *dh*.

⁸ Read *carjitāḥ*.

⁹ Read *nirōdhām*.

¹⁰ Read *śrōminī*.

¹¹ Read *prativaddhaḥ*.

¹² Read *yadāḥ*.

¹³ Read *vaṇṣṭ*.

¹⁴ Read *svapanīya*.

MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDRARAJA

१० सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः प्रोक्तं सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः
 २ सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः प्रोक्तं सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः
 ४ सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः प्रोक्तं सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः
 ६ सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः प्रोक्तं सुप्रसन्नोऽस्मिन्नुपस्थितः

8
10
12
14

8
10
12
14

16 16

18 18

20 20

iii, a

22 22
24 24
26 26
28 28

iii, b

30 30

- 18 pālanṭy=ātu(nu)mōdanīyā cha | yā=ch=ēmō(mān) datti[ū*] vīlōṣam=āpādayishyat sa
 19 pañchalīhir-mahāpātakaīḥ saha sahyuktan(ktaḥ) sya(syā)[ū] [i*] [Ba*]hubhīr=vasudhā
 bhūtvā rājānē¹
 20 Sagar-āji(di)bhu[h*] yaṣya yaṣya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phala[ni](lam) [i | 3*]
 Shaahpi-
 21 varisha*-sahasrāṇi avargē mōdati bhūmidaly [i] āchhō(chchhō)ttā ch=ānumaātā

Third Plate, First Side

- 22 cha ttā(tā)ny=ōva nara²kē vasō[t | 4*] Sva-dattām para-dattām³ yō harēti(ta) vasundharā
 [m | *] kapilā-sata-ghā-
 23 tinām=ānasā pratipadyatē [i | 5*] Khīla-bhugnā⁴ tu yā bhu(bhū)mi[r*]=yā cha bhuktā
 daś=āparō⁵ [i*] sa[ta][ū*] yā-
 24 [va]ntu(t=tu) yā bhuktā na rājā hantum=arabati⁶ [i | 6*] Āsphōṭayanti pītara[h*] prā-
 valganta(nī) pītāmahū[h*]
 25 tvam=ākū=ani(sma)t-kulō jātū(taḥ) sa mattā bhavishyati⁷ [i | 7*] Prāpayas vipula[n*]
 bhōgā[n*] pūrvva-dattō(tta)sya tat=pha-
 26 lam(lam) [i*] punar-dēhāti dānābhi(d=dhi) punar-bhōgi bhavishyas [i | 8*] Iha tōka-
 kṛtām karm tat=pa[ra*]ttr=ōpi(pa)-
 27 bhujyati(tē) | tala-siktasya vṛkshasya phalam sākḥāsa dṛśyati⁸ [i | 9*] likhitan=cha
 rājaputtā(ttra)-Dēvō[na*]
 29 utkīrṇa[ū*] suvarṇakara-Isvara¹⁰-putrēṇa¹¹ Drōṣākēna samōptaEcha(ō=ch=ō)da[m] āsana-
 [ū*] Jyushṭa¹²-prathā¹³

¹ Read *bhuktā* + *ājāhāḥ*.

² Read *sursha* for the sake of the metre, though the form *varisha* is also recognised.

³ The letter *ra* is written below *sa*.

⁴ Read *dattām* *sā*.

⁵ The word intended is *bhugnā* which has been used in the sense of *bhāgnā*. Cf. Apte, *Pract. Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

⁶ Read *parā*. Originally *pa* was written.

⁷ Read *kārtum-arabati*. The stanza seems to refer to the right of persons who bring fallow land under cultivation for the first time or enjoy the possession of a plot of cultivated land for a period between 10 and 100 years. Many authorities, however, speak of 20 years' possession of land and 10 years' possession of movable property as leading to proprietary right. Cf. *Mādhakara* under *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, verses 24 and 27.

⁸ Read *sa* (or from) *varadrāḥ bhavishyati* (or *sā*).

⁹ Read *dṛśyati*.

¹⁰ Read *śrī-Isvara*.

¹¹ The letter *sa* is engraved below the line.

¹² Read *Jyushṭa*.

¹³ The letter *śa* is engraved below *ra*, the third letter of the line.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 29 ma-paksha Urattara¹bhādrapada(dā) |² Aṅgārā(rā)-vāra(rē) ddi(di)vasa #kādāśa(āś) |
 prava[r*]ddhamāna-
- 30 vijaya-rājya-samvatparah³ 1 |⁴

¹ Read *Uttara*.

² The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

³ Read *asvatsara*.

⁴ The reading may possibly also be *11*.

No. 42—MAHUDI PLATES OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1074

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4. 7. 1958)

This is a set of two copper plates, lying in the possession of Shri Ratansinghji Saindhawa of the village of Mahudi in the Jabar Tahsil of the Shehore District of Madhya Pradesh. One set each of unsatisfactory impressions and pencil-rubbings of the inscription was received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Mr. V. S. Wakankar of Ujjain.¹ An attempt to secure the original plates on loan failed. The inscription is, therefore, edited in the following pages on the basis of the above material.

The plates measure each about 13.75 inches in length, about 9 inches in height and .2 inch in thickness. They bear writing only on the inner sides. The two holes, separated by an intervening space of 5 inches and meant for the rings on which the plates were strung, are found in the lower margin below the writing on the first plate and in the upper margin above the writing on the second. There are in all 29 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 lines on the first plate and 14 on the other. The preservation of the writing appears to be satisfactory. The last 8 lines of the record (lines 22-29) on the inner side of the second plate are shorter than the other lines by 4 inches as a rectangular area at the left lower end of the surface, about 4 inches in length and 5 inches in height, is occupied by the engraved figure of Garuda which was the emblem of the Paramāra rulers and is generally found on their copper-plate grants.

The inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of the eleventh century A.D., which closely resemble those of the charters of the Paramāra king Bhōja (c. 1000-55 A.D.) who was also the donor of the grant under study. The letters may be compared with those of Bhōja's Banawara² and Betma³ plates of V. S. 1076 (1020 A.D.) as well as of his Ujjain plates⁴ of V.S. 1078 (1021-22 A.D.) and Depalpur plates⁵ of V.S. 1079 (1023 A.D.).⁶ The inscription uses the *anusvāra* once in line 29 and the initial vowels *a* in lines 15, 21 and 28, *i* in lines 16, 25 and 27 and *ai* in line 1. The letter *h* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The orthography of the record also resembles that of the epigraphs referred to above. Both *anusvāra* and the class *nasals* have been employed. Although final *m* has been used correctly in some cases, it has often been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of a sentence or of the second and fourth feet of stanzas. The change of final *m* to *anusvāra* before *v* has been wrongly avoided. No stop has been indicated at the end of the second foot of stanzas and the last word of this foot is sometimes joined in *sandhi* with the first word of the next foot. Consonants like *g*, *ṅ*, *bh*, *m* and *v* have been reduplicated when they follow *r*. But *rōbhā* has been written wrongly for *rōbh*. As regards *visarga-sandhi*, we have both *chatur-septa*⁷ (line 7) and *chatur-simā* (line 12). The word *śarmasāga* in line 15 is one of the grammatical errors in the composition of the record.

The charter bears two dates. The grant is stated in lines 7-8 to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa

¹ See *A. E. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. A 26. See also Mr. Wakankar's article on the inscription in the Hindi periodical *Ushā* (Rho) Jāka, pp. 20 ff., published from Dhar, Madhya Pradesh.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff. and Plates.

³ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 220 ff. and Plates.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53 f. and Plates; cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361.

⁵ *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

⁶ For some other epigraphs of Bhōja's reign, see Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 120 and 128; above, pp. 162 ff.; Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff.

in the year 1074 [of the V.S.]. But line 28 quotes the date of the charter as *Samvat* (i.e. V.S.) 1074, *Āsvin-sudi 5*. There is no doubt that the grant was actually made on the first date, though the document which was later incised on the plates under study was prepared on the second date quoted in the record. The year was no doubt *Kārttikādi*.¹ The details of the first date are, however, irregular. V.S. 1074, *Śrāvana-sudi 15*, corresponds to the 30th July 1018 A.D. But the week-day was Wednesday and not Thursday as given in the inscription, while there was no lunar eclipse on that date according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. V.S. 1074, *Āsvin-sudi 5*, seems to correspond to the 17th September 1018 A.D. The present charter is the second of the copper-plate grants issued during the reign of Paramāra Bhōja, the earliest date of his time being offered by the plates of his son or feudatory Vatsarāja, dated V.S. 1067 (1011 A.D.).²

The introductory part of the inscription beginning with the *Siddham* symbol followed by two stanzas in adoration of the god Śiva and introducing the donor as *Paramabhattāśvaka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva*, who was preceded on the throne successively by *P. M. P. Sindhurājādēva*, *P. M. P. Vāpatirājādēva* and *P. M. P. Styakadēva*, is similar to that of the other charters of Bhōja. Lines 5 ff. record, in the usual style, the grant of the village called *Dugāryī-grāma*, situated in the territorial unit called *Bhūmigrīha-pāschima-dvipaśchāśatka*, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa by the king when he was stationed at *Dhārā*. The name of the district seems to indicate an area consisting of 52 villages and lying to the west of a locality called *Bhūmigrīha* while *Dhārā* was the capital of the Paramāra king. The name *Bhūmigrīha-pāschima-dvipaśchāśatka* reminds us of such districts as *Nāgadrūha-pāschima-pathaka* and *Ujjayinī-pāschima-pathaka* mentioned respectively in the Ujjain and Depalpur plates referred to above. Similarly, the word *dvipaśchāśatka* in the name reminds us of such names as *Nyāyapadrasaptadaśaka* mentioned in the Betma plates. The donee of the grant was *Mārkaṇḍasarma* who was the son of *Bhaṭṭa Śrīpati* and grandson of *Bhaṭṭa Gōkarna* and belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from a locality called *Śrāvapabbhadra* in *Gauḍa-dēśa* (modern West Bengal). The village was granted as usual with the right to receive all the *ādāyas* or imposts such as *āraṇya* (taxes in cash), *bhāga* (share of the crops produced), *bhōga* (periodical offerings) and *uparikara* (additional cess or tax on temporary tenants). This part of the record is in the same style as in the king's other grants. It ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

The letter *chāḥ* thrice repeated in line 27 indicates the end of the document proper. This is followed in the next line (line 28) by the date (V.S. 1074, *Āsvin-sudi 5*) when the document was prepared. In the same line, which ends with a usual *maṅgala*, we have also the statement that the king himself was the *ājñā*, which seems to mean that the announcement of the gift was made by the king himself. The passage *eva-hast-yaṁ mahārāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvasya* in the next line (line 29) represents the king's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. The charter ends with the statement that *Jāsaṭa* was the *dāpaka*. The word *dāpaka* means 'one who causes another to give'. It is thus not impossible that *Jāsaṭa* was the real donor of the village of *Dugāryī* in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Mārkaṇḍasarma* and that king Bhōja merely ratified the creation of the rent-free holding.³ The word *dāpaka*, however, occurs in many other grants especially of the Paramāra kings and is generally understood in the sense of *dāta* or *dātaka*, i.e. the executor of a grant.⁴

The Banwara plates of Bhōja were issued in V.S. 1076, *Māgha-sudi 3* (probably the 3rd January, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of what is called *Kāṁkaya-tijaya-purvaṇ*, while his Betma

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 261, No. 169.

² See above, pp. 192 ff.

³ Cf. above, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 178 and note 2; cf. *SI1*, Vol. I, p. 22, note 1.

plates were issued in V.S. 1076, Bhādrapada-sudi 15 (probably the 4th September, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of *Kōṅkaṇa-grahana-vijaya-parvān*. Hultzsch interpreted the expression occurring in the Banswara plates as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa,' while D.B. Bhattacharya suggested 'the festival day in consequence of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa'.¹ D.B. Diskalkar thinks that the Banswara plates refer to Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa, and the Betma plates to his occupation of the country.² It, however, appears to us that both the expressions mean the same event, viz. Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa. The silence of the present record on this achievement of the Paramāra king may suggest that Kōṅkaṇa was conquered by Bhōja sometime after the dates of the present grant, probably in 1019-20 A.D.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Dhārā, the capital of Bhōja, is the modern Dhār in the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The location of the gift village of Dugāryī and the district called Bhūmigrīha-pāschima-dvīpaśchāstka as well as of the locality called Śrāvabhadrā in the Gaṇḍa country is uncertain.³

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1-2, 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3, 7 *Vasanti-laka* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verse 8 *Śālīnī* ; verse 9 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* [[*] Jayati Vyōmakēśō-sau yaḥ sarggāya vi(bi)bhartti tān(tām |) aindaviṭh
śirasā ūkṣām jagadvī(d-bī)j-āṅkur-ākṛitim [[1*] Tanvanta vaḥ
- 2 Smarārātēḥ kalyāṇam-anīśa(m) jaṭāḥ [[*] kalp-ānta-samay-ōddāma-tadid-valaya-pi-
ṅgalāḥ [[2*] paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārā-
- 3 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Śiyakadēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-śrī
- 4 Vākpatirājadēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-
Sindhurājadēva-pād-ā-
- 5 nudyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēvaḥ kuśal |
Bhūmigrīha-pāschima-dvīpaśchā-
- 6 śatka-śatāpāti-Dugāryī-grāmā samupāgatān-samasta-rājapurushān-Vrā(n-Brā)hmaṇ-
ōttarān-pratinivāsi-pattakila-ja-
- 7 napad-ādīna-cha samādiśaty-astu vaḥ saṁviditān yathā | śrīmad-Dhār-āvaasthi-
tair-samābhīś-chatuṣṣaptaty-adhikā(ka)-dāśa-śa-
- 8 *a-samva*tsarē Śrāvapa-sudi-pauruṣamāsyām Gurau saṁjāta-sōma-grahapa-
parvvaṇi snātvā ohar-āchara-gurum-bhagavanta-
- 9 m-Bhāvānīpatyam(tim) samābhyaṛhya saṁśrasy-āsāratām jñātvā tathā hi | Vāt-
ābhra-vibhraman-īdān vasudh-āhipatyaṁ-āpā-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

³ A stanza in the Tilakwada plates has been read as *Tat-pāda-kamala-dhyātā Kanyakubja-vini(b*)jīri(eri)taḥ |*
cahāś Śrāvabhadrānām Śrāvādyē sarā(r-ē)thamā | - (*Proceedings and Transactions of the First All-India*
Oriental Conference, p. 324). It is possible to think that the Śrāvabhadrās mentioned in the verses originally
lived at the village of Śrāvabhadrā mentioned in the Mahudi plates as situated in West Bengal.

* From impressions and pencil-rubbings.

* Expressed by symbol.

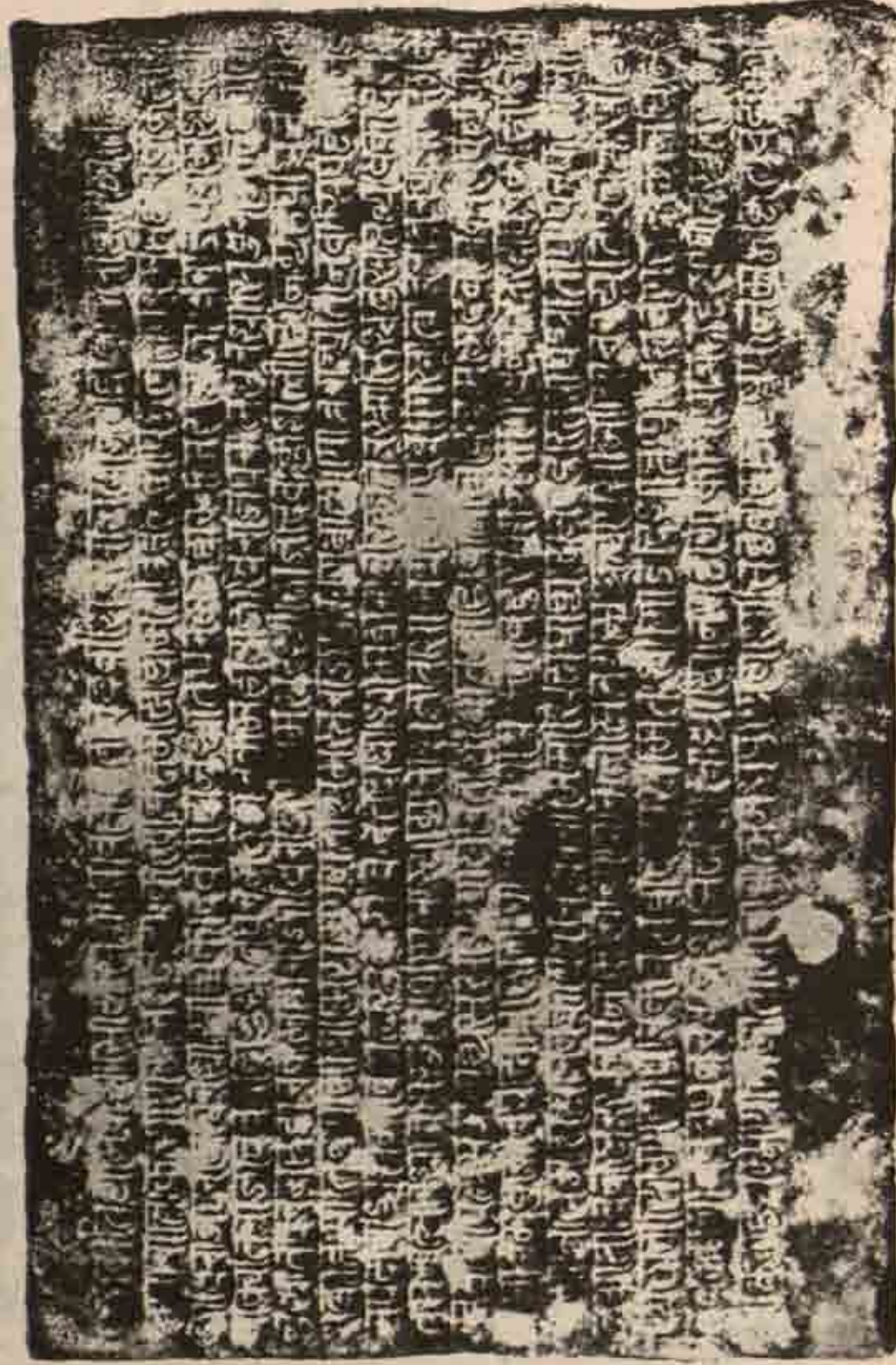
* Read *snātvā*.

- 10 ta-mātra-madhurē viśay-ōpabbhōgaḥ [1*] prāpāḥ-tṛiṣ-āgrā-jala-viṣṭu-samā narāgaḥ
dharmmaḥ sakṣā patam-abō para-lō-
- 11 ka-yānē [1 3*] Bhatmat-sad-sāra-chakr-āgrā-dhāt-ādihārām-imāḥ śriyath(yam)
prāpva yē na dadus-tēbhāḥ paśchāt-tāpāḥ param phalam-iti (lam || 4 iti)
- 12 jagatō vinasva(ēva)ra-sva(rū)pam-ākālayy-ōpari-likhita-grāmaś-chatus-simā-gōchara-
yūti-paryantaḥ sa-hira-
- 13 oya-bhāga-bhōgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sarv-ādāya-samētaḥ śrī-Gauḍa-dēś-āntahpātī-Śravapa-
bhādra-sthāna-vinirgga-
- 14 ta-Vātsya-gōtra-pamcna-pravara-Vājasenīya-śekh-ādhyāyīṣ Bhaṭṭa-Gōkarṇa-pautra-
Bhaṭṭa-Śrīpeti-suta-pamḍita-
- 15 [M]ārkaṇḍakarmmapāya¹ mātā-pitrōḥ-ātmanas-cha puṇya-yasō-bhividdhayaś adriṣṭa-
phalam-aṅgikṛitya chaṇḍr-ārkk-āroṇa-

Second Plate

- 16 [va]-kṣiti-sama-kālaḥ yāvat-parayā bhaktyā śāsanēn-ōdaka-pūrvvakam pratipādita-
iti matvā tan-nivāsi-pa-
- 17 [tṛa]kula-janapad-ādibhir-yathā-diyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirapy-ādikam-ājñā-śravapa-
vidhēyairbhbbhū(r-bbbhū)tvā sa-
- 18 rvam=sama² samupanētavayath(vyayam) | sāmānyam ch=aitat-puṇya-phalam vudhy-
ā³mad-vamśajair-anyair-api bhāvishirbhbbhū(r-bbbhū)ktipibhir=s-
- 19 smat-pravṛitta-dharmma(rmma)dāyōyam=anumanāvatyā(vyay) pālaniyaś-cha |
uktam cha | Va(Ba)kubhūr-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbhīḥ Sagar-ādī-
- 20 bhīrya(bhīh) | yajeya yasya yasō bhūmī=sasya tasya tadā phalam [1 5*] Yān-cha
dattāni purā narēndrāir-ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-
- 21 ya[śa]jekarūpi [1*] nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma eādhu(b) punar-
dadita [1 6*] Aśmat-kula-kṛṣṇam-udā-
- 22 ram-udāharadbhir-anyais-cha dānam=idam-abhyanumōdanīyam(yam) lakṣmī-
(kshmyā)s=taqīd-va[śa]-
- 23 ya-vudvuda⁴-chaṇchalāyā dānam, phalam para-yasāḥ-paripālanaḥ cha [1 7*] Sarvvān-
=ātān-bhāvi-
- 24 naḥ pāthivēndrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmakṣadrah [1*] sāmānyō-yam dharmma-
sōta-
- 25 r-anupāpāḥ kālō kālō pālaniyō bhavadbbhū [1 8*] Iti kamat-dal-āmbha(mbu)-viṣṭu-lō-
- 26 lām śriyam-anuśrūṭīya manushya-jīvitam cha [1*] sakalam=idam-udāhṛitam cha
vudhvā⁵ na
- 27 hi puruṣaiḥ para-kṛttayō vilōpyā iti(pyāḥ || 9 iti) || chha || chha || chha ||
- 28 Samvat⁶ 1074 A[Ā]śvina-sudi 5 [1*] svayam-ājñā || māṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ [1*]
- 29 sva-kṣatōyath mahārāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvasya || dāpakō=tra śrī-Jāsaṭa[h*] ||

¹ Read *karmmapāy.² Read buddha-s.³ Read budbudda.⁴ Read buddha.⁵ Read Samvat.



No. 43—PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265

(3 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7.3.1958)

The set of plates was received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1946-47 from the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, then Assistant Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Endowments Board, Madras.¹ The set consists of 10 thick plates each measuring 5.25" x 9.5", except the last one which is slightly smaller than the rest. The plates have a round hole in the left margin for a ring to pass through, though the ring was missing when the plates were received for examination. Of the ten plates, the first eight are inscribed on both the sides. They are numbered consecutively on their reverse. The ninth and tenth plates are each inscribed on only one of their sides. The tenth plate, as will be seen below, contains a post-script to the document and is also slightly smaller than the rest of the plates. The ninth plate contains a human figure, standing astride, with its head formed by two heads of birds facing opposite directions. It holds two elephants by their trunks, one in each hand. An explanatory passage engraved on the left of this figure says that the donor Bhaktirāja enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍabhārūḍa*, thereby indicating that the figure depicted was that of the mythical bird *Gaṇḍabhārūḍa*. This bird is usually depicted as a double-headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks or claws. In mythology, however, two more fabulous creatures which are said to be the incarnations of Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively, intervene between the elephant and the mythical eagle. They are the lion, more powerful than the elephant, and the eight-legged *Śarabha* stronger even than the lion.² Although the representation of the *Gaṇḍabhārūḍa* on our record does not conform to its traditional form, it is represented in the same shape in epigraphs like the Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) inscription³ (Śaka 1310) of Annadēva, the son and successor of Bhaktirāja, and the Vinukonda (Guntur District) inscription⁴ (Śaka 1377) of the time of the Sāgi chief Gannama-nāyaka. The same emblem is embossed in relief on each of the four granite pillars of an imposing *gōpura* at Śrīraṅgam.⁵ Perhaps the plate bearing the emblem of the mythical bird served the purpose of the seal of the charter under review and was a later addition like the one bearing the post-script. The seal of the Madras Museum plates⁶ of Bhaktirāja depicts the same figure in a very crude form.⁷ An earlier charter showing an excellent representation of this figure on its seal is the Eḍavalli plates⁸ of the Kōja chief Kēta III.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1948-47, App. A, No. 3.

² Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao has explained the significance of these mythological figures sculptured in a frieze depicting 'the chain of destruction' in the Bhūḥarī temple at Kōramaṅgala in Mysore and has cited examples of different kinds of representation of the *Gaṇḍabhārūḍa* in the Kannada and Telugu areas. See *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 341 ff.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 254 of 1905.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 328 of 1913.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1936-37, p. 77, para. 42.

⁶ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 123 ff.

⁷ Mr. T. N. Ramachandran describes the figure as that of a man. The two heads of the mythical bird are here depicted so indifferently that they give the appearance more of a grotesque human head or that of an owl rather than that of two birds. But a closer examination clears this illusion. It must be noted, however, that the elephant usually associated with this bird is absent in the crude motif on the seal rendering its identification somewhat difficult.

⁸ *A. R. Ep.*, 1915-16, App. A, No. 5; cf. p. 128, para. 55.

Bhērūṇḍa occurs as a title of Sutyarasa, a feudatory of Chālukya Jayasinha, while some of the later rulers adopted titles like *Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*, *Rājagajagandubhērūṇḍa*, *Gajraghagandubhērūṇḍa*, *Aricāyagajagandubhērūṇḍa*, etc.¹ The soldiers of a Hoysala regiment are referred to as *bhērūṇḍas* in inscriptions.²

The record is throughout in Sanskrit verse engraved in Telugu characters. It is more neatly executed than the Madras Museum plates of the donor and its composition resembles that of other charters of the period such as the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka³ and the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva-Chōḍa.⁴ The medial signs of *ā* and *au* and the aliphatics *bī* and *chī* are written alike.

The date of the charter is quoted in verses 44-46 (lines 79-81) as **Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika, Śaka 1265** (*bhāta-tarka-urka*), when there was a lunar eclipse. The date is irregular as there was no lunar eclipse in Śaka 1265, either expired or current.

The first few verses of the charter praise the primordial couple (Śiva and Pārvatī), the elephant-faced god (Gaṇēśa), the Primeval Boar (i.e. Viṣṇu), the Sun and Moon, and Brahman. The mythical lineage from Brahman down to king Dēvānīka through Marīchi, Kāśyapa, Bhānu (Sun), Vāivasvata-Manu, Ikṣvāku, Kakutṣtha, Dīlpa, Raghu, Aja, Dasaratha, Rāma, Kuśa, Atithi, Nishadha, Nala, Nabhas, Puṇḍarīka and Kāśmadhanyan is delineated in the next few stanzas (verses 7-13). Verses 13-17 speak of Nalla-Bhīma, born in Dēvānīka's lineage, and his wife Kāmā; their son Dāma and his wife Sōmā; their son Pōta and his wife Anyamā; their son Bhīma and his wife Pōtā; their son Dāma and his wife Lakṣmī; their son Sōma and his wife Sāramā; and their son Gaṅga. When Gaṅga came of age, his father Sōma of the Solar lineage contemplated the marriage of his son with a bride of the Lunar race (verse 18).

Verses 19-23 mention the following members of the Lunar family: Kumāra and his wife Gaṅgamā; their son Chandra and his wife Gaurī; their son Brahman and his wife Sūramā; their son Dēva and his wife Abbidēvi; their son Kāma and his wife Lakṣmīyambā; their three daughters and two sons respectively named Irugāmbā, Dēvāmbā, Abbidēvi, Veṅga and Tamma; and Veṅga's three wives named Mahādēvi, Anyamāmbā and Chennamāmbā.

According to verses 24-28, Gaṅga of the solar or Kāśyapa lineage married Irugāmbā of the lunar race (*Mānarya-sakula*), who gave birth to Kāma named after his maternal grand-father and also called Bhakta. The following two stanzas (verses 29-29) speak of the accession of Bhakta or Bhaktirāja and the overrunning of the Āndhra country by the Yavanas (Muhammadans).

The Musunūri family, to which Bhaktirāja owed allegiance, is described in verses 30-33 as follows: Pōchi-nāyaka of Vēṅgi-vishaya; his son Prōlaya-nāyaka who left Vēṅgi along with Vēṅga and repaired to a fort in a forest (*veṇu-durga*) surrounded by hills. Prōlaya-nāyaka and Vēṅga are stated to have together subdued the pride of the Turuṣka horses and reconquered the Āndhra country. The four following stanzas (verses 34-37) describe how, on Vēṅga's death, the son of Pōchi-nāyaka (i.e. Prōlaya) installed [in his uncle's estate] his (i.e. Vēṅga's) sister's son Bhaktirāja and how the young king defeated the infantry and cavalry forces of the Yavana lords. According to verses 38-42, Anyamā, Anyamā and Lakṣmī were the three wives of Bhaktirāja who enjoyed the title *Rājavēṅgabhūjaṅga* and was ruling over Chinttapāṇḍya, Vēṅgi, Chintalapūṇi and Gōrṇḍūru. Verses 43-44 state that, on Prōlaya's death, his cousin (*pitrīya-suta*) Kāpaya-nāyaka, installed Prōlaya's son Vōchi-nāyaka on the throne.

¹ *IBQ*, XX, p. 341, note 2.

² *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. V, Co. 211.

³ *Above*, Vol. XXXII, p.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

According to verses 45-48, on the date already discussed above, **Bhaktirāja**, having obtained Vāchi-nāyaka's approval, granted to Brāhmanas well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* the village of **Pentapādu** which was clubbed together with the villages of **Enarlagoddu**, **Mulākala** and **Jalāpalli** in **Vēngi-vishaya** and named **Gaṅgādhara-pura** after Gaṅga-bhūpati.

Verse 49 prays for the success of Bhaktikāhitiśa who enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍaragauḍa* and *Gaṇḍahērūḍa*. This is followed by twenty-eight verses in various metres enumerating the names of the seventy-six donees together with the share or shares allotted to each of them as well as their *gōtra*s and *sākhā*s. There were, among the donees, persons learned in the *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṅga*s, *Vēdānta*, *Tarka*, *Dharmasāstra*, *Jyōtiṣa*, *Pada*, *Paṭakama*, *Purāṇa*, *Sāṃudrikaśāstra*, etc. Four among them received two shares each and one only a share and a half, while the rest of the donees were assigned either a single share or half a share each. One of the major shareholders was the priest of Bhaktirāja. A learned man named Bhāratī is mentioned in the post-script. Whether he was the composer of the charter is not known.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the donees bear the title or epithet *Ghaṭasāsi*. This term occurs in inscriptions and literature in several forms such as *Ghaṭasāsi*, *Ghaṭisāsi*, *Ghaṭiyasāsi*, and *Ghaṭisāsi*.¹ To these may be added the form *Ghaṇisāsi* or *Ghaṇisāsi* met with in Kannada inscriptions.²

The rest of the document, with the exception of the last four benedictory stanzas, enumerate the boundaries of the village granted and mentions, among others, the places Darāparru, Mudunūru, Viṇṇaparru, Kommaṇa, Kātaparru, Nakkaṇṇa, etc.

List of donees

Name	Gōtra and Sākhā	Shares
1. Richeṇa-yajvan (teacher of <i>Sūma</i> and <i>Yajus</i> and versed in <i>Vēdāṅga</i>)	Hārta, Yajurveda	2
2. Vallabha-yajvan (versed in <i>Yajus</i> , priest of Bhaktirāja)	Do.	2
3. Gaṅgādhara-ghataśasi	Do.	1
4. Eṇṇaya-ghatta	Do.	1
5. Prōḷi-ghataśasi	Do.	1
6. Dēvaya-ghataśasi	Do.	1
7. Sūri-ghatta (versed in <i>Ṛg</i> and <i>Vēdānta</i>)	Hārta, Rīgveda	1
8. Gaṅgādhara-ghataśasi	Do.	1
9. Mallaya-ghataśasi	Do.	1
10. Nāṇṇaya-ghataśasi	Kaṇḍiṇya, Rīgveda	1
11. Gaṅgādhara-ghataśasi (versed in <i>Taitt</i>)	Kaṇḍiṇya, Yajurveda	1
12. Koppaṇṇi-ghatta	Do.	1
13. Sūma (versed in <i>Vēdānta</i>)	Do.	1
14. Pōṭi-ghataśasi (versed in <i>Itasmāśāstra</i>)	Do.	1
15. Sūrya (<i>Jyōtiṣasāstra</i>)	Do.	1

¹ Cf. *Journal of the Tokyo Asiatic Soc.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 286 ff.

² *A. R. Ep.*, No. 268 of 1953-54.

Name	Gōtra and Sakhi	Share
16. Kṛishṇa-ghaṭāśālin (<i>Jyōtīśāstra</i>)	Kaupḍīya, Yajurveda	1
17. Nāmkana-ghaṭāśālin	Kaṇḍika, Yajurveda	1
18. Dhīma-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Dharmasūtra</i>)	Do.	1
19. Nārāyaṇa (versed in <i>Pada</i>)	Do.	1
20. Pōti-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
21. Pōtaya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
22. Mārāya (<i>Padaśruti</i>)	Do.	1
23. Mallāya (versed in <i>Rigveda</i>)	Kāśyapa, Rīgvēda	1
24. Pōti-ghaṭāśālin (Do.)	Do.	1
25. Kāmāya-ghaṭāśālin	Kāśyapa, Yajurveda	1
26. Vonnāya-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Tarka</i>)	Do.	1
27. Annāya (versed in <i>Jyōtīśāstra</i>)	Do.	2
28. Pōti-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
29. Rudrāya (versed in <i>Vedānta</i>)	Do.	1
30. Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa (do.)	Do.	1
31. Pūyāmūrti (versed in <i>Āiti</i>)	Parāśara, Rīgvēda	1
32. Ananta-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Parāśara</i>)	Do.	1
33. Vallabha-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Pada</i>)	Parāśara, Yajurveda	1
34. Kundaḍya (<i>Chaturveda</i>)	Bhāradvāja, Yajurveda	1
35. Mallāya (<i>Sāmudrikasūtra</i>)	Do.	1
36. Bhīmāya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
37. Agastī-yajvan	Do.	1
38. Prōti-bhaṭṭa (<i>Vedānta</i>)	Bhāradvāja, Rīgvēda	1
39. Mallāya-ghaṭāśālin	Śvetasa, Yajurveda	1
40. Malli-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
41. Bhīmāya-ghaṭāśālin	Ātrēya, Yajurveda	1
42. Mallāya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
43. Vallabha-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
44. Ananta-ghaṭāśālin	Gārgya, Yajurveda	1
45. Vallabha-ghaṭāśālin	Ābharadvāsa, Yajurveda	1
46. Ūbhala-ghaṭāśālin	Hārta, Yajurveda	1
47. Kūchma-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
48. Vallabha-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1
49. Bhadrāya-ghaṭāśālin	Do.	1

Name	Gotra and Sakhā	Shares
50. Appana-ghataśālin	Hastha, Rīgvēda	1
51. Vallabha-ghataśālin	Do.	1
52. Kēṭana-ghataśālin	Kauṇḍinya, Yajurveda	1
53. Lingaya-ghataśālin	Do.	1
54. Dōmmata-ghataśālin	Do.	1
55. Mallaya-ghataśālin	Do.	1
56. Sōmaya-ghataśālin	Kauṇḍinya, Kāṇva	1
57. AHILJI	Kauṇḍinya, Rīgvēda	1
58. Ellaya	Ātrēya, Rīgvēda	1
59. Ratiga	Ātrēya, Yajurveda	1
60. Dōchaya-ghataśālin	Kātyāya, Sāmaveda	1
61. Sōmaya-ghataśālin	Kātyāya, Yajurveda	1
62. Varadaya-ghataśālin	Mandalya, Yajurveda	1
63. Gaṇapaya-ghataśālin	Pātīmāsha, Yajurveda	1
64. Chāmāna-ghataśālin	Kapī, Yajurveda	1
65. Mallāra-ghataśālin	Bhāradvāja, Yajurveda	1
66. Kāṭava-ghataśālin	Do.	1
67. Appana-ghataśālin	Do.	1
68. Śrīpati-bhaṭṭa	Śrīvatas, Yajurveda	1
69. Narahari-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
70. Kāmaya-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
71. Pinnaya	Do.	1
72. Mūrāya-ghataśālin	Śrīvatas, Rīgvēda	1
73. Kommaya-ghataśālin	Kandika, Yajurveda	1
74. Lakshmana-ghataśālin	Maitrēya, Rīgvēda	1
75. Pōṭaya-ghataśālin	Lōhita, Yajurveda	1
76. Bhāratī	Kauṇḍinya, Bahvricha	2

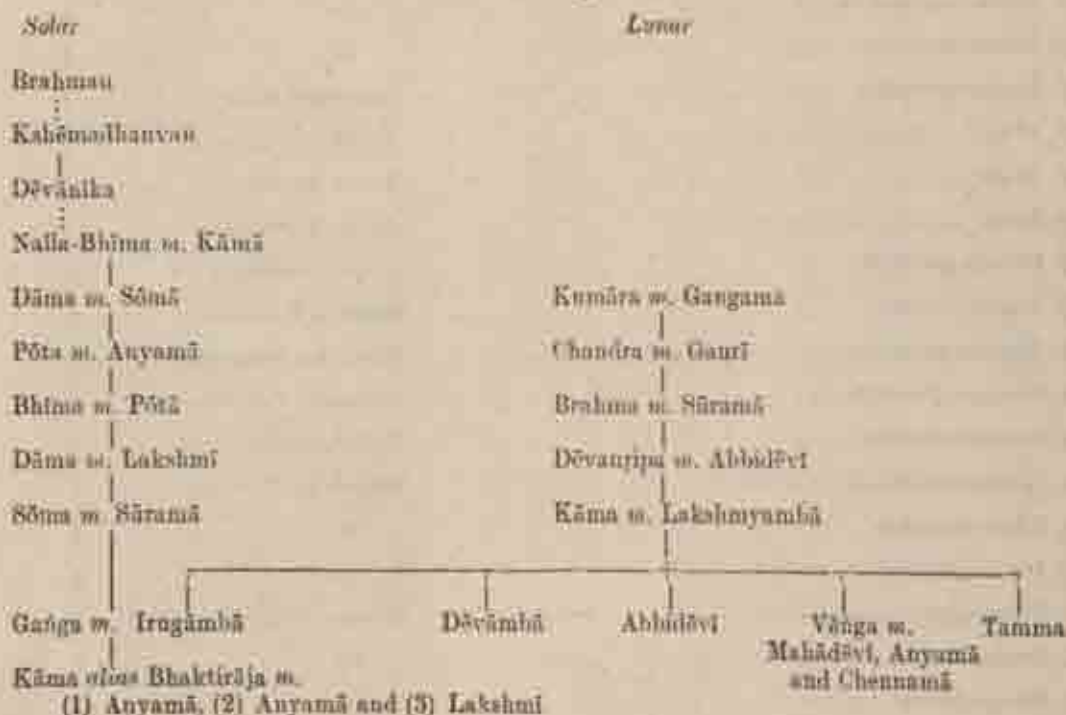
654

The record supplies some new information about some of the earlier members of the donor's family as also of the chiefs of Musunūru. The Muslim invasions into Telingana that followed the downfall of the Kākattiyas and the attempts of the Nāyakas of the coastal region to stem the tide of the enemy hordes are well known and it has been shown how the chiefs of the various families such as the Panṭa-Reddīs, the Uṇḍirājas, the Rēcharla chiefs, etc., numbering altogether seventy-five according to the Kaluvachēru grant,¹ rallied round their leaders, the chiefs Prōlya-nāyaka and Kāpaya-nāyaka of Musunūru and offered stiff resistance to the Muslims. The more prominent

¹ *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, pp. 107 ff.

among these chiefs were inter-related by ties of matrimony. Of them, the Chōḍas of Eruva appear to have been a powerful ruling family of which Bhaktirāja was the most eminent member. In tracing the descent of this chief who was also called Kāma, the charter furnishes his ancestry for seven generations on the paternal side and six generations on the maternal. A comparison of the details of the families as indicated below, with those furnished by the Madras Museum and Rajahmundry Museum plates¹ reveals some new facts.

Solar and Lunar families



It will be seen from the above pedigree that Dāma who married Lakshmi was preceded by four generations, viz., Bhīma, Pōta, Dāma and Nalla-Bhīma. The Madras Museum plates mention Nalla-Bhīma merely as a predecessor of Dāma, omitting the three intervening generations, and Karikāla as the latter's distant forebear, while according to the Rajahmundry Museum plates, Dāma's predecessor was Eruva-Bhīma. This Eruva-Bhīma or merely Bhīma as he is called in our record, is obviously the same person who took the name of his great-grandfather. The name of Bhīma's father, viz., Pōta, is not mentioned in the Madras Museum plates and his name and those of his predecessors supplied by this record are lost in the Rajahmundry Museum plates. Pōta's wife's name occurs as Annemāmbā in the Rajahmundry Museum plates and as Anyamā in the present inscription. The pedigree on the donor's maternal side refers to five generations backwards from Irugāmbā, mother of Bhaktirāja. Irugāmbā's brothers were Vēṅga and Tamma, of whom the former is mentioned in our record as an intimate associate of Prōlaya-nāyaka. We have seen that Prōlaya repaired along with Vēṅga to a fort in a forest when the Āndhra country was overtaken by the Yavanas (Muhammadans). This place has been identified with Rēkapalle, mentioned in the Vilasa grant as Mount Mālyavanta and as the capital of Prōlaya-nāyaka.² In the course of the struggle leading to the reconquest of the country by Prōlaya and

¹ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 125 ff.; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 254.

Vēga, the latter lost his life. It seems as though Vēga died without any issue, for, on his death, his overlord Prōlaya-nāyaka installed Vēga's nephew Bhaktirāja to his estate (verse 35). We do not know whether Bhaktirāja held his ancestral principality of Eruva in addition to this newly acquired territory round about Vēngi, although that seems to have been the case, nor are we told what became of Vēga's brother Tamma who must have, in the natural course, succeeded to his late brother's estate had he survived him. On the death of Prōlaya-nāyaka, his son Pōchi (or Vōchi)-nāyaka¹ ascended the throne with the help of his uncle Kāpaya-nāyaka. Bhaktirāja now owed allegiance to Pōchi-nāyaka and obtained the latter's permission to make a gift of certain villages.

It will be seen that the donees who numbered 75 held 63½ shares altogether. The post-script adds the name of Bhārati as a holder of two shares given to him by the donees at the instance of the donor. This brings the total number of shares distributed among the donees to 65½. But the post-script specifies the number of shares contained in the gift land as 66 and says further that Bhaktirāja added Uttanapūṇi to the gift land. This Uttanapūṇi was thus a piece of land which constituted the remaining ½ share out of the total of 66 that the gift land comprised.

The post-script referred to above calls for some remarks. It is dated **Ānanda**, Pauṣa, Kṛishṇa-dvādaśī, when the sun was in Makura. The cyclic year Ānanda after the date of the main grant, viz., Saka 1265 (1342 A.D.), corresponds to Saka 1296 (1374 A.D.) and thus the interval between the two dates comes to about 32 years. Bhaktirāja's reign probably continued beyond Saka 1296, Saka 1310 (1388 A.D.) being the earliest available date for his son and successor Annadēva.² The present grant gives the earliest date so far known for Bhaktirāja, earlier nearly by a decade and a half than his Madras Museum plates,³ the interval between this and the earliest date cited above for Annadēva being 45 years. Bhaktirāja's success against the Yavama forces referred to in verses 36-37 shows that he associated himself with his uncle or uncles (Vēga and Tamma) against the Muhammadans. The events that followed, viz., the death of Vēga and perhaps also of Tamma in these battles, made Prōlaya-nāyaka confer on the young Bhaktirāja the chieftaincy of his uncle's estate. The defeat of Boggara, Dābaru-Khānu and other Muhammadan warriors in the neighbourhood of Gulapūṇḍi and Pedakōṇḍa by Bhaktirāja while he was yet a youth, as referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, evidently refers to the same achievement. Bhaktirāja's success was at the latest contemporaneous with the date of our charter, viz., Saka 1265 (1342 A.D.).

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the record, Chintapēṭa, Chintalapūṇi, Vēngi and Gom-jūru, over which Bhaktirāja is stated to have ruled and which perhaps formed the central part of Vēga's territory to which his nephew succeeded, may be identical with Chinnampēṭa, Chintalapūṇḍi, Peddavēngi and Ganjūru respectively. Of the places clubbed with Pentapāḍu, viz., Emarlagōḍḍu, Mulkala and Jalāpalle, the first is possibly the same as Yānaralāpalle, about a mile and a half due south-west of Pentapāḍu, the other two being insignificant hamlets of the same village. Of the villages of Darasamīru, Padmāra-Vipparru and Kommarā, the first is about a mile due east of Pentapāḍu (or Pentapāḍu-agrahāra as it is now called) in the Tadepalligudem Taluk of the West Godavari District, the second about 4 miles south-west and the third also about 4 miles due south-south-west of the same. The stream called Vēyēru runs from west to east about a mile and a half due south of Pentapāḍu. Mudunūru, another village mentioned among the

¹ The name of this chief was wrongly read in *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, App. A, No. 3, as Vōbi-nāyaka.

² *A. R. Ep.*, No. 254 of 1905. This date is expressed by the chronogram *śatā-vīṣa-śāṣṭhi Vibhārā Mārgyā Śatāśā-grahā*. The chronogram yields the Saka year 1310 corresponding to the cyclic year Vibhāra and the occasion indicated is a lunar eclipse in Mārga. The above details regularly correspond to the 14th November, 1388 A.D.

³ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.

boundaries, still retains the same name and is about 2 miles due south-east of Pēṭapāṣu. Tallā-
reddikunṭa and other such names ending in *kunṭa* probably indicate certain ponds. I am unable
to identify the other names.

I express my thanks to Messrs. K. H. V. Sarma and V. S. Subrahmanyam for having carefully
checked the text of the inscription and offered many useful suggestions.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 41 *Mālinī*; verses 2, 5, 7-21, 23-33, 42-47, 78-80, 85-84, 86-91, 93-97,
99-103, 105-109 *Anuṣṭup*; verse 3 *Uḍḡiti*; verses 4, 40 *Bṛhāddhātā*; verses 6, 22, 34-36,
38-39, 48-54, 56-57, 81, 83, 98, *Gai*; verses 37, 65, 83 *Āgā*; verse 92 *Indravajrā*; verse
104 *Śilpi*.]

First Plate, First Side

- 1 Ōm Jayati mathanam-ādyaṁ jātārāp-āru-
- 2 g-ābhaṁ ravi-śaśi-sikhi-nōtram rāja-rēkhā-vatamsam(sam) [1*]
- 3 charaṇa-kamala-charachach-characharik-āmar-āsam
- 4 śaraṇa-cupayātānām śāvat-ānamda-dāyī [1*]
- 5 Pratyūḥa-timira-vrāta-parākarapa-pa-
- 6 bhujitam(tam) | Bhava-śchal-ślītan nityam bhājē Gaja-
- 7 mukhaṁ mukha [2*] Asta-mudē Vārāhaṁ vajra-
- 8 r-anikhaṁ vāsumati yasya | vīradē damahtrā-sikha-
- 9 rō vilasati bhūṅga-iva kōtak-muklō [3*]

First Plate, Second Side

- 10 Kairav-ōtkara-kavāra-kumchikā paṇcha-bāṇa-nigama-prapam-
- 11 chikā | rājatō vryati rāja-rēkhikā pāṇtha-lōka-paribhā-
- 12 va-rēkhikā [4*] Prabōdhit-ābja-kumudē bhūśētām bhūśit-ā-
- 13 khilē | nayanē Nagaśūbhartur-niśā-divasayōh ppa(pa)ti [5*] Nā-
- 14 rāya(a-nābhi-saras-samjātām satatam-avatu vō mahi-
- 15² nam(nam) | yatra madhuvrata-nikarō pāmibhir-avēd-ārtika-
- 16 vādam-ātānūtō [6*] Tatas-samudalikhōd-Brahmā Marichir-Brahmanā-
- 17 mutab | Kaśyapaś Kaśyapād-Bhānur-Bhānūr-Vvaivāvatō Manuh [7*]
- 18 Ikahvākur-āmin-samitānē dikehv-ātata-mahā-yasūh | Kakutsthah Kō-
- 19 śyapināthas-tat-kulē tarāgi-prabhaḥ [8*] Dīptabhūpa-stad-vahāyō
- 20 Raghur-ōtarya namdanah | Ajas-tad-ātmajas-tasya dātā Da-

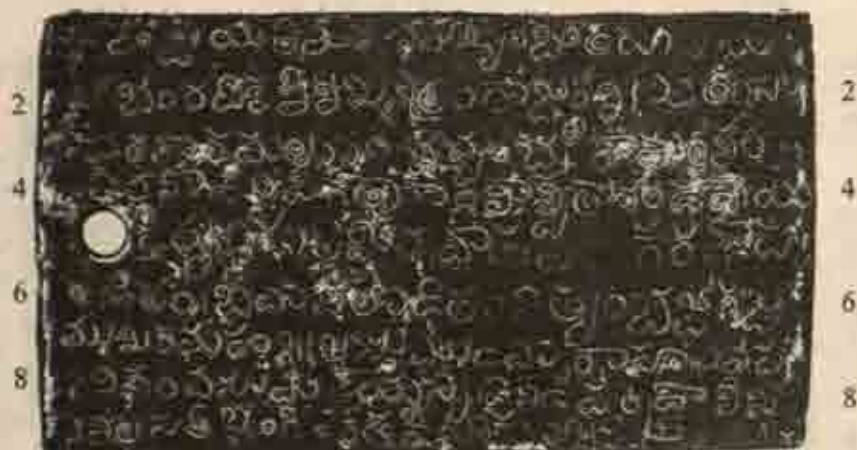
¹ From impressions.

² This is preceded by a floral design.

³ The figure 1 is engraved against this line in the margin.

PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265—PLATE I

6, a



6, b



6, c



Scale: One-fourth

ii, b

34		34
36		36
38		38
40		40
42		42
44		44
46		46

iii, a

48		48
50		50
52		52
54		54
56		56
58		58

iii, b

60		60
62		62
64		64
66		66
68		68
70		70

Second Plate, First Side

- 21 śarathas-sutaḥ || [9*] Tad-ātma-sambhavo Rāmō rājanya-kula-śekhara-
 22 ḥ | Kuśaḥ kuśēśay-śbh-śkshas-tanayas-tasya bhūpatēḥ || [10*] Kuśasy-Ātithi-
 23 r-utpattiṇō(nō) Nipa(sha)dhō-tithi-sambhavaḥ || [11] Nalō Nishadha-bhūpasya sūna-
 sūrita-bhā-
 24 śhaṇaḥ || [11*] Nabhā Nala-tanū-jātaḥ Puṇḍarikō Nabhas-sutaḥ | Puṇḍarikasya
 putrō-
 25 bhūt-Kshēmadhanvā khamāpatih || [12*] Dēvānīkō dharāpālas-sambhūtaḥ Kshē-
 26 madhanvanaḥ | tad-anvayē samutpannō(nō) Nalabhīma-narādhipaḥ || [13*] Tasya kāmā-
 27 tar-ākārā Kām-ākhyā kāmīnī satī | tayōr-Dāma-dharāpālō
 28 jajñē Sōmā tad-anganaḥ || [14*] Tayōḥ Pōta-dharānāthaḥ putras-tasy-Ānya-
 29 mā priyā | Bhīma-bhūmipatir-jātas-tayōḥ Pōt'-āsyā vallabhā || [15*]
 30 Tayōr-Dāma-nripō jāto Lakshmiś-tasya manōramā | anayōs-Sōma-nri-
 31 patis-tanayō vinay-ānvitaḥ || [16*] Mahishī Sūram-āmrshya mahantya-
 32 tar-ākṛitih | tayōr-Gaṅga-mahipālō gabhīra-hṛdayas-sutaḥ || [17*] Bhū-
 33 mi-bhāra-kshama-bhujē tasminn-ārūḍha-yauvanē | Sōmōśō-sya vivāh-ārha-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 34 śh Sōma-varhām-amanyata || [18*] Kumārō nāma nripatir-vidyatō Vidhu-va-
 35 śhaṇaḥ | śtasya Gaṅgamā dēvī Gaṅgā vārinidhēr-iva || [19*] Tayōś-Chandra-mahī-
 36 pālō jāto Gaurī tad-anganaḥ | Brahma-bhūpas-tad-uditas-Sūramā ta-
 37 sya suhṛdarī || [20*] Tayōr-Ddēva-nripas-sūnur-Abhidēvy-asya vallabhā | Kāma-kahitāsa-
 ta-
 38 t-putrō Lakshmyambā tat-priyā satī || [21*] Jātāḥ Kāma-mahīśāt-kanyōs-tiras-sū-
 39 tāv-ubhau ch-āsyām(ayām) | Irugāmbā Dēvāmb-āpar-Ābbidēvī cha Vēh-
 40 āga-Tamma-nripau || [22*] Vērtiga-kshamāpatēs-tisrō dēvyō divy-āhgan-ō-
 41 pamāḥ | Mahādēvy-Anyamāmbā cha Chennamāmb-ābbidh-āparā || [23*] [Ka]-
 42 āyap-ānvaya-sambhūtō Gaṅga-kahititalāvarah | Mānavya-sakul-ōttadishā-
 43 śh mānīnīm-īrug-āhvayām(yām) || [24*] Kanyām kāmītatar-ākā[rā]m-upāyashata
 44 yathā-vidhī¹ | śā tatō garbhām-śdha[ttā*] bhuvan-āvana-kāraṇam(ṇam) || [25*] Asū-
 45 ta putram-puṇyō² hni puṇyam mūrttam satām-iva | uditō tanayō
 46 tasminn-ubhayaḥ vidit-ōstavarah(vam) || [26*] Nirrti vasudhā-chakram hav[ē-ta]-

¹ The Rajahmundry Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 42) read *Prāśāmbhā*.

² The numeral 2 is engraved against this line.

³ This half verse completes the sense of the previous stanza.

Third Plate, First Side

- 47 aṣṭam trivishṭapam(pam)* | nāmnā Kāma-nṛpālasya pitā autam=ayōja-
 48 yat || [27*] Śaśaṅga=pi Śivē bhaktyā Bhakta ity=aparāṇa cha || () tatō Gaṅga-mahipā-
 49 lō trātum yātō=mar-ālayam(yam) || [28*] Bālō=pi Bhakti-bhūpālās=sa-
 50 dhis=samātānavach=chhritah | Yavanair=avanī-chakram=Āmūhtam=atr=ātītarē
 51 kṛitam(tam) || [29*] Adharma-karma-niratā jātās=sa(r*)vvō janās=tataḥ | vikramī
 52 Vēṅgi-vishayō vidyatō Pōchi-nāyakaḥ || [30*] Tasya dharma-ratō vi-
 53 taḥ putrah Prōlaya-nāyakaḥ | viśṭīya Vēṅgi-vasudhām Vēm-
 54 ga-bhūmibhujā saha || [31*] Agād=aga=at=ākramāṇam vana-durgam vi-
 55 chakshaṇah¹ | samarē samit-āśēsha-Turushka-turag-ōtkaram || [32*] Puna-
 56 r=āharatām=ētāv=Āmūhram mahālam=arddhataḥ | bhujāv=i-
 57 va Varāhasya bhuvam pralaya-{vā}cidhōḥ || [33*] Vēṅga-kṣititale[nā]-
 58 [thō] vihat-ākṣiḥa-Yavana-vāhini-nāthaḥ | sūhāyyakam=iva

Third Plate, Second Side

- 59 karttum samarēṣhu Śachipatē=agā[r*]=tridivam(vam) || [34*] Tad-rājyē tad-bhaginī-ta-
 60 nayam Bhakti-kṣitīśam=apī bālāḥ(lam) | asthāpayad=ari-jayinam Ka-
 61 mām=iva Pōchi-nāyakasya sutah || [35*] Paṭutara-bhujā-bala-ā-
 62 || Bhakti-kṣitipālākō=tha bālō=pi | saṅgrāma-radiga-samhṛita-
 63 Yavan-ādhipa-subhāṣa-ghōṣak-ātōpaḥ || [36*] Tēna samarēṣhu sū-
 64 rddham saṅgharasham sōdhum=akhamāḥ kv=apī | hata-śiṣṭā hṛita-bha-
 65 *vanā javanā Yavanāḥ palāyanīta || [37*] Mahanīya(nīya)-
 66 vanā-jātā mathalatara-vṛitta-śīla-śālinyah | Bhakti-kumārasy=ā
 67 san={d}ēvyas=tiarō=nyam=Ānyamā Lakṣmīḥ || [38*] Bharata-Bhagīratḥa-mukhyais=chira-
 68 m=upabhukt=apī pūrvva-bhūpālāḥ | rajyaty=ananya-pūrvvā rama-
 69 qā ramag=iva vasumatī taamin || [39*] Tasya dharma-gupa-viārutām sru-
 tam pūrit-ārthi-nīkar-āśayau āsyau | varjit-ānya-harigīdri-

* This half verse completes the sense of the previous stanza.

* The numeral 3 is engraved against this line.

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 71 **śō(śau)** dīśau vaiśi-rāja-mukut-śapadash padam(dam) || [40*] Vitarapa-suradhēnu-
 72 r-vividvad-ambbhōja-bhānuśa jayati Śiva-līnga-dhyāna-sakt-āntaramgaḥ |
 73 bala-vibhava-Surāndrō **Bhakti**-bhūpāla-chaṇdrō rana-kṛita-ripu-bhagaō rā-
 74 ya-vēśyā-bhujanggaḥ || [41*] **Chintapēmṭa**-sthalaḥ **Vēngim**-api **Chintalapūṇigā-**
 75 **m(gām)** | **Gomṭūri**-vṛittim-opy-ś[ha] śāśi **Bhakti**-mahipatiḥ || [42*] **Kālēna** tridivam
 76 yātō tataḥ **Prōlaya**-nāyakō | tat-pitṛivya-sutas-tasya rāḥyō **Kāpaya-**
 77 **nāyakaḥ** || [43*] **Tad**-ātmapadi vira-**Vōchi**-nāyakam naya-kōvidaḥ |
 78 abhyashēchayad-ātmīya-prathā(dhā)napurushair-yutaḥ || [44*] **Ath**-ānuma-
 79 tim-āsādya tasya **Bhakti**-mahipatiḥ | **Śāk**-ābdō bhūta-tarkk-ārkkā-ga-
 80 pītō māsī **Kārttikō** || [45*] **Pāruimāyār** Gurōr-vārō **grahaṇō** śtatō-
 81 chishah | vitatō **Vēngi**-vishayō sarvva-sasya-riddhi-śālīni || [46*] **Pemṭa**(ta)pā-
 82 ḍur-iti khyātō grāmaḥ kaichana vidyatō | **Enarilagoddu**-Mulkala-[Ja].

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 83 lēpallibhir-anvitaḥ || [47*] **Vidvad**bhyō viprēbhyō vidit-ākṣhīla-vēda-śāstra-
 84 tatvō(ttō)bhyaḥ | **Gaṅgādhara**pura-samjñam tam prādōd-Gaṅga-bhūpa-
 85 tēr-nāmnā || [48*] **Gaṇḍōd(ḍa)**ragamḍō(ḍō) **Bhakti**-kshatipatir-**Aritāyaga**-
 86 mḍabhbhērubhah | sukṛitēna tōna itvād-ā-gīnakatam-api cha mōdinīḥ
 87 pāyāt || [49*] **Rishir**-iva **Richchana**-yajvā **Hārīta**-Sāma-Yaju-
 88 r-upādhyāyah | bhāga-dvaya-bhāg-asminn-adhigata-nigam-ānga-
 89 nikara-nishpātah || [50*] **Bhakti**śasya purōdhā **Vallabha**-yajvā **Vasishṭha** i-
 90 va sākshat | **Rāmasya** Yajushī nipuṇō **Ha(H)**ritō bhāga-yuga-
 91 lavān-asmin || [51*] **Gaṅgādhara**-ghataśālī **Rudraya**-bhāṭṭa-cha **Prōli**-ghataśā-
 92 śī | **Dōvaya**-ghataśālī syur-**Hārīta** bhāginō-tre yāḥkshah || [52*] **Ri-**
 93 chi nipuṇō **Vēdānti** **Hārīta**-Sūri-bhāṭṭa śkāmā | **Gaṅgādhara**-ghataśā-

1 The two verses together form a yugma.

2 The four verses ending with this one form a Kalāpaka.

3 The figure 4 is engraved against this line near the ring-hole.

- 94 at Hāritō bhāgavānś=cha Rīgvēdi || [53*] Tad-gōtras=te d-vēdi Mallaya-ghaṭasāśi-nā-
 95 makō='mutra || (|) Rīgvēdi Kō(Kau)mdin[y*]ō bhāgi Nārāyaṇ-ākhyā-ghaṭasāśi || [54*]

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 96 Gaṅgādhara-ghaṭasāśi tarkka-jñāḥ Koppanātha-bhaṭṭas=cha | Sōm-ākhyō Vēdā-
 97 mti dharma-vid=anyō='pi Pōti-ghaṭasāśi || [55*] Jyōtiḥ-sāstri [Sō]raya-
 98 nāmā Kṛishṇ-āhvayaś=cha Ghaṭasāśi | Kō(Kau)mdin yāju[ahkā]=sarvvē pra
 99 tyēka-bhāginō='mutra || [56*] Nūdikana-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhō Dāsana-bhaṭṭa-
 100 ś=cha dharma-sāstra-jñāḥ || (|) Nārāyaṇ-nāmō='nyāḥ pada-vēttā ch=ā-
 101 'tha Pōti-ghaṭasāśi || [57*] Pōtaya-ghaṭasāśy=anyō Mārāya-nā-
 102 mā pada-krama-jñō='pi || (|) pratyēka-bhāginō='smin-yājuahkāḥ
 103 Kō(Kau)āik-ānvay-ōdbhūtāḥ || [58*] Rīgvēda-vidau Mallaya-ghaṭasāśy=anyō='pi
 104 Pōti-ghaṭasāśi | Kāmāya-ghaṭasāśy=anyō Vennaya-bhaṭṭas=cha tarkka-sā-
 105 stra-jñāḥ || [59*] Annaya-nāmā Jyōtiḥ-sāstra-jñō='nyāś=cha Pōti-ghaṭasāśi | Vyākara-
 106 ṇa-jñāḥ=anyau Rudraya-Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa-namānau || [60*] Kāśyapa-gōtrās=sa-
 107 rvvē yājuahkā bhāgavānō='mushmin | Annaya-nāmā jyō-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 108 tiś-sā[stra]-jñō bhāga-yugalavān=śāhu || [61*] Richi Puṇyamū-
 109 rtir=ā[dh]yō='py=Ananta-bhaṭṭaḥ purāṇa-pāragataḥ | Yāju-
 110 shkāḥ pada-vēttā Vallabha-bhaṭṭaḥ Parāśar-ānvayinaḥ || [62*] Pratyēka-
 111 bhāgavāntas=tataḥ param Kuṇḍayaś=chaturvē[di] | Mallaya-sā-
 112 'mudrikō=[pi*] Bhīmāya-ghaṭasāśy=Agastī-yajvā cha || [63*]
 113 Bhāradvāj-ānvayinō Yājuahkā bhāga-sūlinas=sarvvē |
 114 śtēśhu s-ārdha-bhāgi Kuṇḍaya-nām-āmkitaś=chaturvvēdi || [64*] Rīgvē-
 115 di tad-gōtri vēdānti Prōli-bhaṭṭa śk-ānā | Mallaya-ghaṭasāśy=anyas=tata-
 116 ḥ param Malli-bhaṭṭ-ākhyāḥ || [65*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jātau Yājuahkau bhāga-sūlinā-
 117 v=atra | Bhīmāya-Mallaya-Vallabha-ghaṭasāśy-abhidhā Yajur-vidas=sarvvē || [66*]
 118 Ātrēya-gōtra-jātās=tatra pratyēka-bhāga-bhājas=tē | Gā[r*]gya-ku[ḷō]=nachit=ś-
 119 khyō Ghaṭasāśi bhāgavān=Yajurvēdi || [67*] Vallabha-ghaṭasāśy=amti [Yā]-

* Between this and the next line the numeral 5 is engraved against the ring-hole.

PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265 PLATE II



Pl. II



Pl. II



Scale : One-fourth

107, 6

108
110
112
114
116
118



108
110
112
114
116
118

107, 8

120
122
124
126
128
130
132



120
122
124
126
128
130
132

107, 6

134
136
138
140
142



134
136
138
140
142

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 120 jushkō='py-Ābharadvasōr-vvanāyā || (|) Ōbhala-Kūchana-Vallabha-Bhadraya-
 121 ghaṭasāsinō='rddha-bhāg-ārḥāḥ || [68*] Hāritā yājushkās=tad-gotrāv-a-
 122 rddha-bhāgināv-anyau | Appana-Vallabha-ghaṭasāsy-abhidhānau dvāv=adhiṭa-
 123 Rīgvēdau || [69*] Kō(Kē)ṭana-Liṅgaya-Dommana-Mallaya-ghaṭasāsinas=cha yā-
 124 jushkāḥ | Kāp-ōdbhī Sōmaya-ghaṭasāsy=Allāḍir=api cha¹ Rīgvē-
 125 dī || [70*] Kautḍinya-gōtra-jātās=sarvō bhāg-ārdha-sālinas=tatra | Ā-
 126 trēyāv=ardh-ānśāv=Ellaya-Raṅgau cha Rīg-Yajur-vvēdō(dau) || [71*]
 127 Dōchaya-Sōmaya-ghaṭasāsy-abhidhānau Kāsyap-ānvay-ōdbhū-
 128 tau | Sāma-Yajur-vvēda-jñau kramēṣa bhāg-ārdha-sālināv=atra || [72*] Varada-
 129 ya-Gaṇapaya-Chāmana-ghaṭasāsy-abhidhās=trayō Yajur-vvēdāḥ || (*)
 130 Maudgalya-Pūtimā[ah]ṇa-Kapī-gotrās=ch=ārdha-bhāgināḥ kramasāḥ || [73*] Mai-
 131 lāra-Kēśav-Āppana-ghaṭasāsy-ākhyā Yajur-vvidas=tatra | bhāg-ārdha-bhā-
 132 ja śtē Bhāradvāj-ānvayō samudbhūtāḥ || [74*] Śrīpati-Narahari-bhaṭṭau Kā-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 133 maya-bhaṭṭō='pi Pinṇay-ākhyas=cha | Śrīvats-ānvaya-jātā yāju-
 134 ahkās=ch=ārdha-bhāginas=sarvō || [75*] Rīgvēdī tad-gotrō Mārāya-ghaṭasāsi-nā
 135 makō='rdh-ānśā | Kauṭika-gotrō(trāḥ) Kommaya-ghaṭasāsy-abhidhō Yajur-vvi-
 136 dau¹ tadvat || [76*] Rīgvēdī Maitrēyō Lakṣmāya-ghaṭasāsi-nāmakō='rddh-ānśā |
 137 Lōhita-gōtraḥ Pōṭaya-ghaṭasāsy-ardh-ānśa-bhāg-Yajur-vvēdī || [77*]
 138 *Simā prāchyām Bōḍugunṭas=tasya dakṣiṇatō='pi
 139 cha | Tall-ākhyā-redḍigunṭō='sya prāchyām śīmā
 140 babbūva saḥ || [78*] Goḍḍunāballār=Ddārāparrōr=madhyē mā-
 141 rgō mahān hī yaḥ | Kumārasvāminō
 142 gunṭas=tasy=āgnōyyām=amuhya cha || [79*] Prāchyām=ma-

¹ Read 'rdd=api.² The numeral 6 is engraved near the ring-hole.

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 143 rggō mahān=āst-simā tatra sa ēva yaḥ | Goḍḍumballēr=Ddarāpaṛṛō-
 144 r=Mudunūrōs=cha saṁdhi-gaḥ || [80*] Dakṣhiṇatō='muṣhy=āstn=Muchchēnapallēs=cha
 145 Goḍḍumballēs=cha | Mudunūrōr=api ch=aivam grāma-traya-saṁdhi-madhya-
 146 gō mārggaḥ || [81*] Tat-paśchimatas=simā Muchchēnapallēs=cha Goḍḍu[m*]ballēs=cha ||[*]
 147 Utthanapūṇēs=samdhāv=api rachitō mya(mṛ)ttikā-rāsib || [82*] Tad-vā-
 148 yaviya-kakubhi mṛd-rāsīs=sima-lakṣaṇam(ṇam) | tasy=ōttarasyā-
 149 m=apy=āstn=Nattū-kuly-āstima-sthal || [83*] Tad-vāyaviyya(vīya)-kakubha(bh)
 150 Māra-bhaṭṭasya Koppanōḥ | kṣētram lla(la)kṣaṇam=ōstakya prācīyām
 151 Kamdigumtakah || [84*] Mārapachemga-kṣētram tan-nairṛityām=amu-
 152 shya dakṣhiṇatāḥ | Śingī-ṣeṭṭi-Malla-kṣētram tat-prācīyām mṛnma(mṛṇma)yō
 153 rāsib || [85*] Tasya dakṣhiṇatas=simā Veyyēgur=stha dakṣhiṇā ||[*]

Seventh Plate, Second Side

- 154 āgnēyūn diśam=ārabhya simā sādhu pradarāyatē || [86*] Āgnē-
 155 yyām=api Veyyērus=tasya paśchimato='pi cha | Mōḍu-kṣhā-
 156 trasya nairṛityām Paṛṛumballīya-kulyakā || [87*] Tasyā u-
 157 dīcīyām simā tu Mōḍōr=vāyavya āharaḥ | tasya paśchi-
 158 'matas=simā dakṣhiṇas=ōstūr=lahyatē || [88*] Ertuma[1*]ly-ākhyā-
 159 gumtasya tasya paśchimato='pi cha | Paṛṛumballēs=cha Vi-
 160 pa(ppa)ṛṛōr=Ggaṁgādharapurasya cha || [89*] Saṁdhan mārggas=sima-saṁdhir=abhu-
 161 d=ā Nakkakumtateḥ | Nakkakumt=ōttar=ōttunga-sthal tatra tu la-
 162 kṣaṇam(ṇam) || [90*] Tasyāḥ prācīyām Nāgadēva-kṣētra=ōstv=annasārataḥ || [91*] Ta-
 163 sy=ōttarasyām kṣaḥ Kāṭapaṛṛōr=Ggaṁgādhar-ākhyasya

Eighth Plate, First Side

- 164 purasya śmni | sētur=hl simā tad-anu prasārān=mṛit-saṁdha[ya]-
 165 ḥ paśchima-dig-vibhāgē || [92*] Sētuḥ Kāru-taṭākasya prācīyō='sy=ōttaratō-
 166 'pi cha | Pestūdikumtō='sya ch=ōdīcīyām mṛd-rāsir=lakṣaṇam sa cha || [93*] Kāṭapaṛṛō-

* The numeral 7 is engraved near the ring-hole.

* This is a half verse.

PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, ŚAKA 1265—PLATE III

vii, a



vii, b



viii, a



Scale : One-fourth

176

176
178
180
182
184

176

178

180

182

184

12



192

194

196

198

192
194
196
198

192

194

196

198

- 167 r=Jōlepallāḥ Pārrapallāḥ=cha samidhi-gaḥ | tat-prāchyāṁ mṛṇmayōr(yō) rāsīs=ta-
 168 d-udīchi-diśa=sthālē || [94*] Gulikumṛō=sya pūrvasyāṁ diśi sīmā babhūva tat |
 169 kahētram¹ Dibalepallīyāṁ tasya dakahīṇatō=pi cha || [95*] Koṭṭhāri-kahētram=ēta-
 170 sya prāchyāṁ Pālūri-Kommaṇḍōḥ [| *] kahētram tasy-āgni-dig-bhāgē bhāṇa-
 171 chārairtatmaprabhāḥ² || [96*] Kēdārō=mushya pū³ pūrvasyāṁ Dēva-kahētrīya-
 nārī(sarī)-
 172 di(dhī)-[ga*]ḥ | stambhō dakahīṇatō=musya(shya) Kurraṁ-kūṇṭaḥ prāsasyatō || [97*]
 Samaya-
 173 samudras=tasya prāchyāṁ diśi vartma tasya dakahīṇatāḥ | Śāstrīmalla-kahētrē mṛi-
 174 d-rāsīs=tasya pāśchimasyāṁ tu || [98*] Tadiyam=ēva cha kahētram tasya⁴ tasya dakshi-
 175 ṇatō=pi cha | Tall-ākhyā-redḍi-kēdāras=tasya dakahīṇatō=pi [cha*] || [99*] Lasāmika(?)=ta-

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 176 ākasya prāchyas=sētur=amushya cha | dakahīṇasyāṁ Darāparrō-
 177 r=mārḡa-samdhau mṛidaś=cha yaḥ || [100*] Ā-chaṁdr-ārkaṁ=samī viprā
 178 Gaṇigādharaपुराṁ śubham(bham) | putra-pautra-prapautr-ādi-samta-
 179 tyā=nubhavaritv=idam(dam) || [101*] Bhānu-varṇsa-pradīpasya Bhakti-bhū-
 180 *pasya āśanaṁ(nam) | bhūyād=ā-chaṁdra-tār-ārkaṁ
 181 bhūmāv=udadhi-sīmāni || [102*] Saṁtatir=vardhatām=asya satām
 182 saṁtōṣa-kāriṇī | pālayatv=akhilāṁ prithivīm chatur-arḡa-
 183 va-mēkhalām(lām) || [103*] Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur=nṛpāṇām kālē
 184 kālē pālantīyō(yō) bhavadbhīḥ | sarvān=ētān bhāvināḥ pārvivēndrān
 185 bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmachaṁdraḥ || [104*]

*Ninth Plate**

- 186 Bhaktirā-
 187 jūgārī
 188 birudu
 189 Gaṇḍabhō-
 190 rathāṁ || [*]

¹ There is an unnecessary anuvāda here.

² Read "chāḍḍaṁ".

³ This letter is redundant.

⁴ This word is redundant.

⁵ The number 8 is engraved near the ring-hole between this and the next line.

⁶ Against the writing giving the title of the donor is engraved the figure of the mythical man-bird Gaṇḍabhāruḍa.

Tenth Plate¹

- 191 Anarhd-ābdē Pausha-kṛishṇa-dvādaśyām Makar-āyanē | Gaṅgā-
 192 dharapurē pūrvvam dāpayitvā dvij-ōttamāḥ || 106* | Dvaḥ bhāgau Bhāra-
 193 ti-nāmnē vidushē Bhakti-bhūpatīḥ | as paśchād-Uttanampū-
 194 nim grāma-grāsāya dattavān || 106* | Gaṅgādharapurē bhā-
 195 gāsh-ahat-ahashṭis-cha tatō-bhavan | Gaṅgādharapurē bhā-
 196 ga-yugmī Bhārati-kōvidaḥ || 107* | Bam(Ba)hri(hvri)chas-sarvva-śāstra-jñāḥ
 197 Ko(Kau)mḍinyas=sudhiyām varāḥ | dakṣiṇasyām-ath=ājñā(gnē)yyā-
 198 m prāchyām ch=aiva yathā-kramam(mam) || 108* | Veyyēṇur=Jammi-guḍḍa-
 199 ś=cha Kāśekunṭas=cha sīma-bhūḥ || 109*²

¹ This forms the post-script to the grant.

² This is a half verse.

No. 44—PALIAD PLATES OF BHIMADEVA I, V.S. 1112

(1 Plate)

A. L. BASHAM, LONDON

(Received on 30. 8. 1958)

This set of plates was discovered at **Paliad**, a village in Eastern Saurashtra, just off the main road from Wadhwan to Bhavnagar, about ten miles north-west of Botad and about the same distance south-west of Ranpur. The plates, deposited in the Rajkot Museum, were sent in 1955 to the Government Epigraphist for India, Calcutta, for examination.¹ The inscription is edited below from inked impressions and photographs received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of two plates, each measuring 9" long, 5.4" broad and .1" thick. They are held together by a ring (about 1.75" in diameter) passing through holes (about .5" in diameter) made about the centre of the lower margin of the first plate and the upper margin of the second. No seal is attached to the plates which, together with the ring, weigh 133 *tolas*. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and the writing is fairly well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D. and generally resemble those of records like the Palanpur plates² of Bhīmadēva I and the Kadi plates³ of Mūlarāja. No special remarks are called for in respect of orthography.

The date of the inscription (line 1) is given as **V.S. 1112, Chaitra śu. 15**. It is further stated in line 4 that there was a **lunar eclipse** on the said date. These details correspond to the **2nd April, 1056 A.D.**

The grant was issued when *Mahārājādhirāja* **Bhīmadēva** was residing at **Ākāśikā-grāma** (lines 1-2). Bhīmadēva is evidently the first king of that name of the Chaulukya family of Gujarat, who ruled in c. 1024-1066 A.D. The present record does not add any new information of historical or chronological importance.

The grant is addressed (lines 2-4) to the king's officials, the Brāhmanas and the people of the 116 villages attached to the city of **Vāyaḍa**. Its object (lines 4-5) is to record a grant made by the king in favour of the Jain monastery situated at the said city. The grant consisted of a piece of land measuring two *halas* and belonging to a merchant named **Sādāka**, together with another plot measuring two *Kalasikēśpas*⁴, which was attached to the said land of **Sādāka** and was separated from the border of **Guḍuhūla** by a *chari* (pasture land).⁵

The position of the merchant **Sādāka** in the transaction is not altogether clear. Since the peasants are told that they must now pay their dues direct to the monastery, it seems that he was not the occupant of the land, but, until the issue of the grant, was the landlord and intermediary between the cultivators and the king. Evidently he was now deprived of his rights over the land in question; but the grant gives no evidence of the means whereby this was done. Possibly **Sādāka** died without leaving heirs; or he may have had his land confiscated for an offence.

¹ The plates are registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, No. A 15, and are briefly noticed *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

² Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff. and Plates.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

⁴ *Kalasikēśpa-draṇa-rāja* = *Kalasikēśpa-draṇa* means a plot of land sufficient for sowing two *Kalasikēśas* of seed. *Kalasikēśpa* reminds us of *Deśarāja* known from many records.

⁵ The word *chari* in this sense is not found in standard Sanskrit Dictionaries, but is common in this sense in Hindi.

of some sort; or the land was resumed by the king and transferred to the temple with the payment of compensation to the merchant. We are inclined to support the last suggestion, since the transfer takes place on the occasion of an eclipse. At such a time the king, anxious to ward off evil influences by a work of piety, might well have commandeered part of Sādāka's estate in return for compensation. Moreover, if Sādāka were dead or had forfeited his property on account of a crime, this, we might expect, would have been mentioned in the grant.

Lines 8-12 give the boundaries of the gift land as follows: in the east—the field belonging to *Kalyapāla Kēśarin*; in the south—the royal pasture land; in the west—the field belonging to the merchant *Bhābhala*; and in the north—the road leading to the village of *Pālavāḍa*. Lines 11-15 state that the grant made in favour of the Jain monastery should be protected by the descendants of the king and others. This is followed (lines 15-16) by an imprecatory verse.

The writer of the grant was *Vaṣṭava*, who was the son of *Kāyastha Kāśchana* (lines 16-17). This *Vaṣṭava*, son of *Kāśchana*, was also the writer of a copper-plate grant of *Bhīmadēva*, dated in the year 93 of the *Śaka* era, corresponding to V. S. 1093.¹ The *dātā* was the *Mahādāndhivigrahika* *Bhōgāditya* who is also known from the *Palanpur* plates referred to above. The record ends with the sign-manual of *Bhīmadēva*.

As regards the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Ākāśikā-grāma*, whence the grant was issued, and *Guḍuhulā* mentioned in connection with the gift land, cannot be identified. *Vāyaḍa* may be the same as modern *Botad* referred to above. *Pālavāḍa* is evidently modern *Paliad* where the plates were discovered.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Vikrama-samvat 1112 Chaitra-sudi 15 adya-ēha Ākāśikā-grām-āvāsē samasta-
- 2 rāj-āvali-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-ri-Bhīmadēvaḥ || Vāyaḍ-ādhiśthāna-prati-
- 3 va(ba)ddha-vō(shē)ḍa-ottara-grāma-sat-āntaḥ-pāti-samasta-rājapurushān Vra(Brā)hma-
n-ōtta(rān) ja-
- 4 napaḍānā-cha vō(bō)dhayaty-astu vaḥ saḥviditān yathā adya Sōma-grahana-parvati
char-āchara-
- 5 guru(m) Sarvajñam abhyarcya Vāyaḍ-ādhiśthānīya-vasatikāyai atri-aiva Vāyaḍ-ā(dh)j-
shthānē
- 6 [cha]ri-kshētra-āntarītyā Guḍuhulā-pāl-samlagnayā vaṣika(pik)-Sādāka-bhūmi-sam(va)ba-
dhya-
- 7 mānaya kalasikā-dvaya-vāpa-bhuvā sah-āy-aiva Sādākasya satkā⁴ hala-dvayasya 2
- 8 bhūḥ āsana(nē)u-ōdaka-pūrvam-samābhīḥ pradatu-ā'ryās-cha bhūmēḥ pūrvasyām dīā
Kalya-
- 9 pāla-Kēśari-satkadi kabētrān dakṣiṇasyām cha rājakiyā chart | paśchimā-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 110 ff.; cf. Bhattacharya's List, No. 1464.

* From impressions and photographs.

² Expressed by symbol.

⁴ There is an unnecessary sūgola sign after this.

[illegible][illegible]

Second Plate

- 10 yām cha vāpiya(ja)ka-Bhābhaliyam kahētram=uttarasyām cha Pālavāḍa-grāma-mā-
 11 rgga iti chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalakahitām bhuvam=ētām=avagamya ētan-nivāsi-janapada-
 12 r=yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi sarvvam=ājñā-[śrava]ṇa-vidhēyai.
 13 r=bhūtv=ā'syai vasatikāyai samupanētavyam sāmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalam matv=
 ā'[ama]-
 14 d-vamśajair-anyair=api bhāvi-bhōktribhīr=asmat-pradatta-dharma-dāyō='yam=anu-
 mantavyaḥ
 15 pālanīyā=cha || uktam cha ||¹ bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Shaastir=varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē
 tiṣṭhati
 16 bhūmidah | āchohētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam(kē) vasēt || likhitam=idam
 Kāyastha-
 17 Kāuchana-suta-Vaṣṭavarēṇa | Dūtakō='tra mahāsāmdhivigrahika-śrī-Bhōgāditya ||(ti)²
 [||*]
 18 śrī-Bhīmadēvasya ||

¹ The duplas are unnecessary.² The akshara ti looks like a symbol. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 172, note 13.

No. 45—STRAY PLATE FROM NANANA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 5. 9. 1958)

Sometime ago I received for examination an old photograph of the inscribed face of a copper plate from the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. There are marks of two ring holes on the photograph and it appears that the inscription was originally engraved on the inner side of two copper plates strung on two rings as is the case with the copper-plate grants of many of the West Indian ruling families. The plate is stated to have been found at the village of Nānāpā about three miles from the Bhagwanpura station on the Western Railway. Bhagwanpura is 27 miles from Marwar Junction. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum for the year ending 31st March 1937*, pp. 3, 9 (No. 6).¹ There are, however, some minor errors and inaccuracies in the notices.

In July 1958, Dr. Dasharath Sharma of the Delhi University was good enough to send me a copy of his article on the same inscription published without illustration in the Hindi periodical *Marubhārati*, Vol. VI, No. 2, July 1958, pp. 2-4. This aroused my interest in the record and I checked Dr. Sharma's transcript with the photograph of the epigraph in my possession. It was found that, while the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory and some letters here and there are undecipherable on the photograph, there are some palpable errors in Dr. Sharma's transcript and that most of the many lacunae in it could be filled up with confidence. A number of errors were also noticed by me in the introductory part of Dr. Sharma's paper. Dr. Sharma takes the document to be a charter issued by Chāhamāna Ālhaṇa of Nāḍol in V. S. 1205. But this belief is absolutely unwarranted since, as a matter of fact, the epigraph contains a large number of small documents only one of which records a gift of the said ruler. Dr. Sharma reads *vyavasthika-lhaṇḍiyā* in line 1 and *drumaka* in line 9 and regards the three words as the names of particular coins, the first to be identified in his opinion with *Pāṇḍā* (equal to 5 cowrie shells), the second with *Lāhaṇḍiyā* (equal to 20 *Pāṇḍās*) and the third with the well-known *Damma* (equal to 20 *Lāhaṇḍiyās*) also mentioned elsewhere in the record under study. But the first of the two passages in question clearly reads *tathā vāṇḍāṇḍika-lhaṇḍiyāka*, 'and the flute-player [named] Lhaṇḍiyāka'. The word read as *drumaka* is again certainly *damo(ba)ka* meaning 'a bunch [of flowers]'. Dr. Sharma also thinks of the possibility of the word *pada* in lines 1 and 3 signifying a class of coins. The suggestion is, however, impossible in view of the adjectives *shoḍaśama* (i.e. sixteenth) and *saptarō(ḍa)śama* (i.e. seventeenth) qualifying the word respectively in lines 1 and 3. It may be pointed out that, though Dr. Sharma failed to read *saptarō(ḍa)śama* in line 3, he has read *shoḍaśama* correctly in line 2. Among other errors of omission and commission in Dr. Sharma's reading and interpretation of the record, mention may also be made of his reference to 'the Kumara-drōṇa of wheat belonging to Śōbhikā' as occurring in line 15 of the record and the suggestion that Kumara-drōṇa may have been a bigger measure of capacity than Drōṇa. As will be seen below, this is all imaginary and unwarranted.

The fragmentary inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of the twelfth century. But it is not engraved by a single person. There are many records of different dates, which were

¹ For three other copper-plate grants from Nānāpā, see *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 9, Nos. 7-9; cf. *A. M. Sp.*, 1954-57, No. A 79.

From the ductus of the writing, the inscription can be divided into different sections engraved on different dates. In most of the cases, a section contains more than one transaction. Some of these transactions relate to arrangements (*sthiti*) and not gifts actually. The sections are analysed below one by one.

Section I (lines 1-2). There are three transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that the sixteenth *pada* was allotted to the *vīlāsini* Vijalā, the daughter of Padmāvatī, with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other unnamed *vīlāsini* (*aparābhīṣa samānā*). The word *pada* here seems to mean 'a share' or 'a quarter of the standard land measure'. An account of 15 other *padas* appears to be lost with the earlier part of the record on the missing first plate. The word *vīlāsini* is also used in line 4 apparently in the sense of a *Dēvadāsī*. Probably the word *gaṇikā* (line 2) and *mēhari* (lines 1, 7, etc.) are also used in a similar sense. The name of the deity to whom Vijalā was attached seems to have been mentioned in the missing first plate of the set. It may have been the god Tripurusha mentioned in the following sentence. The name of the donor of the *pada* to Vijalā is not known from the extant part of the record.

(b) The next sentence states that, in the same way (*tathā*), the flute-player named Lhaudiyāka (i.e. Lhaudiyā) was allotted to Tripurusha which was the name of the deity. The expression *tripurusha* has been used here and in many other places in the record in the plural. But, in line 21, the same deity is mentioned as Tripurushadēva in the singular. It was therefore the name of a single deity, probably a combined image of the Trimūrti of Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.¹

(c) The last sentence of the section speaks of the arrangement, according to which a *mēhari*, whose name cannot be fully deciphered, was to receive annually five *Drōṇas* of wheat out of the collections made on behalf of the deity (*dēvakiṅgādāna-madhyāt*) from the *Nandāpā-grāmiya-bhōga*, no doubt a free-holding comprising a part or the whole of the village of Nandāpā (modern Nānāpā) under the enjoyment of the deity. This deity seems to be no other than Tripurusha mentioned in the previous sentence. We have already noted that the word *mēhari*, literally 'a songstress', seems to have been used to indicate a *Dēvadāsī*.

Section II (lines 2-8). There are four transactions referred to in this section.

(a) The first sentence records the allotment of the seventeenth *pada* to a *gaṇikā*'s daughter with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other *gaṇikā*. As indicated above, the word *gaṇikā*, like *vīlāsini* and *mēhari* in Section I, probably means 'a *Dēvadāsī*'. The *gaṇikā*'s name was Gōchhiṇī, though her daughter's name cannot be deciphered.

(b) The second sentence records the grant of the village of Bhīṣṭalavādā. The village is stated to have been given to Tripurusha, though it was actually meant for the deity Chandaleśvara. This probably suggests that the shrine of Chandaleśvara lay in the neighbourhood of the Tripurusha temple. The expression *sthanas* used in connection with Bhīṣṭalavādā seems to suggest that the village lay in the vicinity of the temple situated at Nāḍōl. The following sentence further states that the income or produce of the said village should have to be collected by the *Vārikas* attached to the god Tripurusha as a part of their own collections and that the expenses for the training, food, etc., of the *vīlāsini*s attached to the god Chandaleśvara as well as any other expenditure made for the said god should have to be met from the collections or income of the god Tripurusha. It is clear that the management of the affairs of the god Chandaleśvara was entrusted to the *Vārikas* of Tripurusha. As we have elsewhere seen, the *Vārikas* were the superintendents of a temple like the

¹ For the deity or deities called 'the Tripurushas', see also the Karimnagar inscription of Pratāparudra I (Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, Vol. II, p. 175). For a Tripurusha temple at Anhilwada, see Tawney's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, pp. 25, etc. In the composite Trimūrti images of Gujarat, Sorya-nāṭkyapa was often represented in Viṣṇu's place (Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 300, 331).

Pāṇḍās of today.¹ The last sentence of this subsection seems to say that the king and the *Vārikas* should have to look after the permanent one-fourth share belonging to Tripurusha.

(c) The next transaction in lines 6-8 records that an *araghaṭṭa* or a machine for drawing water from a well, called Nārāvattaka and situated in the village of Dēvanandita which was under the possession of the chief priest of the temple (*maṭha-pati*) of Tripurusha, was granted for the maintenance of the worship of Chandaleśvara. It appears that two persons named Śilapati and Śrīpāla, who were probably engaged in working the *araghaṭṭa* at Dēvanandita-grāma, were allotted to the said god along with a number of persons living probably at the locality where the temple stood (i.e. Nāḍōl). These were the songstresses Viṅgaḍā, Sitadī, Prēmali, Ratani, Śrīyādēvi and Āśādēvi; the *Suravāla* (a person responsible for setting songs or musical instruments to tune) Jasarā; the drum-player (*Pāṇavika*) Śrīpāla; the *Dōyavaka* (a singer who had to repeat parts of a song after they had been once sung) Vadiyāka (i.e. Vadiyā); the *Mṛdaṅga*-player Mahipatiyāka (i.e. Mahipatiyā); and the flute-player Risiyāka (i.e. Risiyā), the son of Gōvinda.

(d) The last sentence of the subsection states that a *mēhari*, whose name is not mentioned, was allotted five *Drōyas* [of wheat] out of Kumara's *Drōyas* [of wheat] at the *araghaṭṭa* at Bhiṣṭalavāḍā-grāma. It appears that Kumara was the lessee of the *araghaṭṭa*, who used to pay the annual rent for it to the temple in wheat. This transaction is also referred to in Section IV (b) in lines 15-16 below, where the name of the *mēhari* is given as Śōbhikā.

From the grant of the village of Bhiṣṭalavāḍā, it appears that most of the transactions recorded above were made by the contemporary Chāhamāna ruler of Nāḍōl. The name of this ruler seems to be lost with the first plate of the set. But he may have been **Āśārāja** mentioned below. The god Chandaleśvara was apparently installed by the queen Chandaladēvi mentioned below in line 10 which also mentions **Āśārāja**. It is not improbable that Chandaladēvi was a queen of **Āśārāja**.

It should, however, be noted that the Nānāpā copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D., referred to above, speaks of the grant of Bhiṣṭalavāṭaka by king Ālhaṇa to the Chandaleśvara temple. It is not impossible that Bhiṣṭalavāḍā or Bhiṣṭalavāṭaka was originally granted to the temple by **Āśārāja** but the grant was later renewed by his son Ālhaṇa.

Section III (lines 9-10). There are two transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that one Yaśōdhavala made a gift of one load of lotuses and one hundred bunches [of flowers] at a place called Āhumala. It is difficult to determine whether the transaction refers to a daily supply of the flowers and whether *Āhumala* is a modification of *Ahava-malla*, a well-known personal name which occurs in Section VI, b. The identity of the donor is uncertain, though he may have been a member of the Chāhamāna royal family of Nāḍōl. The deity who received the grant is not mentioned, but may probably be Chandaleśvara.

(b) The second sentence of this section states that, in V.S. 1173, Kārttika-vadi 3, Mahārājādhirāja **Āśārāja** made certain gifts (the names of which cannot be fully deciphered but may be those of a few localities) in favour of the *maṭha*. This *maṭha* may refer to the shrine of Chandaleśvara, which is mentioned in line 10 below (Section IV, a).

The date may correspond to the 11th September 1116 A.D. The only other date for **Āśārāja**'s reign so far known is V.S. 1167, Chaitra-sudi 1, corresponding to the 12th March 1111 A.D.² Another date for **Āśārāja**'s reign is found in Section IV (b) below.

Section IV (lines 10-16). This section also speaks of two transactions.

(a) The sentence constituting this sub-section is difficult to understand owing to certain errors of the scribe and the engraver. The first part refers to the 100 leaves allowed out of each load of

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 164, note 1.

² Bhandarkar's *Lat.* No. 182.

leaves by the royal officials (probably the customs officials of Nāḍol; cf. Section VI, b) to be enjoyed by the goddess Gauri installed in the shrine (*maṭha*) of Chandalēśvara caused to be made by Mahārājāi Chandalādēvi. A passage in line 11 immediately after this reference is unintelligible. After this there is reference to six persons who are stated to have paid annually 100 *Draṇṇas*, i.e. the coins of that name. The concluding part seems to say that the merchants, who were willing to give, would have to divide the third share of the leaves and wheat probably received as collections on behalf of the Chandalēśvara or Tripurusha temple. It appears that either Chandalēśvara would have to receive one-third of the collection of leaves and wheat made on behalf of the Tripurusha temple or Gauri would have to receive a similar share out of the collection of the Chandalēśvara shrine (cf. Section V below).

We have seen above, that the Nānāpā copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D. refers to the installation of the goddess Gauri in the Chandalēśvara temple by Śaṅkarādēvi who was a queen of Āhapa, son of Āśārāja. If the present transaction has to be referred to Āśārāja's reign, we have to suggest that the goddess was installed by Śaṅkarādēvi during her father-in-law's rule.

(b) This subsection records a regular grant of Mahārājādhirāja Āśārāja made in V.S. 1171, Pausa-vadi 10, in favour of the *māhari* Śōbhikā on the occasion of the king's visit to her house. The gift consisted of the village of Piñchchhavallī which was granted in its entirety as far as its ascertained boundaries. It is stated that no one was allowed to disturb the *māhari*'s possession of the land as long as the earth and the mountains would endure. It is further stipulated that, so long as the *māhari* Śōbhikā would be allowed to enjoy the gift village, the five *Drōṇas* allotted to her previously out of Kumara's *Drōṇas* of wheat (cf. Section II, d) should be enjoyed by the god Tripurusha and, in case there was nobody to protect [the *māhari*'s enjoyment of] the village, the allotment of Kumara's *Drōṇas* to her should again revert to her.

The date V.S. 1171, Pausa-vadi 10, may correspond to the 23rd November 1114 A.D. This is the third known date for Āśārāja's reign. The two others in V.S. 1167 and 1173 have been referred to above (cf. Section III, b).

Section V (line 17-18). There is only one transaction recorded in this section.

The first sentence states that the village of Salayī was allotted to the *maṭha* together with its entire income. The passage *upari-āsana-madhya* used in this connection connects this grant with the one recorded above (Section IV, b). It appears that Piñchchhavallī-grāma, allotted to Śōbhikā, belonged to the *maṭha* and that therefore the latter had to be compensated by making the gift of another village in its favour. The following sentence seems to suggest that the *maṭha* referred to was the shrine of Chandalēśvara since it is stated here that two-thirds of the village would be enjoyed by the *maṭha* (apparently of the god Chandalēśvara) and one-third by the god Tripurusha. The third and last sentence of the section states that the *Bhāṣārāja*, i.e. the king, should act in accordance with the said arrangement.

Section VI (lines 18-19). There are two transactions in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapāla (Ratnapāla) gave away one Nōriyā together with his relations. To which god the persons, who were probably to work as temple servants, were allotted is not stated. There is no date mentioned in connection with this grant. But we know that V. S. 1176, Jyēṣṭha-vadi 8, Thursday (22nd April 1120 A.D.) fell within Ratnapāla's reign.¹ Between Āśārāja and Ratnapāla who was the son of an elder brother and predecessor of Āśārāja, we have two inscriptions of Āśārāja's son Mahārājādhirāja Kaṭukārāja or Kaṭukārāja, one of which is dated in V.S. 1172 (1115-16 A.D.).²

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 200.

² See *ibid.*, Nos. 189 and 1460. The date of the second inscription has been read as Śaṅkṛat 31 which Bhandarkar refers to the Śimha-samvats of V.S. 1170=1113 A.D. and equates with V.S. 1200=1143 A.D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 24). But Kaṭukārāja could not have ruled in 1143 A.D. Moreover the Śimha-samvats is not known to have been used outside Kathiāwar (cf. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prākṛitālipiśālā*, pp. 181-82).

(b) The second sentence records the monthly grant of 6 *Deḥyas* probably of wheat by one Āhavanalla at the *maṇḍapikā* (customs office) at Naḍūla (Nāḍōl). The identity of Āhavanalla is unknown though he may have been the lessee of the *maṇḍapikā*. The deity, in whose favour the grant was made, is also not mentioned.

Section VII (lines 19-22). Only one transaction is recorded in this section.

The section records the grant of two *kuṭumbikas* (agriculturist householders) named Sōhiya and Āsūcha, formerly living at the village of Nandāpā (modern Nānāpā), together with their sons and grandsons so long as they lived. The gift was made at Naḍūla (Nāḍōl), according to the arrangement based on a charter in favour of the god Tripurusha by Mahārājaputra Kumāra Sāhaṇapāla in V.S. 1192, Kārttika-vadi 5, Saturday (28th September, 1135 A.D.). The passage *ady-cha īcī-Naḍūlā* seems to suggest that the temple of Tripurusha stood at Nāḍōl. This Sāhaṇapāla was probably a co-uterine brother of Sahajapāla who was the son of Ratnapāla's successor Rāyapāla (known dates between V. S. 1189-1132 A.D. and V.S. 1200-1143 A.D.)¹ from the queen Padmalladevi and is known from an undated inscription.² Three deities named after the mother and her two sons are mentioned in line 22 (Section VIII, a). The second sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

Section VIII (lines 22-24). There are four transactions recorded in this section.

(a) It is stated in the first sentence that Tripurusha's car could be always utilised by the deities Padmalēvara, Sāhaṇapālēvara, Sahajapālēvara and others. Padmalēvara was apparently named after Padmalladevi, queen of Rāyapāla, and Sāhaṇapālēvara and Sahajapālēvara after her two sons. They appear to have been installed in shrines within or near the Tripurusha temple.

(b) This subsection records the grant of the *kuṭumb* (i.e. *kuṭumbikas*) Kikāu, Madanapāla and Mahapastha (i.e. Mathanasimha) who were formerly living in the village of Nandāpā. The gift was made in favour of Tripurusha by a charter by Mahārāja Āhaṇadēva in V.S. 1208, Bhādra-vadi 5, Friday (6th August 1148 A.D. taking the year to be current). Āhaṇa or Alhaṇa, the son of Āsārāja and successor of Rāyapāla, is known from two records of his reign, one dated in V.S. 1209, Māgha-vadi 14, Saturday (24th January, 1153 A.D.)³ and the other in V.S. 1218, Śrāvaṇa-vadi 14, Sunday (12th August, 1162 A.D.)⁴. The next sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

(c) Some passages in the next sentence cannot be deciphered. But it seems to mention the grant of one or more persons by the same king Āhaṇadēva (*tath-ācāne*). The grant was probably made in favour of the same god Tripurusha.

(d) This sentence, the last of the epigraph under study, states that one Saḍa made a gift of two persons named Gōṣā and Lōbha. The grant seems to have been made in favour of Tripurusha.

The above analysis of the contents of the inscription under study exhibits some interesting information about certain customs relating to religious institutions, which were prevalent in Rajasthan during the early medieval period. The gift of persons (apparently as slaves) in favour of temples is one such custom.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are Naḍūla, i.e. modern Nāḍōl in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan, and such villages as Nandāpā or Nāndānā-grāma, Bhīṣṭalavāṣḍā-grāma, Dēvanandita-grāma, Āhumala, Pīñchehhavallī-grāma and Sālavi-grāma. Of these, Nandāpā or Nāndānā-grāma is certainly the modern village of Nānāpā where the plate was found. The other localities appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Nāḍōl or Nānāpā.

¹ See Bhattacharya's List, p. 382.

² Ibid., No. 1303, p. 382, note 7.

³ Ibid., No. 287.

⁴ Ibid., No. 311.

TEXT¹

- 1 vilāsin(uyāḥ) Pa[dm]āvatī(tī)-sutā[yāḥ*] Vijalāyā-'parābhīḥ' samam śhōḍasamam padam
pradatta[m](ttam) | tathā vām(vāḥ)śika-Lhaṇḍiyāka-Tri(purushā)gā[m] pradattaḥ ||
māhari- Śi. . .²
- 2 [n]ikāyāḥ varṣam prati dēvakīya-ā(y-ā)dāna-madhyāt gōdhūmānām drōḇāḥ pañcha Nam-
dānā'-grāmiya-bhōgāt dātavyā[ḥ*] | gaṇikā-[G]ōchhiṇi(ḥ)-sutā[yāḥ]ḥ . . .³
- 3 nam' aparābhīḥ sapta-darā(śa)mam padam pradattam || tathā atri-aiva Bhīrṇṭalavāḍā-
grāmāḥ śri-Chaṇḍalēśvaradēv-ātha(rtham) Tripurushāpām pradattaḥ ||
- 4 asmād-grāmād-utpattis-Tripurushāpām satka-vārikaiḥ samādāya aviy-ādānasy-aika[t]vā-
(tvam) [cha*] vidhāya śri-Cha[m]ḍalēśvarīya-vi[l]āsin[nām] vidyā-[vishā]-
- 5 cha(ya)-bhaktak-ādīkam(kam) aparam-apī yat-kinichid-dēvaaya kriyatē bhāṭṭāraka-puraḥ-
sara-vārigai(kai)ś-Tripurushāpām as(ava)kiy-ādānāna [cha] kārayitavyas-Tri'purushāpām
cha[turika]⁴
- 6 sthāyī bhāṭṭārakēna varigai(kai)ś-cha sarvadā draṣṭavyaḥ || tathā śri-Chaṇḍalēśvara-
pūjan-ārtham Tripurushāpām satka-majha-patēḥ Dēvanamdita-grāmō Nārāyaṇaka-
nāma(mā)
- 7 araghaṭṭas-tatra . . .⁵ pati-Śrīpāla-samanvita[ḥ*] pradattaḥ || atra māhari-Virgaḍā ||⁶ Śitaḍi |
Prēmali | Ratani | Śrīyādēvi | Āsa(śa)dēvi(vi) | ō(ou)ravāla-Jasara | pāṇavika-Śrīpālaḥ[dō]-
- 8 yarka-Vaḍiyākaḥ | mārdā[m*]ḡika-Mahi(hi)patiyākaḥ | vām(vāḥ)śika[ḥ*] Gōvimda-suta-Ris-
yākaḥ | Bhīrṇṭalavāḍā-grāmiya araghaṭṭō Kumara-drōḇānām madhyād-ādī(dā)ya
māharim⁷ [drōḇāḥ]drō'pañcha⁸ dātavyā[ḥ*] ||
- 9 śri-Jaeō⁹dhavalēna Āhumalē sya(śa)ta[pa]tra-[bha]rā(rah) | amakam¹⁰ 100 pradattam-
(ttam) || Sarivat 1173 Kārtti[ka]-vadi [3] tri(tri)tyāyām mahārājādhirāja-śri-¹¹
Āsa(śa)[rā]-
- 10 jēna ka . . . lōliyā¹² mathaaya pradattāḥ || mahārājā-śri-Chaṇḍaladēvyā śri-
Chaṇḍalēśvaramadhyē kārītā¹³ Gō(Gau)ryāḥ rājakuḷēna bharakam prati dāpita-patrā-

¹ From a photograph.² Read V[ijalāyā] opardāḥ or V[ijalāyā] opardāḥ.³ The name of the māhari cannot be fully deciphered.

The name is elsewhere spelt many times as Nandāś.

⁴ The intended reading seems to have been omakāyā samam.⁵ This letter may be a mistake for man for samam. Sandhi has not been observed here.⁶ Read kōrayitavyam Tri'.⁷ Chaturika seems to mean chaturā-śika.⁸ The reading of the two damaged aksharas here may be Śiḥ.⁹ This dāḥ and some others in this line and in the text are unnecessary.¹⁰ Better read māhari-Śōhikāyā. Cf. lines 13, 16.¹¹ Better read pañcha drō' in which drō is a contraction of drōḇā.¹² Read Yōḍ.¹³ Read stobalāni or stobala-kalam-śam.¹⁴ Sandhi has not been observed here.¹⁵ The objects granted, mentioned here, are difficult to determine. They may, however, have been localities.¹⁶ Read Chāṇḍaladēvyā kārītā Chāṇḍalēśvara-ma[m].

STRAY PLATE FROM NANANA



(from a Photograph)

- 11 pām śata[m*] | śatam-ēkam(kam) || guṇḍakūrvāyātavaḍhātāmōttāmōvahasṅga¹ | Tuliyā-
| tṭhahalaharā- | Vālaharā- | Visala- | Vāsal-ādi(khyaib) śhaḍbhīb janaiḥ sarvadā varṣam
prati dra[mmā]-
- 12 pām śatam-ēkam dadadhbir-āmkatō dra² 100 śatā(tam) tat-patra-gōdhūnā(mā)nām tri(tri)-
tiya-bhāgam(gaḥ) vānibhir³-dātukāmaiḥ karttavyaḥ || anyadā **Sarṇvat 1171 Pausa-**
vadi 10 daśa- ||⁴
- 13 myām mahārājādhirāja-āri-⁵Āsa(śā)rājēnā(na) ma(mō)hari-Śōbbikāyāḥ satka-griha-
nirīkhaḥāya gatēn-āsyāḥ **Pitṭhchhavalli-grāmaḥ** eva-āimā-
- 14 paryantō vijñāta-maryādāḥ pra[s]ādikṛitō-⁶syāḥ vum(bhum)jayaṁtyāḥ ru(bhu)mjāpayaṁ-
tyāḥ⁷ kēn-āpi kahiti-kahitidhara-kālam yāvat paripamthanaḥ na kā[ryā*] ||
- 15 aparam-agrē mēhari-Śō(Śō)bbikāyāḥ diyamāna-Kumara-drōṇiya-gōdhūtā(mā)nām pañcha
drōṇāḥ yāvad-śāhāḥ grāmam bhumjayati⁸ tāva[t*] Tripurushai-
- 16 r-bhōktavyā[h*] [[*] aṭha kadā[chi*]d-avidhi-vaśūd-grāmam-ēnam kō-pi na pālayati tadā
bhūyō-pi yujyamāna-Kumara-drōṇāḥ maharīgā⁹ bhō(bhō)ktavyā[h*] ||
- 17 upari-śāsana-[ma]dhyē sarv-ādāya-sahitaḥ **Sālayi-grāmō** maṭhasy-āyattaḥ kṛtas-tan-
madhyāt dvau bhāgō(gau) maṭhasya tritīy-āmbas-Tripurushāpām pradattō(ttaḥ |) anyā
athē(sthi)tyā
- 18 bhāṭṭarakēṇa varittaniyam(yam) || [puna][r*]-mahārājādhirāja-āri-Ratana¹⁰pālēna [Nō]-
riyā[kāh*] sa-kupumbā[h*] pradataḥ(ttaḥ) | āri-Naḍḍūya-mamajapik[ā]yām āri¹¹-Ā[hava]-
- 19 mallēna¹²māsam prati drō¹³ 6 śhaṭ yāvatayāḥ¹⁴ | amlahāḥ paripamthanaḥ kv-āpi
na kāryā || **Sarṇvat 1192 Kārttika-vadi 5 Śanāv-ady-ṭha** āri-Naḍḍ-
- 20 18 mahārājaputra-kumara-¹⁵āri-Sāhaṇapālādēvaḥ śāsanaḥ prayachha(chchha)ti yathā |
agrē **Namdhāṇa-grāmō** vasamān-śāma¹⁶ku-
- 21 tummi(mbi)ka-Śōbiya-¹⁷Āśāichau sa-putra-pautr-ādikaḥ yāvat jīvaḥ tāvat śāsana-sthityām-
(tyā) āri-Tripuru[śha*]dēvāya prada-
- 22 ttaḥ(ttau) [[*] kēn-āpi na lōpaniyāḥ || āri-Tripurushīya-rathaḥ āri-Padmalēśvara-
Sāhaṇapālēśvara-Sāhaṇapālēśvar-ādi-dēvānām sādhyāḥ sarvadā ||

¹ The meaning of this passage is doubtful. Possibly it ends with a personal name. The following *daśa* and others occurring later in the line are wrongly incised.

² This is an abbreviation of the word *drumma*.

³ The intended reading is *vānibhāḥ*.

⁴ These *daśas* are unnecessary.

⁵ *Sondāi* has not been observed here.

⁶ Better read *śhōjanyāḥ*.

⁷ Read *śhōjanyāḥ*.

⁸ Read *māhāyā*.

⁹ Read *Sāma*.

¹⁰ *Sondāi* has not been observed here.

¹¹ The word *yōdhāmānāḥ* would suit the context; but the traces of the letters do not support this reading.

¹² This is an abbreviation of the word *drōṇāḥ*.

¹³ Read *dāmyāḥ*.

¹⁴ Read *kumāra*.

¹⁵ Better read *śāmantav*.

- 23 Sathvana¹ 1205 Bhādra-vadi 5 Śudrēḥ(krē) || mahārāja-śrī²-Āhaṇadēvēna [pr]āk-
(prāṇ)-Namdāpā-(gr)āmiya-kuṣum-³ | Kikāu-Madanapāla- |⁴ Mahapasthai⁵ ady-ai(va)
śrī-Tri(Tri)purushāpāni āsanēna pra- |⁶
- 24 dattau(ttāḥ) | kēn-āpi ka[d]āchit na lōpanīyō(yāḥ) || tath-ā'nēna Sāksipatrā . . .⁷ Simdā-
sutāḥ [pra]data(ttāḥ) | tathā Gōṣā-Lōbhau Śaḍēna [pra]dattau[|*] [kēn-āpi na lōpanīya]m-
iti || tha⁸||

¹ Read Samvat.

² Sandhi has not been⁹ observed here.

³ This is a contraction of *kuṣumbika* and the following *śaṇḍa* is an indication of the abbreviation.

⁴ The *śaṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ Better read **śiṅhāḍā*.

⁶ The names of the persons cannot be definitely determined.

⁷ This letter is an indication of the completion of the document.

No. 46—FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 21.11.1958)

In the course of the excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology at the well-known Buddhist site of **Nagarjunikonda**, a monastic establishment with a four-winged monastery, a *Stūpa* and a *Chaitya-griha* was completely exposed in the year 1955-56 at the site marked V-6. The discovery was briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology, 1955-56—A Review*, p. 24. In this connection, reference was made to the discovery of a stone slab, bearing the representation of the Buddha's feet and a small inscription engraved on it, near the entrance of the *Stūpa*.¹ According to the said notice, the inscription records that 'the sacred feet were of Buddha and were designed and consecrated by or for the *Mahāvihāravāsins* of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon in a *Vihāra* described as *Dharmā-vihāra* situated on the *Praveṇī*'.² It is further observed that the *Mahāvihāravāsins* are described as 'adepts in reading the marks on the human body and fixing horoscopes which constitute the eighth *sāsana* (*abbhuta*) of the *navaṅga* promulgated by Buddha'. Unfortunately the statements regarding the contents of the epigraph are full of errors. They are apparently based on a defective transcript of the record. There is really no mention in the inscription of a Buddhist monastery called *Dharmā-vihāra*, no description of the *Mahāvihāravāsins* of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon as experts in reading the marks on human bodies and preparing horoscopes and no reference to the eighth *sāsana* of the Buddha.

Similar footprint slabs, sometimes uninscribed and sometimes bearing inscriptions, have been discovered at various early Buddhist sites including those of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda. It is well known that, in early Buddhist art, the Buddha was generally represented by symbols and one of the most popular symbols was his feet.³ A Nagarjunikonda slab of this kind is called a *paṭipadā* (*pratipadā*) in the inscription it bears, while the expressions by which it is indicated in the Amaravati inscriptions are *paduka* (or *pātuka*)-*paṭa* (*pāduka*-*paṭa*) and *patuka* (*pāduka*).⁴ The Nagarjunikonda slab under study bears the representation of the two soles of two feet placed side by side with that of the Bodhi tree in railing, flanked by two human figures, on one side. The most prominent symbol engraved on each of the soles is the *chakra*. Behind this are an *aśkūṭa*, a *Nāga* symbol, a *triratna* on *chakra* and a pair of fish with a *śaṅkha* nearby, while in front of it are two *Nāga* symbols, a *svastika*, a *śrīvatsa* and a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* with a *śaṅkha* near it. The five toes in front of the above bear respectively a *stambha*, an *aśkūṭa*, another indeterminable symbol, a pair of fish and a *triratna* on *chakra*.⁵ The inscription under study is engraved in a rectangular space touching the toes of the feet.

¹ See op. cit., Plate XXXIX, C.

² Macron over *e* and *o* to indicate the length of the vowels has not been used in this article.

³ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31.

⁴ See above, Vol. XX, p. 37.

⁵ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 510 ff., 520 ff.; Burgess, *Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati*, pp. 97 ff. and Plates XLIII, 14; LII, 6 and 8; LIII, 1; *MAI*, No. 54, Plate XIXa; Marshall, *Sanchi*, Plates LXXXVIII, 22b, 75b; LXXXVII, 69a; LXXXII, 42b; Allan, *Catalogue of Coins (Ancient India)*, pp. c, ci, cl, 131, 158-69, 273, etc.

There are only three lines of writing covering an area about 13½ inches in length and about 2 inches in height. The first line is slightly bigger than the second owing to the incision of the auspicious word *siddham* in the left margin, while the third line is smaller than the second. The letters, excepting conjuncts as well as *ā*, *ḷ* and *ṛ* and the letters with vowel-marks added to the top or the bottom, are less than half an inch in height. The characters are similar to those of the epigraphs incised during the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the middle of the third century A.D. Among the few points of palaeographical interest noticed in the record, mention may be made of the fact that the medial *i* is of the ordinary short type and not of the elongated ornamental form generally found in the Ikshvāku records. This was apparently due to the narrow space available for engraving the epigraph. In the passage *Tumbapāṇi-dīpa-paṇḍakanam* in line 1, the second *i* is of the usual type but the first one exhibits a somewhat earlier form. The language of the inscription is Prakrit and its orthography resembles that of the inscriptions of Virapurushadatta's time. The modification of the sibilant to the sonant is noticed in the word *saṃghāḍā* or *saṃghāḍa* (*saṃghāḍā* or *saṃghāḍa*) in line 3. Medial *i* and *n* have been generally used in the record for medial *ī* and *ṇ*.

The inscription begins with the anapictic word *siddham* which is followed by the only sentence in which the record is written. The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the pair of the Lord's (i.e. Buddha's) feet in the *Vihāra* or Buddhist monastery which has now been exposed by the excavations at Site V-6 at Nagarjunikonda. The language of the passage is *vihāre dhagutāto pāda-saṃghāḍā nipatīḥapitā* (line 3). The intended reading apparently being *pāda-saṃghāḍā nipatīḥapitā* or *pāda-saṃghāḍo nipatīḥapito*. The expression used to indicate the feet of the lord is *pāda-saṃghāḍā* or *pāda-saṃghāḍa* which reminds us of Pali *aṭṭhi-saṃghāḍa*, used in the sense of 'the joint (i.e. bone-coupling)' according to scholars.¹ The word is the same as Sanskrit *saṃghāṭikā*, meaning 'a pair, a couple'. Thus *pāda-saṃghāḍa* means 'the pair of feet' obviously referring to the representation of the feet near which the epigraph is incised. The participle *nipatīḥapitā* has been used in the sense of *pratīḥapita* (*pratīḥapita*, installed). The purpose behind the installation of the Lord's feet in the monastery is stated to have been the prayer (*athanā*, *arthana*) for the welfare and happiness of all beings (*sava-sātānam hita-sukh-athanāya*). But the person responsible for the installation is not mentioned in the record.

The *Vihāra* or monastery in which the Lord's feet were installed is stated to have belonged to certain *Āchāryas* or Buddhist teachers who are endowed with a number of interesting epithets. These epithets are *Therīya*, *Vihāra-vāda*, *Kāśmīra-Gandhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tumbapāṇidīpa-paṇḍakā*, *Mahāvihāra-vāda*, *Navamga-Sathu-saṃma-atho-vyajana-cinichhaya-vimroda* and *Ariga-cāma-pavani-dhara*. Among these epithets, the third stating that the said teachers converted to the Buddhist faith² the peoples of Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tānuvapatī-dvīpa is most interesting since it reminds us of the passage . . . *tarāy-āchāryānam*³ *Kāśmīra-Gandhāra-Chīna-Chīlāta-Tosali-Avarakṣa-Vaṣṭa-Vanavāsi-Yavana-Damila-Pulva-Tumbapāṇidīpa-paṇḍakānam* *Therīyānam* *Tumbapāṇidīpam* *suparigala* *Svīpatula* *Vijayapuriya* *puta-dīś-klāḍe* *vihāre* *Chula-Dharmagiriya* *Chetiya-gharāṇa* *sa-paṇa-saṃtharam* *sa-chetiyaṇ* *sava-nigutāṇ* *kāritāṇ* *vāśikāya* *Bodhiṇīya* occurring in another inscription⁴ from Nagarjunikonda. The passage states how an *vāśikā* (female lay worshipper of the Buddha) named Bodhiṇī was responsible

¹ See Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *saṃghāḍa*. The intended reading does not appear to be *saṃghāḍāni*.

² The word *paṇḍakā* means literally 'causing serenity or happiness' and figuratively 'converting to the Buddhist faith'. The *Mahāvamsa* uses the expression *dīpa-paṇḍakā* there to indicate 'the monk who converted the island (Ceylon)'. See Childers, op. cit., s.v.

³ Vogel suggests the restoration *dharmasā-rāj-āchāryānam* here. But the intended reading appears to be *Āchāryā-rāj-āchāryānam* occurring in a similar context, in another Nagarjunikonda inscription (Nagarjunikonda Soverin, ed. Rams Rao, pp. 44-45) and probably meaning 'the teachers of the Āchāryā school'.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 22.

for the construction of a *Chaitya-griha* in the monastery on the Little Dharmagiri in the Śrīparvata range to the east of the city of Vijayapuri for the acceptance of certain Āchāryas or Buddhist teachers who are stated *inter alia* to have belonged to the Tāmraparva or Tāmraparṇi country, i.e. Ceylon (*Tambapannaka*), and converted to the Buddhist faith the peoples of Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, China, Kirāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Yavana, Damila, Palura and Tāmraparṇi-dvīpa. Although the list of countries in the present epigraph contain only five out of the twelve names of the other inscription probably due to the shortage of space, the teachers mentioned in the two records may be the same. In that case, the Buddhist teachers referred to in our inscription were of Ceylonese origin.

The epithet *theriyānaṃ* applied to *āchariyānaṃ* in both the inscriptions is interesting. The word *theriyā* in the masculine plural used in the *Mahāvihāra* has been taken to mean 'the fraternities of the Theravādins'.¹ Vogel, who edited the other Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above, derived the word *theriya* from *thera*, 'a monk, an elder'. According to him, *theriya* is primarily an adjective meaning 'belonging to the *theras* or monks' from which comes the substantive sense of 'a fraternity or community [of monks]',² while N. Dutt commenting on Vogel's views was inclined to interpret the word *theriyānaṃ* as 'of the nuns' and took all the epithets in the feminine gender.³ But the epithet *Mahāvihāra-vāsinaṃ* (of those dwelling in the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery) used in our record is in the masculine and shows that Dutt's interpretation is wrong. This Mahāvihāra seems to be identical with the Buddhist monastery of that name mentioned in several other Nagarjunikonda inscriptions⁴ referring to 'the Mahāchaitya in the Mahāvihāra' and indicating the location of the monastery in the Nagarjunikonda valley. As it is difficult to believe that the Great Monastery at the Ikshvāku capital accommodated nuns, this fact also appears to go against Dutt's suggestion.

The epithet *Vibhaja-vāda* (*Vibhajja-vāda*) indicates that the teachers in question belonged to the Vibhajja-vāda school. Vibhajja-vāda is the doctrine of analysis or the religion of logic or reason and is identical with the Theravāda or doctrine of the Elders, which was the original teaching of the Buddhist Church.⁵ Thus our inscription mentions the teachers both as *Theriyā* (i.e. *Thera-vādīn*) and as *Vibhaja-vāda* (i.e. *Vibhajja-vādīn*).

The remaining two epithets refer to the learning of the Buddhist teachers. One of them says that they were experts in determining the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstri, i.e. the Buddha (*navamga-Satthu-sāsana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visarada-nav-āṅga-Śāstri-āśāna-ārtha-vyūñjino-vinichhaya-visārada*). Pali *Satthu-sāsana* (Sanskrit *Śāstri-āśāna*) is often used in literature to indicate *Buddha-sāsana*, i.e. the doctrine or teachings of the Buddha, one of the Lord's popular names being *Satthā* (Sanskrit *Śāstri*). The nine divisions of the Buddhist scripture are *Sutta* (sermons in prose), *Geyya* (sermons in prose and verse), *Veyyākaraṇa* (explanation or commentary), *Gāthā* (scriptures in stanzas), *Udāna* (pithy sayings), *Itivuttaka* (short speeches of the Buddha), *Jātaka* (stories of the Buddha's former births), *Abbhuta-dhamma* (stories of miracles)

¹ Cf. Childers, op. cit., s.v.

² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 23, 29. He took the *ācharigae* as different from 'the fraternities [of monks] of Tambapanna (Ceylon)'.

³ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. VII, pp. 323 ff.

⁴ Cf. Above, Vol. XX, p. 19 (Āyaka pillar inscription B5, line 5), p. 22 (second apsidal temple inscription F, line 3); Vol. XXI, p. 66 (pillar inscription M 2, line 3). It is doubtful if the Mahāvihāra-vāsina mentioned in our record can be regarded as a subset of the Theravādin-Vibhajjavādīn community (cf. *MAI*, No. 71, p. 36).

⁵ See P.T.S. *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v.

and *Paḍalla* (teachings in the form of questions and answers). The other epithet says that the teachers knew the traditions of the different classes of Buddhist recluses by heart (*ariya-vaṃsa-paṇṇi-dhara-ārya-vaṃsa-praveṇi-dhara*). The expression *paṇṇi-dhara* may be compared with *dharmadhara*, *vinaya-dhara*, *mūlikā-dhara*, etc., of the Pali literature¹ as well as *vinaya-dhara* and *mahāvīnaya-dhara* of the Amaravati inscriptions² and *Dīgha-Majjhima-nikāya-dhara* in a Nagarjunikonda inscription.³ According to Buddhist scripture, there are four classes of recluses (*ariya-vaṃsa*, literally 'noble family'), viz. those who are contented with the robes presented to them, those who are contented with the food presented to them, those who are contented with the bedding presented to them, and those who delight in meditation.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Kāśmīra* is still known by its ancient name. *Gandhāra* (the Rawalpindi-Peshawar region), *Vanavāsa* (the district round Banavāsi in the North Kanara District) and *Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa* or the Isle of *Tāmraparṇī* (Ceylon) are well-known. By *Yavana*, possibly the old Greek settlement in the Kabul valley was meant.⁴

TEXT⁵

- 1 Sidham [[*] ācariyanam Theriyanam Vibhajja-vādīnam **Kāśmīra-Gandhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa-paṇḍakanam**
- 2 Mahāvihāra-vāsinam nava[m]ga-Saṭha-sasana-atha-vyaṇa-vinichhaya-visaradanam ariya-va[m]sa-paṇṇi-dharanam
- 3 vihāre Bhagavato pāda-saṃghāḍā nipatīṭhapito⁶ sava-satānam hita-sukh-athanāya ti |⁷

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! The pair of feet of the Lord (i.e. the Buddha) has been installed, with the prayer for the welfare and happiness of all beings, in the monastery of the teachers who are Theriys (i.e. Thera-vādins) (and) Vibhajja-vādīs (i.e. Vibhajja-vādins) ; who caused delight to (i.e. converted to the Buddhist doctrine) (the people of) **Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa** and **Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa** ; who are the residents of the Great Monastery ; who are experts in the determination of the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstrī (i.e. the Buddha) ; (and) who know the traditions of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart.

¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, s.v.

² Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 37, No. 8 ; p. 102, No. 23.

³ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 17, 29.

⁴ See *Successors of the Elders*, p. 31.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ The intended reading is either *saṃghāḍā nipatīṭhapito* or *saṃghāḍo nipatīṭhapito*.

⁷ The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal line.

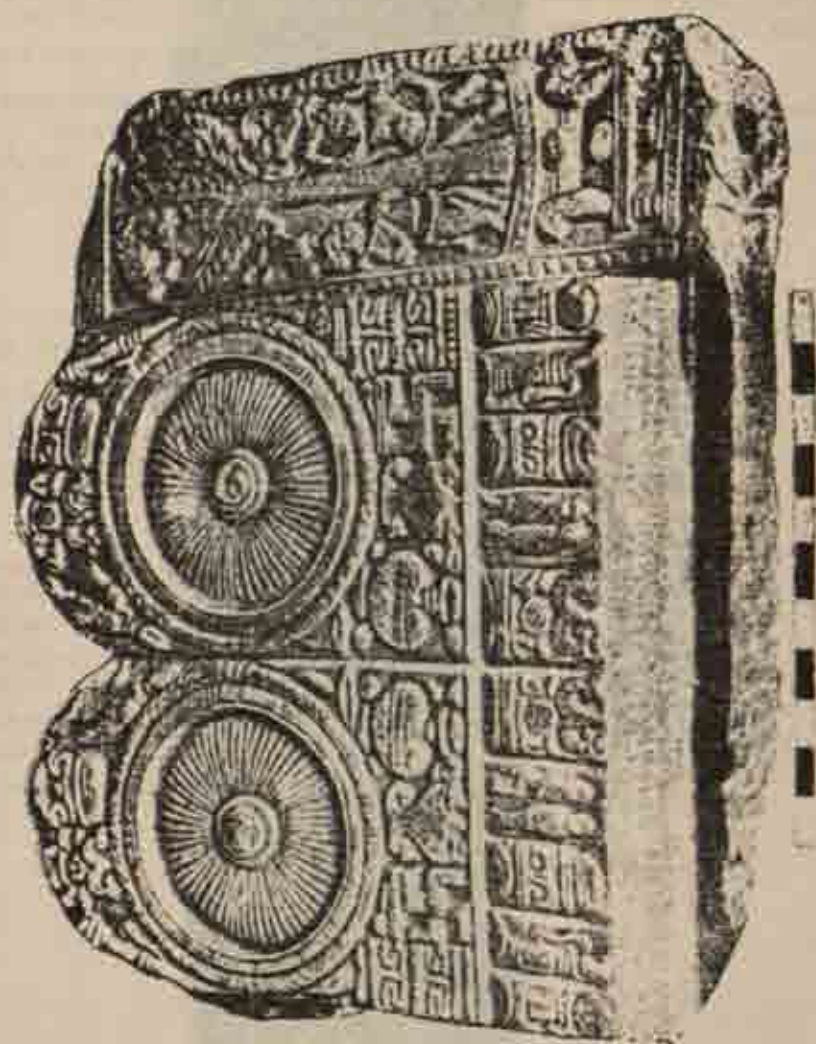
FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

A



Scale : Two-thirds

B



(from a Photograph)

No. 47—NOTES ON SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION

No. 1

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 22.11.1957)

Drs. M. G. Dikshit and D. C. Sircar have edited the Sēnakapāṭ inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna in this journal, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff. This inscription records the construction of a Śiva temple and some grants of land in favour of the god installed therein and some Śaiva ascetics connected therewith, by Durgarakṣita, son of Dēvarakṣita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvanshī king Nannarāja, the great-grandfather of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. In the course of the description of Dēvarakṣita there occurs a stanza (verse 7) which the editors have read as follows:—

*Yā Vindhya-dhūrdhī(r-dha)ratvaṁ Varadā-taṭa-parihatā(ta)m cha samprāpya |
samprāptavān-īha Yaśobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm(tim) ||*

The editors have taken this verse to mean that Dēvarakṣita obtained (apparently from king Nannarāja) the governorship of the Vindhyan territory (Vindhya-dhūr-dharatva) as far as the banks of the river Varadā (Varadā-taṭa-parihata) and that he became well-known as Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra (literally, 'a store-house of fame').¹

The editors' reading and interpretation of this verse are open to several objections. I have in my possession two excellent impressions of this record which Dr. M. G. Dikshit placed at my disposal when he consulted me about the reading and interpretation of this verse. On referring to them I find that the reading *Varadā-taṭa-parihatām(tam)* adopted by the editors is very doubtful. *Varadā* is indeed fairly clear, but the next two *akṣaras* are indistinct, the second being mutilated in the crack which has divided the stone into two parts. Still, in view of the mention of the *Varadā*, it is not unlikely that the following two *akṣaras* were intended to be *taṭa* (or rather, *kaṭa*).² The next four *akṣaras*, however, are certainly not *parihatām*. The first has a clear curve at the top of its vertical and must be read as *pha*. The second *akṣara* can hardly be read as *ri*. It is clearly *li*; see the form of *li* in "Upalad" in line 1. The reading is, therefore, *Varadā-taṭa* (or, rather *kaṭa*)-*phalīhatām*. This, however, does not yield a good sense. The writer or the engraver has evidently committed some mistake here as in some other places in this record. Perhaps, the intended reading is *Varadā-taṭa-pharīhatām cha samprāpya*. Dikshit and Sircar, who read *Varadā-taṭa-parihatām*, had to change it into *Varadā-taṭa-parihatam* to make it qualify *Vindhya-dhūr-dharatvaṁ*. But the use of *cha* after this word clearly shows that Dēvarakṣita had not one, but two attainments, which made him well-known as *Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra* (a store-house of fame).³ Besides, mere appointment to the Vindhya region, even though it may have extended to the banks of the *Varadā*, would not make a man 'a store-house of fame'.⁴ I think, therefore, that the intended reading of this verse is as follows:—

*Yā Vindhya-dhūrdharatvaṁ Varadā-taṭa-pharīhatām cha samprāpya |
samprāptavān-īha Yaśobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm ||*

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 32.

² Cf. *Bhāṇḍāga* mentioned in the Tiroḍi plates (above, Vol. XXII, p. 172).

³ [See below, p. 255.—Ed.]

'Having become irresistible like the Vindhya mountain and having exterminated a Nāga [king] (Phayin) of Varadātata, [Dēvarakshita] became well-known as a store-house of fame'.¹

From the mention of the river Varadā in the description of Dēvarakshita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Nannarāja, the editors have conjectured that Nannarāja's dominions included the area about the Chanda District. They further say that this inference is supported by the inscription from Bhāṇḍak situated on the bank of the Wardhā in the Chanda District, which describes Bhavadēva Rānakōśarin as having restored a derelict Buddhist temple originally built by Śārya-ghōṣha, an ancient king of that area.² This conjecture also is equally baseless. There is not an iota of evidence to show that the Pāṇḍuvamśi kings were ever ruling over the Chanda District, or, for the matter of that, over any part of Vidarbha. The inscription of Bhavadēva Rānakōśarin did not originally belong to Bhāṇḍak. Cunningham, who had noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum, conjectured that it must have come from Bhāṇḍak, because he was told at Bhāṇḍak that 'an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nagpur during the time of the Rājā about 40 or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahib'.³ As the inscription of Bhavadēva Rānakōśarin records the restoration of a Buddhist temple and as there are extensive Buddhist remains at Bhāṇḍak, Cunningham conjectured that the inscription must have been brought from that place. The Nagpur Museum has no accurate information about the provenance of several stone records which were brought there from time to time from various places in the former Central Provinces and Berar. There was evidently no mention of Bhāṇḍak as the provenance of the inscription in the records of the Museum; for Kielhorn, who has edited it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, was informed that it had been brought there from Ratanpur.⁴ I discussed this question in detail in my article on the Mallār plates of Śivagupta and showed that the inscription must have been found somewhere in Chhattisgarh.⁵ My conjecture later received confirmation from a statement of Vinayakarnā Aurangabadkar, who was deputed by Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, to search for and report on the inscriptions in Chhattisgarh. In my article on the Sōmavamśi kings of Southern Kosala published in this journal several years ago, I drew attention to the statements in Aurangabadkar's report,⁶ an extract of which had been supplied to me by my friend Dr. Y. K. Deshpande who found it deposited in the India Office Library, London. As I pointed out at the time, Aurangabadkar states that 'the slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity'. Dikshit and Sircar are not inclined to believe the testimony of Aurangabadkar. They say, 'Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Pāṇḍuvamśi existed at Āraṅg, its identification with the Bhāṇḍak epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāṇḍak as the provenance of the record'. As this matter is of considerable importance for the history of the Pāṇḍuvamśi dynasty, I propose to examine this criticism in some detail.

At the instance of Jenkins, Aurangabadkar visited several places in Chhattisgarh and submitted a report in Mōḍī characters which is still preserved in the India Office Library (MSS., Marathi D,

¹ Besides, the next stanza (verse 8) states that Dēvarakshita obtained from king Nannarāja a number of *vishayas* or districts. Verse 7 is, therefore, probably devoted to the description of his exploits.

² Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 34.

³ ASI, Vol. IX, p. 127.

⁴ JRAS, 1905, p. 618.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 f.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 227 note 2.

46).¹ About the inscription in question he says, 'I give below a copy of the Sanskrit writing on a slab attached to a great temple at Āraṅg (i.e., Āraṅg)'. [Here follows a transcript of the inscription.] 'The inscription states that there was a king named Sūryaghōṣa.... One of his relatives died by a fall from an upper storey. As a result of grief consequent on this, he became indifferent to worldly matters and built a large structure for a sage. Thereafter flourished Udayana, who was said to have belonged to the Pāṇḍava family..... His fourth son Bhavadēva was, like him, meritorious, brave and righteous. He built a Jaina temple. He belonged to the Jaina faith.'²

The relevant extracts from Aurangabadkar's report given above leave no doubt that the record whose contents he summarised therein was identical with the inscription of Bhavadēva Rapa-kēśarin.³ This record is incised in acute-angled characters. It is creditable to Aurangabadkar that he could grasp the contents of it fairly correctly, though from the mention of Jina in verses 1 and 37 he was misled into supposing that it was a Jaina record.

The foregoing account of Aurangabadkar's report would show that the doubts about the importance of his testimony are wholly unjustified and that there was no "speculation" on my part when I stated, on the authority of his report, that Bhavadēva Rapa-kēśarin's epigraph originally came from Āraṅg. Aurangabadkar was an employee of Richard Jenkins who was Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. He, therefore, saw the inscription in question *in situ* at Āraṅg more than fifty years before Cunningham noticed it deposited in the Nagpur Museum.⁴ Aurangabadkar's statement is thus much more reliable than Cunningham's conjecture. In fact it clinches the issue and proves incontrovertibly that the record came from Āraṅg. As for Stevenson's evidence, it comes to nothing. He merely states that the inscription was found at Nagpur.⁵ He does not connect it with Bhāndak or any other place.

Apart from the testimony of Aurangabadkar, there are other reasons why the record could not have belonged to Bhāndak. Bhavadēva Rapa-kēśarin, who restored the dilapidated temple of the Buddha, was a cousin of the great-grandfather of Śivagupta Bālārjuna,⁶ who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, cannot be referred to a period later than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Sūryaghōṣa, who originally built the temple of

¹ Through the good offices of Dr. H. N. Randle, who was then in charge of the India Office Library, I obtained several years ago photostat copies of some portion of this report relating to some inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Raipur. See *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 501, note 1. Jenkins sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a report about these inscriptions which was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV.

² See the actual words of Aurangabadkar:

'या आरिण्याचे महादेवालापाचे दगडावर संस्कृत अक्षर लिहिले त्याची मस्कत.....सूर्यघोष नामे राजा पृथ्वीपति.....त्याचा कोन्ही एक जात माडीवहन पडून मेला.त्याचे शोकास्तव वैराग्य आंगी आनून ज्योतिष त्यान मोठ बांधला.याचे वंशीचा राजा उदयेन नामक.याबला पांडववंशीचा म्हणत होते..... याचा चवथा पुत्र भद्रदेव नामक.हाही त्यासारखा गुणवान, प्रतापवान सदाचारसंपन्न.....या राजान जेनाच मंदिर बांधलें.हा जैनधर्मी होता.....'

³ [See below, p. 256.—Ed.]

⁴ Cunningham noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum sometime before 1873. See his *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

⁵ See *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, 1841-44, pp. 148-49. Owing to a wrong reading of verse 5 of this inscription Stevenson supposed that Sūryaghōṣa, who built the temple of the Buddha, was ruling over Orissa. See *JRAS*, 1905, p. 617, note 1.

⁶ See the genealogical table in my 'Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahākōśala' (*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f.).

the Buddha, is said to have flourished long before Udayana,¹ the grandfather of Bhavadēva. He cannot therefore be later than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. In this period, the Chanda District and the surrounding territory were included in the dominions of the Vākātakas. Several inscriptions of the Vākātaka king Paravarasena II, who flourished in this period, have been found in this region. No king named Sūryaghōṣa could have ruled over this territory in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.² There was, however, another king of this name ruling in Chhatargarh in this period, viz. Sūra, whose descendant Bhīmasēna II's copper plate inscription dated in G. 182 (501-02 A.D.) was discovered at Āraṅg itself.³ Sūra (often written as Śūra) and Sūrya are synonyms in Sanskrit, both meaning 'the sun'.⁴ This also proves the correctness of Aurangabadkar's statement that the inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin was originally at Āraṅg.

The question still remains: What was that record which, as Cunningham's informants told him, was removed from Bhāṇḍak to Nagpur? In the absence of reliable information on the point, I previously⁵ conjectured that it may have been the Nagpur Museum *prāśasti* of the rulers of Mālwa. Here also Aurangabadkar comes to our aid. He has given elsewhere a transcript of the so-called Sitābalḍi inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI, edited by Kielhorn in this journal, Vol. III, pp. 304 f. Cunningham found this record at Sitābalḍi, a suburb of Nagpur; but it did not evidently belong to that place originally; for Sitābalḍi or Nāgpur was not in existence in the time of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty. Also four years ago, Dr. Deshpande showed me the transcript of an inscription which Aurangabadkar had found near the old caves at Bhāṇḍak and asked me if it had been published anywhere. I at once identified it with the aforementioned inscription of Vikramāditya VI. This is, therefore, the inscription which, as Cunningham was told at Bhāṇḍak, had been removed by Major Wilkieson from the Wijason Caves of Bhāṇḍak to Nagpur.⁶

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin's epigraph originally belonged to Āraṅg. Dēvarakṣita, the minister of Nannarāja, may have raided the country up to the bank of the Waṛdhā, but that does not prove that the Pāṇḍuvarāṇas were ruling over the region round Chāṇḍā.⁷

¹ Cf. *Ucchakṣati bhāṣyae kāl bhāṣinīpatib*..... *Udayana-nāma samudāyān* in Bhavadēva's inscription, *JRS*, 1906, p. 628.

² [See below, p. 256.—Ed.]

³ This has already been pointed out in my aforementioned article on the three ancient dynasties of Mālwa.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 117.

No. 2

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.2.1958)

Prof. V. V. Mirashi has offered above, pp. 251 ff., his views on the reading and interpretation of verse 7 of the Śānakapāṭ inscription with reference to his theories that no portion of the Marāṭhī-speaking area formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvamśis of Kōśala and that the Bhāṇḍak inscription was brought to the Nagpur Museum not from Bhāṇḍak in the Chanda District but from Āraṅg in the Raipur District. We do not think that he has succeeded in proving the point to the satisfaction of scholars.

He suggests the reading *Vindhya-dhūrdhri(dur-dāha)ratam* and *Varadā-taṭa(or kaṭa)-Phaṇi-hatam* in the stanza which was read by us as follows :—

Ya Vindhya-dhūrdhri(rāḍha)ratam Varadā-taṭa-parihatam(tam) cha samprāpya |
samprāptavān=cha Yaśobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātim(tim) ||

Both his readings and emendations appear to us doubtful and unacceptable. But his arguments in favour of the suggestions are more dubious. He thinks that Dēvarakṣita, whose exploits are described in the stanza, performed two feats according to its first half as indicated by the word *cha* therein, viz., irresistibility like the Vindhya and the extermination of the Phaṇi or Nāga king of the Varadā valley, and that the said two achievements led to his celebrity as *Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra*, 'the store-house of fame'. Not only are Prof. Mirashi's reading, emendation and interpretation of *Vindhya-dhūrdhri(dur-dāha)ratam* and *Varadā-taṭa-Phaṇi-hatam* farfetched and unsatisfactory, his objections against our interpretation of the stanza appear to be based on misunderstanding. We understood the stanza as follows : *Yaś Varadā-taṭa-parihataṁ Vindhya-dhūr-dharatvān samprāpya, iha Yaśobhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātim cha samprāptavān* in which *cha* does not offer any difficulty at all. There is also no difficulty if his achievement recorded in the first half of the verse is regarded as the cause of Dēvarakṣita's celebrity as 'the store-house of fame', since the implication is that he conquered the Vindhyan region as far as the banks of the Varadā on behalf of his master who made him the governor of that newly annexed territory and conferred on him the title of *Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra*. We do not find any difficulty if, according to verse 8 of the record, Dēvarakṣita received from his master a few other *vishayas* either for governing or as fiefs, although the *vishayas* referred to in these stanzas may have been actually comprised in the Vindhyan tract mentioned in verse 7. In any case, even according to Prof. Mirashi's suggestion, Dēvarakṣita, a general of the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Nāga, became famous after having killed a Nāga king of the Varadā valley. He, therefore, admits Pāṇḍuvamśi association with the valley of the Varadā. But in his opinion, Dēvarakṣita merely raided the country upto the banks of the Varadā and this fact does not prove that the Pāṇḍuvamśis were ruling over the region around Chāṇḍā. That the reference is only to a raid and not to the occupation of the Varadā valley by the Pāṇḍuvamśi general is, however, purely a matter of opinion. Even if, therefore, Prof. Mirashi's doubtful reading, emendation and interpretation of verse 7 of the Śānakapāṭ inscription are accepted, they do not prove that the Varadā valley lay outside the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvamśis.

In this connection, Prof. Mirashi has offered a number of suggestions such as that the Vākātakas were in occupation of the Chāṇḍā region in the beginning of the fifth century, that Śūryagobha-

mentioned in the Bhāṇḍak inscription ruled in that very period, that this Sūryaghōṣha has to be identified with Śūra, the ancestor of Bhīmasēna II of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription, and that the said inscription of Bhīmasēna is dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A.D.). All these suggestions are mere speculations and are, therefore, absolutely unwarranted. There is no clear evidence of Vākāṭaka rule in the Chāṇḍā region in the beginning of the fifth century. If one suggests that the Vākāṭakas conquered the area from Sūryaghōṣha, it would be at least as good a conjecture as any of Prof. Mirashi's. The exact period when Sūryaghōṣha of the Bhāṇḍak inscription flourished is impossible to determine with the evidence at our disposal. The identification of Sūryaghōṣha with Śūra is no better than fantastic. The date of the Āraṅg inscription of Bhīmasēna II is very clearly and certainly the Gupta year 282 (601-02 A.D.).

The main object of Prof. Mirashi's note is to reiterate his contention that the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin, now in the Nagpur Museum, was really brought to the Museum from Āraṅg and not from Bhāṇḍak, a theory associated with another conjecture that no Marāṭhī-speaking territory formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇḍu-vāṇḍās.¹ This he has tried to prove on the basis of the evidence of Aurangabadkar who is supposed to have noticed the same inscription in a temple at Āraṅg. It has, however, been forgotten that, in the Mahāmāyī temple at Āraṅg, there is an inscription of the same Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin, which has been noticed in Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 110, No. 183. This Āraṅg inscription is damaged and has not been fully deciphered. But it is interesting to note that the name of Raṇakēśarin occurs in line 13 of both the Bhāṇḍak inscription in the Nagpur Museum and the Āraṅg Mahāmāyī temple inscription. This shows that the two inscriptions had similar, if not exactly the same, contents. Aurangabadkar, therefore, must have noticed this inscription at Āraṅg. It appears that the old king named Sūryaghōṣha built one temple at Bhāṇḍak and another at Āraṅg and that both of them were repaired by Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin. Bhavadēva's interest in the temples built by Sūryaghōṣha can be easily explained if the latter was an ancestor of the former's mother.

Prof. Mirashi is eager to show, in support of his theories, that some other inscription brought to the Nagpur Museum by Wilkinson was confused by Cunningham with Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin's record. Formerly he suggested that it was the Nagpur Museum *praśasti* of the Paramāras that was brought from Bhāṇḍak. But now he says that this suggestion was offered in the absence of reliable information. Now, on the authority of Aurangabadkar, he suggests that it was the Sitābalḍī inscription of Vikramāditya VI, and not the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin, that was brought from Bhāṇḍak to the Nagpur Museum. But this is as clearly unwarranted as the older suggestion. According to local information available to Cunningham at Bhāṇḍak, which Prof. Mirashi has himself quoted, the inscribed stone taken away by Wilkinson was a long red slab.² This description suits the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Raṇakēśarin in the Nagpur Museum very well and not the Sitābalḍī inscription of Vikramāditya VI even in the least. Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin's Bhāṇḍak inscription measures four feet and ten inches in length and one foot and eleven inches in height, although the number of missing syllables at the end of the lines show beyond doubt that the original length of the slab was not less than six feet and a half.³ On the other hand, the Sitābalḍī inscription of Vikramāditya VI is engraved on an elaborately sculptured pillar and the writing covers an area about two feet in length and eleven inches in height.⁴ It is impossible to believe that the villagers of Bhāṇḍak could have referred to this pillar inscription as an epigraph on a long red slab of stone.

It is difficult to believe that Sitābalḍī did not exist before Vikramāditya VI. Even if Vikramāditya's epigraph was brought there from Bhāṇḍak, Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin's inscription could also have been brought to the Nagpur Museum from the same place.

No. 48—INSCRIPTION FROM HOMBLI

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.9.1953)

The subjoined inscription¹ was copied by me on the 24th December 1946 at **Hombli**, a village in the Hangal Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. The village is situated at a distance of about 10 miles to the north east of Hangal, the headquarters of the Taluk. The inscribed slab is lying in a field called **Kāli Hakkala** (Survey No. 19).

The inscription is written in **two sections**, called here A and B, which are engraved side by side on the same slab and occupy a rectangular space measuring 2'10" by 11'5" with a small gap of 2'5" between them. Section A is enclosed by three straight lines, only the left side having no such line, while section B is enclosed by such lines on all the four sides. The writing of A covers an area about 1'4-5" by 10" while that of B about 1'2" by 10". There are only 5 lines of writing in either of the sections, so that the whole inscription is written in 10 lines. A piece of stone has been chipped off from Section B resulting in the loss of a few letters in lines 6-8. But the preservation of the writing on A is quite satisfactory.

As will be seen below, both the sections of the inscription record the death of a hero in a fight and as such the slab may be called a *herostone* (*viragal*). But it does not contain any sculptures depicting a fighting scene and the death of the hero, which are usually found on such inscribed slabs.

The **characters** of the record are Kannada-Telugu of the 8th century A. D. The letters are neatly and deeply engraved. Initial *a* occurs in lines 1, 7 and 8. No distinction is made between *e* and *ē* which are found in lines 3 and 5 respectively. Final *i* is met with in lines 3 and 6 and final *u* in lines 5 and 10. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the reduplication of a consonant following *r* is found only in some cases.

The **language** of the inscription is Kannada and the text is written in prose. The dative suffix **akke* in lines 5 and 10, the conjunctive suffix *uḥ* in lines 2 and 9, and the verbal form *ṛidu* in lines 4 and 5 and *ṛidun* in lines 5 and 10 are some of the early features of the Kannada language.

Section A records the death of **Bādugūṭtigāmunda** of (i.e. son or servant of) **Kargāmunda** after having pierced and won [the fight] against **Mādamma** of **Nareysāgal** when **Mārakke-arasa** was governing **Banavāsi Twelve thousand**. The object of section B is to record the death of **Animēṇṭi**,² son of [Pri]yamēṇṭi of Kargāmunda in a fight which is apparently the same as referred to in Section A.

The record is **not dated** nor is the reigning king to whom it should be referred mentioned. But the mention of **Mārakke-arasa** as the governor of **Banavāsi 12,000** throws some light on the question. Now a record³ from **Naregal**, about 2½ miles from **Hombli**, refers itself to the reign of a king named **Dōra** and mentions a certain **Mārakke-arasa** as governing the **Banavāsi 12,000** province, evidently as a feudatory of the king.⁴ This **Dōra** has been identified with the **Rāṣṭrakūṭa** king **Dhruva** who was the son of **Krishna I** and ruled from 780-94 A.D.⁵ The characters of this **Naregal** inscription are exactly similar to those of our record. And the object of that inscription is also to record the death of a person named **Dommarakādava[ni]** on the occasion of a cattle-raid.

¹ It is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, App. B, Nos. 221 and 222.

² The expression *mēṇṭi* in Kannada means 'chief or headman'. But it appears to have been affixed to the proper name here. In the case of his father **Priyamēṇṭi**, it may be taken as a proper name or to mean 'a dear or beloved chief' and, in the latter case, he might be identified with **Bādugūṭti-gāmunda** of Section A.

³ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 16-17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163. Fleet's statement that he was the successor of **Krishna I** has to be modified in as much as **Gōvinda II**, elder brother of **Dhruva**, also ruled for a few years (775-780 A. D.).

There can be no doubt that Mārakke-arasa of our record is identical with the Mārakka-arasa¹ of the Naregal inscription. It is possible that the same fight is referred to in both the inscriptions. The same Mārakka-arasa figures in an inscription from Siḍḍenūr in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District.² In this record also he is stated to have been governing the Banavāsi-nāḍu as a subordinate of Dhōrapparasā, i.e. Dhruva. In yet another record from Kachavi³ in the Hirekerur Taluk, belonging to the reign of Dhōra-Dhārāvaraha, i.e. Dhruva, a certain Māra is introduced as administering the Banavāsi 12,000 province. He is apparently the same as Mārakka-arasa. Therefore the inscription under study may be assigned to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva. In this connection, two records from Nūlgēri⁴ in the Hirekerur Taluk may be noticed. One of them refers itself to the reign of a king Gōndra under whom a certain Mārake-arasa was governing Banavāsi 12,000. Gōndra may be the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda II or III. The other record belongs to the time of Kannara, possibly Kriṣṇa I, and mentions his feudatory Mārakasa as administering the nāḍu which may be taken to represent Banavāsi-nāḍu. Mārakasa may be the same as Mārakka-arasa. Unfortunately the records are not illustrated. If, however, the identification of the kings mentioned in them with Kriṣṇa I and Gōvinda II is accepted, it follows that the Mārakka-arasa was the governor of the Banavāsi province from their time onwards. And, so far as I know, Mārakka-arasa is the earliest known governor of the Banavāsi 12,000 province under the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa kings.⁵ The Kachavi record informs us that he had a son named Kattiyara from his senior queen Appa-Vineti and the Siḍḍenūr inscription apparently refers to the same queen as Binaṭṭi-Abbe who is stated to have been administering the village (i.e. Siḍḍenūr).

Only one geographical name occurs in the record, viz. Nareyaṅgal which is the modern Naregal situated about 2½ miles from Hombli, the findspot of the inscription. Nareyaṅgal is also mentioned in the Naregal inscription referred to above.

TEXT*

Section A

- 1 Svasti śrī-Mārakke-arasar-Banavā-
- 2 si-pannirchchā(rahchhā)śiranum-āle Nareyaṅgal-⁷
- 3 lla Mādammāna eḍa(di)ro| Kargā-
- 4 muṇḍara Bādugi|ti-gāmuṇḍann-e-
- 5 riḍu gelḍu sa(sva)rggāla(ya*)kke ḍridan [i*]

Section B

- 6 Śrī Kargāmuṇḍara [Priya]*mōṇṭi-
- 7 ya* mags[ṁ] Apimēṇṭi . .¹² |e-
- 8 gado| atavita¹¹ kōl[ā] .¹² |a-
- 9 m-ēle kōndu tānuṭi sa(sva)-
- 10 rggāla(ya*)kke-ḍridan [i*]

* The slight difference in the spelling of the name may be attributed to scribal error. Its form in the Naregal record seems to be correct.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1935-36, App. D., B. K. No. 94.

² *Proc. Kon. Res. Bomb. State*, 1947-52, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴ Prabhātavaraha Gōvindarasa under whom one Rājādityarasa was governing Banavāsi-Manjara according to an inscription at Māvāli in the Sorab Taluk of the Shimoga District (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 10) has been identified with Gōvinda III (794-814 A. D.), son and successor of Dhruva. Cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 16. Similarly Prabhātavaraha Gōvindarasa under whom one Ereyannarasava was the governor of Banavāsi-nāḍu as stated in another record from the same place (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 9) may be identified with Gōvinda III.

⁵ From the impressions.

⁶ Read Narayanaṅgal.

⁷ There is some trace of a subscript of *r* of this lost alākara which may be restored as pri-.

⁸ See above, p. 257, note 2.

⁹ Two alākarae lost here may be suggested to be a *śā* from the context.

¹⁰ This expression may mean 'here and there'.

¹¹ One alākara is lost here, which may be restored as *ka* from the context.

INSCRIPTION FROM HOMBILI

Section A

Section B



Scale : One-fourth

No. 49—INSCRIPTION IN CAVE IV AT AJANTA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.11.1958)

An inscription was recently discovered on the pedestal of the huge Buddha image in the shrine inside **Cave IV at Ajantā** in the Aurangabad District of Bombay State. Before the discovery of this record, it was generally believed that the cave bears no epigraphic records and therefore its age was a subject of speculation.

The inscription is a **votive record** written in two lines only. The writing covers an area about 5 feet 6 inches long and about 4½ inches high. Individual letters are about 1 inch in height although conjuncts and consonants with vowel-marks are bigger in size. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some of the letters are damaged here and there, while six letters are totally lost about the middle of line 2.

The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the epigraph¹ of the time of the Vākātaka king Harishēṇa in Cave XVI at Ajantā and of the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription² at the village of Jaṅglā about fifteen miles from Fardapur near Ajantā, which mentions king Dēvasēṇa of the Vākātaka dynasty. It has, however, to be pointed out that our inscription exhibits a form of *ṣ* which is slightly later than that of the letter as found in the Vākātaka inscriptions. While in the Vākātaka records, a separate curve is attached to the inner side of the bottom, the present inscription exhibits a loop instead of the separate curve as in records like the Pipardula plates³ of king Nārēṇḍra of Śarabhapura, who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century A. D.⁴ Since the Vākātaka kings Dēvasēṇa and Harishēṇa flourished about the second half of the fifth century A. D., our inscription, which is slightly later than their records, may be assigned to the **first half of the sixth century**.

It may be pointed out, in connection with the date of the record, that the earlier writers on the history of the Vākātakas entertained a wrong view in regard to the chronology of that dynasty. Some of these writers assigned the reigns of king Dēvasēṇa and his son and successor Harishēṇa to c. 475-500 A. D. and c. 500-20 A. D. respectively.⁵ But they mixed up the Nāṇḍivardhana-Pravarapura and Vatsagulma branches of the family and wrongly made Dēvasēṇa and Harishēṇa

¹ *ASWI*, Vol. I, pp. 53, 123 ff. and Plate LVI; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 142 ff. and Plate facing p. 143; etc.

² *ASWI*, op. cit. pp. 138 ff. and Plate IX.

³ Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 145, text line 8; cf. his Kurud plates above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 264, text line 12, and Maitraka Dr̥ṣṭasimha's Bhamodra Mohota plates of 502 A.D. (above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 18, text-line 2). It may be noticed in this connection that the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja, which use the same type of looped *ṣ* (cf. lines 2, 6), have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 4th century A.D. (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 144; Vol. XXVI, p. 359; *The Classical Age*, p. 191). I have now no doubt, however, that the palaeography of the record is not earlier than the beginning of the 6th century.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 207.

⁵ *ASWI*, op. cit. p. 128.

of the Vatsagulma branch the successors of their contemporaries of the Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura branch. Another group of scholars assigned Pravarasēna II of the Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura branch, who was supposed to have been a predecessor of Dēvasēna and Hariśhēna, to the eighth century A. D. on the basis of the identification of his maternal grandfather Dēvagupta with Ādityasēna's son of that name ruling over Magadha about 680-700 A. D.¹ It is, however, now known that the two branches of the royal family sprang from Vindyaśakti's son Pravarasēna I, the end of whose reign is referred to in the historical section of the Purāṇas, which was compiled when the Gupta empire was confined to Bihar and Eastern U. P., i.e. about the second quarter of the fourth century A. D. We now also know that the maternal grandfather of Pravarasēna II of Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura was not Dēvagupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty but the Imperial Gupta monarch Chandragupta II who ruled in the period 376-413 A. D. In the Vatsagulma branch, Pravarasēna I was followed by: (1) his son Sarvasēna; (2-3) his sons Vindhyaśakti II and Prithivishēna; (4) Pravarasēna II, son of Prithivishēna; (5) his son whose name is lost; (6) his son Dēvasēna; and (7) Dēvasēna's son Hariśhēna. In the other house, Pravarasēna I was followed on the throne by: (1) his grandson Rudrasēna I, son of Gautamīputra; (2) his son Prithivishēna I; (3) his son Rudrasēna II; (4-5) his queen Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II, and sons Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna II; (7) Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna; and (8) his son Prithivishēna II.²

Since Sarvasēna began to rule about the second quarter of the fourth century, it is difficult to believe that the reign of his grandson's great-grandson Hariśhēna extended beyond 500 A. D. Hariśhēna's father Dēvasēna again was the sixth in descent from Pravarasēna I exactly as Pravarasēna II of the other branch, who was the daughter's son of Chandragupta II (376-413 A. D.) and could not have ended his reign much later than the middle of the fifth century A. D. Since, however, Gautamīputra of the other branch apparently predeceased his father and did not rule, Narēndrasēna, son and successor of Pravarasēna II of that branch, may be regarded as a contemporary of Dēvasēna of Vatsagulma. Even then the rule of Dēvasēna and Hariśhēna should have to be attributed to a period before the close of the fifth century.³

The inscription is written in Sanskrit and its orthography resembles that of the contemporary Vākāṭaka inscriptions. Consonants following *r* have often been reduplicated. There are some orthographical errors. The object of the inscription is to record that the image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, was the gift of a person who was 'the owner of the monastery', i.e. who built Cave IV at Ajāṭṭā.

The epigraph begins with a damaged *Siddham* symbol and this is followed by the two sentences in which the record is written. The first sentence states that the object on which the inscription is incised (i.e. the Buddha image) was the *dāya-dharma* or gift of a person named Māthura who was the son of Abhayānandin and Skandavaṣu and belonged to the Kārvaṭiyā *gōtra*. Apparently Abhayānandin was the name of Māthura's father and Skandavaṣu that of his mother, although female names like Skandavaṣu are not often met with.⁴ The Kārvaṭiyā *gōtra* is not known from ancient Indian literature. Māthura is further described as the *Vihārasāmān* or 'the owner of the monastery'. The monastery referred to is undoubtedly Cave IV at Ajāṭṭā, in which the image of the Buddha bearing the inscription under study is enshrined.

The second sentence, with which the inscription ends, states, in the usual Mahāyāna style, that the merit accruing to the pious act of Māthura was meant for the attainment of the supreme knowledge by all beings including his parents and others.

¹ See *CII*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 15.

² For the dates of these Vākāṭaka kings, see *The Classical Age*, pp. 177 ff.

³ It does not appear to be a single name reading Abhayānandin Skandavaṣu. It is also doubtful whether we can suggest Abhayānandin alias Skandavaṣu.

The passage indicating the persons for whose supreme knowledge the pious act is stated to have been made reads: *mātā-pitrōḥ tāt-āmbāyāśch-āgr-ānavaṇḍya-su s-sarva-satrā(ttvā)ndā-ch-ānuttara-jñāpāḍ(n-ā)nāpāyāḥ*. The expression *tāt-āmbāyāḥ* in the singular may of course mean 'the *ambā* (i.e. mother) of [one's] *tāta* (i.e. father)', that is to say, 'one's father's mother'. There are, however, words of common use in Sanskrit to indicate one's father's mother and *tāt-āmbā* is not such an expression. It is, therefore, not improbable that the expression has been used in the inscription to convey a special meaning such as that of one's father's step-mother or aunt.* The expression *agr-ānavaṇḍya-su* is incomplete as about six *akṣaras* of the line are lost after *su*. We may possibly suggest *agr-ānavaṇḍya-suhridāḥ*, 'of the prominent friends of the family [of Māthura, the donor of the image]'. There is space for another word between *su(suhridāḥ)* and 's-sarva' and we are inclined to restore the damaged section as '*suhridāḥ-ch-ātmanas-sarva*', the word *ātmanas* meaning 'of one's own'. Thus Māthura seems to have installed the Buddha image in the *Vihāra* or Buddhist monastery (i.e. Cave IV at Ajantā), which he caused to be built, for the attainment of supreme knowledge, leading to *Nirvāṇa*, by all beings including his parents, his father's mother, step-mother or aunt, the prominent friends of his family and his own self.

The importance of the inscription lies in the welcome light it throws on the controversy about the age of Cave IV at Ajantā. The difference of opinion amongst scholars is due to the fact that, in the absence of any inscription in the said Cave, they had so long to depend entirely on the less specific evidence such as that of architectural and sculptural style. Besides the absence of inscriptions in many of the caves, another fact contributing to the confusion regarding the dates of the Ajantā caves is the wrong date assigned by earlier writers to kings Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa of the Vākātaka family, during whose rule respectively the Ghatōtkacha Cave and Cave XVI at Ajantā were excavated. This point has already been discussed above.

A number of writers on the subject are inclined to assign Cave IV at Ajantā to a date between the sixth and eighth centuries A. D.¹ They divide twenty-nine caves at Ajantā into two broad groups, the first of which is called Early or Hinayāna and Caves VIII-XIII are included in it by some scholars. This group of caves is assigned to the period between the second century B.C. and the second or third century A. D. The second group, called Later or Mahāyāna and supposed to be removed from the other by a considerable period of time, is subdivided into two sub-groups. To the first of these two are assigned Caves XIV-XX believed to have been excavated in the sixth century due to Cave XVI bearing an inscription mentioning Vākātaka Harishēṇa whose reign was assigned to the age in question, while Caves VI-VII of the same class are attributed to a date between 450 and 550 A. D. Caves I-V and XXI-XXIX, constituting the second sub-group of the Later or Mahāyāna group and assigned to the period between 500 and 650 A. D. or between the sixth or seventh and the seventh or eighth centuries A.D., are called 'the latest Caves at Ajantā' and 'the most ornate group of the whole series'. According to these scholars, therefore, Cave IV, the largest *Vihāra* at Ajantā, belongs to the latest group of Ajantā Caves which may be as late as the seventh or eighth century A. D. There is, however, another view, according to which Cave IV is the earliest Mahāyāna *Vihāra* at Ajantā and 'was probably excavated in the third century A.D. or still earlier' though 'the decorative work may have been done at a later date'.² But the inscription under study now shows that the cave was excavated about the first half of the sixth century A. D.

¹ J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, pp. 80 ff.; J. Burgess *ASWT*, Vol. IV (*Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, 1870-79), pp. 45 ff.; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed., pp. 188 ff.; A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 28, 76 ff.; etc. There is difference among scholars as regards the date of individual caves.

² G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part III, Text, 1946, p. 7.

TEXT:

- 1 [Siddham]* [||*] dāya-dharmuṣ-yaṁ vihāra-svāminṣ-bhayanandī-Skandavasū-putrasya Mā-
thureṣya Kāryvatīy[ā]-śaśōtrasya [||*] yad-atra puṇyaṁ
- 2 tad-bhavatu mātā-pitrōḥ-tāt-āmbhōyāḥ-ch-āgr-āṇva[vā]jya-su * s-sarva-satrā-
(itvā)nāḥ-ch-ā[nu]ḥ-tam-jāpā(n-ā)vāptayē t[||](iti ||)

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INSCRIPTION IN CAVE IV AT ALANTA

Left Half



2

2

Right Half



2

2

Scale: One inch

No. 50—RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA

(2 Plates)

DEBALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

(Received on 14.10.1958)

In 1958, while camping at Ratnagiri (lat. 20° 38' 30" ; long. 86° 21') in the Cuttack District, Orissa, in connection with the excavation of the Buddhist remains at the hill-top, I came to know that a copper plate lying with a villager had been removed to Puri by a Police Officer. An enquiry revealed that the plate is now in the possession of Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sarma of Puri. Though it has not yet been possible for me to examine this plate in original, it appears almost certain that it is none other than the one already published by Narayana Tripathi in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 206-210 and Plate.¹

In the hope that the remaining two plates (the Sōmavamśī charters being *triphalī-tāmrāśā-sanaś*) might still be available at Ratnagiri itself, I proceeded to make enquiries of the local people and succeeded in locating one of the plates (the third of the complete set) with Shri Raghunath Jena, ex-zamindar of the village. A further search brought to light the second plate in the series, which was lying in the possession of a local gentleman named Dasu Mallik. These two plates, together with the one previously published, complete the charter. It was reported to me that all the three plates, originally strung together on a ring (now lost), had been found in an earthen pot by the late Sri Sanatana Mallik, father of the above-mentioned Dasu Mallik, about fifty years back in the south-eastern part of a mound, locally known as Rāpipukhuri (literally 'the queen's tank'), situated at the top of the hill at Ratnagiri.²

Both the plates edited here are well-preserved and measure 14 inches in length, the widths of the second and third plates being respectively 8.9 and 8.7 inches. They have a ring-hole, .8 inch in diameter, at the centre of the left margin. A portion was cut off from both the plates evidently for testing the metal. The second plate (i.e. the first of the set available to me), weighing 3 seers and 13 tolas, is inscribed on both the sides, while the third, which weighs 2 seers and 56½ tolas and has a raised rim, is engraved only on one side. The second plate contains eighteen lines of writing on the obverse as well as on the reverse and the third only fourteen lines, the average number of letters per line being thirtythree. The letters are nicely and boldly engraved and have the average height of .4 inch.

The palaeography of the charter resembles that of the Orissan inscriptions of about the twelfth century. The top horizontal line of the letters has a triangular hook below on the left side. The consonants *p* and *y* are often undistinguishable; so also are *ch* and *c*. The medial sign of *s* closely resembles that of subscript *v*.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in verse and partly in prose, though the influence of the local language is noticed in the word *Aṭṭhāvina* for *Aṣṭāvīṣā* (line 33) as well as in the words indicating taxes, viz. *chāṭṭāla*, *andhāruā*, *pratyandhāruā*, *antarvāṇḍī*, *rinta-kīvaṇḍī* and *varāvāki* (lines 38 and 39).

As regards orthography, apart from obvious scribal mistakes, the following features may be mentioned: the use of *sh* for *s* in *Kōshala* (line 19) and *Tōshali* (line 33), of *s* for *sh* in *saṭa* (line

¹ [See below, pp. 269-70.—Ed.]

² The excavations at this mound revealed two full-fledged monasteries.

66), of *r* for *l* in *Kāsyapa* (line 42), of *m* for final *n* in *calliyam* (line 30), *angulam* (line 58), etc., and of the *avagraha* sign in some cases as *yutha-s'amāhi* (line 36) and *Sūnāsira-rthavān* (line 62); the reduplication of the consonant following the *rēpha* in some cases as in *kirtti* (lines 22, 30 and 61); etc.

The charter was issued from *Yayātinagara* by *Paramamāhēvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Sōmakulatilaka Trikalīngādhipati Karpadēva* alias *Mahāśiva-gupta* on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Āsvina* in his sixth regnal year. Its object was to record the grant of the village of *Kōpā* which was within the *Brahmō-Aṭṭhāvīsa khaṇḍa* (sub-division) of *Uttara-Tōsali* to *Rāpī Karpūrasī* who was the daughter of the son of *Udayanasi* and the daughter of *Mahārīmā-Hupadēvi*¹ and who belonged to the *Kāsyapa gōtra* having three *pravrus*. The mention of the names of her mother and grandmother instead of her father and grandfather is rather unusual. She hailed from the *Mahāvihāra* of *Salōgapura* in *Utkala-dēśa*, which seems to have been a Buddhist monastery. In that case, she was a Buddhist, though she claimed a Brahmanical *gōtra*. Her title *Rāpī* is equally enigmatic. It is not clear if she was the wife of some *Rāpaka* or was one of the secondary queens.²

The list of persons addressed regarding the grant is identical with that of the *Narasīnghpur* (*Balijhārī*) plates³ of *Udyōtakēsarin* and comprises officials and dignitaries like *samāhartī* (collector of taxes), *samudhātī* (receiver of stolen goods or an officer who introduces people of court), *niyuktādhibhārika*, *dōṣapātīka* (police officer), *piśunavētrika* (one who catches the wicked), *avarōdhajana* (inmates of the seraglio), *rājā* (chief queen), *rānaka* (subordinate chief), *rājaputra* (prince), *rājavallabha* (persons enjoying royal favour) and *bhōgijana* (village-headman), besides the rural folk.

The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee, over and above the common ones found in most grants, were *hastidāṇḍa*, *vanabaliwandā*, *chittōla*, *andhāruḍ*, *pratyandhāruḍ*, *adattā*, *padātijivya*, *antarvāṣṭhī*, *rintakāṣṭhī*, *asūcakā*, *viśayālī*, *āhi-dāṇḍa*, *hala-dāṇḍa*, *bandha-dāṇḍa*, *vandāpanā* and *vijaya-vandāpanā*. Most of these occur in the *Narasīnghpur* plates of *Udyōtakēsarin* and the *Keḷga* plates,⁴ though the exact significance of these still remains to be determined. *Hasti-dāṇḍa*, *vanabaliwandā* and *hala-dāṇḍa* may mean taxes on the maintenance of elephants, superior bulls and ploughs. The *āhi-dāṇḍa* might have been a tax imposed on snake-charmers who earned their livelihood by the exhibition of snakes. *Padātī-jivya*, *vandāpanā* and *vijaya-vandāpanā* may respectively indicate subsistence for the infantry, tribute to the king and such tribute paid after the king obtained a victory.

Karpadēva's minister for peace and war (*sandhivigrahin*) was *Krishnadēva* who apparently superseded the members of the *Dattā* family who had held that post up to the reign of *Udyōtakēsarin*. *Mahākāpatalin* (chief accounts-officer) *Chhittalladēva* was responsible for getting the charter written and it was engraved on the plates by *Śākṣuka*.

The inscription throws considerable new light on the history of the later *Sōmavamśa*. It furnishes for the first time the names of the three immediate successors of *Udyōtakēsarin*, namely, *Janamōjaya*, his son *Purañjaya*, and his brother *Karṇa*. Of these, *Karṇa* is no doubt the same as the *Uthallēsa* *Karpakēsarin* mentioned in the commentary on the *Rāmcharita*, though the suffix *lēśarin* is absent in his own record.⁵ In verse 45 of the third *Parichchheda* of this work, we are

¹ See p. 267, note 3. The name is not a pure Sanskrit one. This may be due to her *Hūpa* origin.

² [See below, pp. 272-73.—Ed.]

³ *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321 ff.

⁵ The evidence of the *Rāmcharita* commentary and the *Mādhava Purāṇa* shows that the name-ending *lēśarin* became associated with the later *Sōmavamśa* following *Udyōtakēsarin*, though their own official records do not show this.

told that Rāmapāla (c. 1077-1120 A.D.) favoured the vanquished king of Utkala, who belonged to the lineage of Bhava's ornament (i.e. the dynasty of the moon or the Soma-varṇa), and rescued the world from the terror of Kalinga after having killed those robbers of that place,¹ most probably led by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.² Rāmapāla accomplished this towards the later part of his reign following the consolidation of his empire after his victory over the Kaivarta king Bhīma, most probably about the beginning of the twelfth century. The commentary on verse 5 of the second *Parichchheda* supplies the name of this *Utkalēśa* as Karṇakēśarin who was defeated by Jayasinhha, the feudatory ruler of Daṇḍabhukti under Rāmapāla.³

King Janamājaya, son of Udyōtakēśarin, succeeded his father. In verse 13 he is stated to have threatened or surpassed the Nāga king in bearing the weight of the earth. If this verse has any political significance, the Nāga king must have been the Chhindaka-Nāga Sōmēvara I (c. 1069-1097 A.D.) of Bastar, who is known to have come into conflict with the king of Udra.⁴

Purañjaya, son of Janamājaya and grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, is praised in the inscription in high-sounding words. We are told that even the kings of Gaṇḍa, Pāhala, Kalinga and Vaṅga were afraid of his prowess. This is a vague eulogy. The contemporary ruler of Gaṇḍa was Rāmapāla and the contemporary Kalachuri king of Pāhala most probably Yaśaḥkarna. The ruler of Kalinga was either Rājārāja I (1070-78 A.D.) or his son Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). The king of Vaṅga was no doubt the Yādava king Harivarman.

Karṇadōva, brother of Purañjaya and another grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, succeeded his brother. Like other members of his family, he was a devout worshipper of the god Mahādeva. His *virūḍa* Mahādevagupta proves that the alternate assumption of the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahādevagupta was a regular feature in the dynasty. That the *prāśasti* praises him only in vague terms shows that he was not a powerful ruler, though he was maintaining his independent existence in Utkala till his sixth regnal year, as his assumption of imperial titles like *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikalingādhipati* and also the grant of land in Uttara-Tōsalī testify.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kōṇā and Brahmā-Atthāvāsa are not readily identifiable.⁵ Uttara-Tōsalī roughly corresponded to the modern Balasore District with parts of the Cuttack and Midnapur Districts. Yayāsinagara, whence the order conveying the gift was issued, is modern Jāipur, the capital of Utkala under the later Sōmavamśis. Salōgapura, evidently identical with Salōgapur-ādāvāsa in Uttara-Tōsalī mentioned in the Nuepur plate⁶ of the Bhāuma king Śubhākara, may be the modern Solampur (lat. 20° 52' ; long. 85° 21') on the bank of the Vaitarani, about 2 miles from Jāipur, a town in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of the Balasore District. The village has yielded a rich crop of Buddhist images of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna pantheon, such as Lōkēśvara, Jambhala and Vajrasattva.

¹ Cf. *Shama-Mahātāna-matiti-dharmamānava-jagrāha-jīvam-Utkala-tram-yat-jagad-uratisama-mamastam Kalingatam-tāmasāchardam-nigman*.

² This refers to the earlier invasion of Chōḍagaṅga before his permanent conquest of Utkala.

³ Cf. *Sinhha-ai-Daṇḍabhukti-bhōgpatir-māhātā-prāśasti-dharmā-kamala-mukula-tulā-Utkalēśa-Karṇakēśari-saridvallabha-Kumbhasambhāṇa-Jayasinhha*.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 20.

⁵ It may be mentioned that about 3 miles from Ratnagiri there is a village called Anikōṇā which is reminiscent of Kōṇā. The village Brahmapur, 1½ miles north-east of Ratnagiri, recalls the first part of the name Brahmā-Atthāvāsa.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 2 f.

TEXT:

[Metres : verses 9, 13 *Upajitī* ; verses 10, 12, 17 *Āryā* ; verses 11, 15 *Rotiśoddhātā* ; verse 14 *Vaṅkaśāṭha* ; verse 16 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 18-20, 22-27, 30-32 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 21 *Indravajrā* ; verse 28 *Śālīnī* ; verse 29 *Pushpitāgrā*]

Second Plate, First Side

- 19* Bhatair-avashṭavdha(bdha)m-īdām narēndrai rāṣṭradvayaṁ **Kōśha(sa)lam-Utkalaś-**
cha | a-kapṭakam sādhasyataḥ samantādbhū(d=bhu)ja-dva-
20 yaṁ yasya kṛit-ārtham-āst || [9*] Tasya tataḥ sukṛita-phalaṁ sphallikṛita-lōka-lōchanas-
tanayaḥ | sama-
21 jani guṇ-sika-simā śrīmān-U[*d**]dyōtakṣari nripatī || [10*] Bhakti-du(dō)ra-nata-kuntala-
ekhalan-mallikā-kusu-
22 ma-dāma-rājayaḥ | dhaukayanta iva kīrtti(itti)-santatīr-yam-prapēmur-abhītō mahā-
bhujah || [11*] Tanayas-tasya na-
23 masyan-narēndra-mauli-indranila-mapi-madhupaib || [*] śrīngārīta-pada-padmaḥ samajani
Janamōjayō nripatī || [12*]
24 Kṛipāṇa-dhārā-dhara-dhanta-vau(vai)ri-bhūpāla-kūtā-ma(mṛi)ganābhi-paṇkaḥ | vasun-
dhārā-bhāra-mahā-dhuri(ri)ya-dōh-kāṇḍa-
25 nirbha[*]ṭaita-Nāgarājah* || [13*] Tatas-tanu(nō)jō manuj-ōttamō-bhavat **Purañjayō**
vairi-purañ-jayō nripah || [*] namat-kali-
26 tō-ārochita-pada-paṇkaḥ sphurāt-Sunāśira-samāna-vikramah || [14*] Gauḍa-Pāhala-
Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-jā bhūbhu-
27 jō bhujā-nivārit-ārayah | tō-pi yasya bhujā-sāra-śaṅkayā kampamānam-anīlam-manō
dadhu-
28 h || [15*] Tasy-ānujō nija-bhuj-ārjjita-sūrya-sūrya-praṇḍha-prabhā-samita-satru-yaśah-
śaśāṅka-
29 h | śrī-Karṇadēva-nripatī kahitipāla-mauli-samīlita-retna-chaya-chumvi(mbi)ta-pāda-
pīṭhaḥ || [16*] Tri-bhuvā-
30 na-kutīra-patālō sarpati nijakīya-kīrtti-vallī(lī-t)yaśi(yam) | yasya samunnati-bhājari
bhujā-yuga-nihāri(ārā)ṇi-
31 kām kṛtvā || [17*] evastī | śrī-Yayātinagarāta(rāt) | paramamūhāvara-paramabhāṭṭā-
raka-mahārūjādhi-
32 rāja-paramāvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śrī-Mahāśivaguptarāja-
dēvah
33 kuśalt | **Uttara-Tōḥa(sa)hya-Vra(Bra)hmō(hmō?)**-Atthāvisa'-khaṇḍa-sam*-
Kōṇa-grāmaḥ | Atastati'-khaṇḍīya-Vrā(Brā)hma-

* From the original plates and their impressions. [See below, pp. 269-70.—Ed.]

* The numberings of the lines and verses are respectively in continuation of those of the first plate. While that plate ends with the name of the king Yayāti, the second plate begins with the eulogy of that ruler and continues the genealogy down to his son Udyōtakṣarī in verses identical with the corresponding ones occurring in the Narasinghpur plates of the latter (*JBORES*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.).

* The reference is probably to both Vāsuki and a king of the Naga dynasty.

* Correctly *Aśvathīkṣa*. [See below, p. 273.—Ed.]

* Śam is a contraction of *śasabaddha*.

* [See below, p. 273.—Ed.]

- 34 gān-āpu(pū)jya |¹ samāhartṛi-sannidhātṛi- | niyuktādhikārika- | dāṇḍapāśika- | pāna-
vātrik-āvarōdha-
35 [ja]na- | rājā- | rājaka- | rājaputra- | rājavallabha- | bhōgi-jana-pramukha-nivāsi-samasta-
jana-pādān-a-
36 {nu}nayati vō(hō)dhayati samājnāpayati viditam-asau bhavatām(tām) | yath-a'amābhira-
syañ-grāmaḥ

Second Plate, Second Side

- 37 sa-jala-athalaḥ | sa-gartt-ōharaḥ | s-āmra-madhūka-prabhṛiti-nānā-vṛikṣaḥ | sa-nidhiḥ |
a-ōpanidhi-
38 ḥ | hastidaṇḍa- | vara-va(ba)līvardda- | chittōla- | andhārū- | pratyandhārū- |
adattā- | padāti-īrya- | a-
39 nterāvaḍḍi- | rintakāvaḍḍi- | vasāvaki- | viśayāli- | āhi-daṇḍa- | bala-daṇḍa- |
va(ba)ndha-daṇḍa- | vandāpanā-
40 | vijayavandāpanā-prabhṛiti-nānā-mārggaṇi-samēta-bhaviśhyat-kara-sahitaḥ | sa-khaṇḍa-
pāliyaḥ |
41 sarva-vādhā-varjitaḥ | sarva-ōparīkara-dāna-sahitaḥ | chatuḥ-alm-āvachchhinaḥ |
Utkaladēśiya-īti-
42 Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra-vinirggatāyai | Kāśya(āya)pa-sagōtrāyai | try-ārāha-pravarā-
yai | Udayama-
43 tī-nāmanyaḥ pautryai | Mahārīmā²-Hūnadēvi(vī)-nāmanyāḥ putryai | rāṇi-īti-Karppūśāri-
nāmanau(mnyai) | sāli-
44 la-dhārā-purassaram(ram) | ā-chand[r*]ārka-kāṣṭhi-sama-kāl-ōpabbhōg-ārtham | mātā
pitṛōr-ātmanas-cha pu-
45 nya-yasō-bhividdhayō | tāmra-tāsanēn-ākarkṛitya | sampradatta ity-avagatya |
samuchi-
46 ta-kara-bhāga-bhōgam-upanayadbū[r*]-bhavadbhilḥ sukhēna prativastavyam-iti |
bhāvibhīś-cha bhūpati-
47 bhir-ddattir-iyam-asamādyā | dharmma-gauravād-asamad-anurōvā(dhā)ch-cha eva-dattir-
iv-ānupālaniyā || tathā
48 ch-ōktan-dharmmaśāstrē || Va(Ba)hubhī[r*]-va-udhā dattā rājasaḥ Sagar-ādibhīl
yasya yasya yadā bhū-
49 miḥ ta(s-ta)ya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [18*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-sāṅkā vaḥ para-datt³
pārthivāḥ | eva-dattāt phala-
50 m-ānantyaḥ para-datt[t*]-ānupālano || [19*] Shachṭim varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggō mōda
bhūmidah | ākshēptā
51 ch-ānumantā cha āvau tau naraka-gāminau || [20*] Agnēr-apatyaḥ prathamadī sū(su-
varṇaḥ) bhūr-Vvaishnavī Sūrya-sū(su)tā-

¹ The *danda* here and in most of the cases in this line and the lines below is superfluous.

² The first *akṣara* in lines 35-36 is out off.

³ The name may also be read *Māśāśāśā*. (See below, p. 272.—Ed.)

- 52 t-cha gāvaḥ | yaḥ kāñchanam gāḥ-cha mahān-cha dadyāt |¹ dattās-trayas-tēna bhavanā
[śkāh] || [21*] Āphōṭa[ya]-²
- 53 nti pitatō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulō jātaḥ sa naa-trātā bhaviṣyati || [22*]
Bhū[mun]
- 54 yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yas-cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhou tau puṇya-karmṇasau niyatam
svargga-gāmi[nau] || [23*]

Third Plate

- 55 Taḍḍagānāsi sahasrōpa vājapōya-śatēna cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su-
dhyati || [24*] Harati hārayōd-yaas-tu mandavu(bu)ddhiḥ-tamō-vpitaḥ | su-va(ba)ddhō
dāruṇaḥ pāsais-triya(tirya)g-yōnin
- 57 sa gachchhati || [25*] Sva-dattām-para-dattām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēta(t-tu) vasundharā[m*] |
sa viśthāyān kṛim[r*]-bhūtyā(svā) pitṛibhiḥ saha
- 58 pachyatē || [26*] Gām-śkā[m*] avarṇam-śkāḥ-cha bhūmēr-apy-a[r*]ddham-aṅgulam(lam) |
haran[na*]rakam-āpuṇti yāvad-āhū-
- 59 ta-sa[m*]plavah(vam) || [27*] Sāmānyō-yadi dharṇma-sētu[r*]-nnirpā(pā)ṇm kālō kālō
pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sa[r*]jvān-ētāna(tān)
- 60 bhāvinah pāthiv-ēnd[r*]lān bhūyō bhūyō yachātō Rāmabhadraḥ || [28*] Iti kamala-dal-
āmvu(mbu)-vindu-ḷā[m*]
- 61 śriyam-anuchintya manushya-jivitaḥ-cha || [29*] sakalam-idam-udāhṛitaḥ-cha vu(bu)ddhvā
na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kī[r*]ttayō
- 62 viśpyāḥ || [30*] Pahrīṇḍa-maṇḍal-āgrōpa khaṇḍitair-ahitair-ayam(yam) | Sūnāsirō-
rthavān puthyī³ pātō ya-
- 63 tra vasundharā || [31*] Yasya vu(bu)ddhi-va(ba)llāl-Lakṣmī-śka-patn-īva tarsthi(t-ethi)tā
|| [32*] sa śrīmān Kṛishṇadēvō-bhū[d*]-bhūpa-
- 64 tāḥ sandhivigrahi || [33*] Mahākṣapaṭali śrīmāna(mān) vīras-Chittelladēvakaḥ |
eō-ḷikhat
- 65 khal-ānanda-nānasa-tāmra-śāsanam(nam) || [34*] paramānīhāvara-paramahattāreka-
mahār[ī]śādh-
- 66 rāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Karṇarājadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rā[j*] | saṭa
(śhaṣṭha)-samva(samva)tsarē | A-
- 67 || [35*] ina-śudi-dvādaśyān(śyām) | aākē samvata(samvat) 6⁴ Śvina-śudi 12
Svarṇa-vīthi-pratīva(ba)ddha-śu⁵nnāhi-vijā(7)ni-
- 68 Śaṅkhukōna tāmra-śāsanam-idam-utkirṇam-iti || [36*]

¹ The dadyō is unnecessary. Read dadyād.

² An ekaham at the end of each of lines 52-54 is cut off.

³ The first letter may also be read as pu and the second as jī or ju.

⁴ The first letter may also be read as pu and the second as āgā.

⁵ [See below, p. 372.—Ed.]

⁶ [The figure looks more like 5.—Ed.]

⁷ The reading may also be son.

RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA—PLATE II

68, a



Scale : Two-thirds



Scale : Two-thirds

No. 51—NOTE ON RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOYACAMUND

(Received on 1.12.1958)

In her article on this inscription published above, pp. 263 ff., Mrs. Mitra has correctly surmised that the first plate of the set of the Ratnagiri plates of the Sōmavamśi king Karṇa, which was published by Narayana Tripathi in *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 205 ff. and Plate, was secured by Pandit Sadasiwa Ratha Sarma of Puri. Sometime ago, I received the plate, stated to have been lying in the possession of one Panchanana Sandi of Ratnagiri, from Pandit Ratha Sarma for examination.¹ The writing, as expected, is only on the inner side of the plate. The eight stanzas constituting the epigraphic text are the same as verses 1-8 of the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates of Udyōtakārin² published by Binayak Misra in *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. Unfortunately they have not been quite correctly read and interpreted either by Tripathi or by Misra. I am, therefore, re-editing the said part of the inscription below.

TEXT³

[Metres : verses 1, 3-7 *Śārdūlanikriḍita* ; verses 2, 8 *Vasantatilaka*.]

- 1 Śūlīham⁴ [*] Jyōtsnā-sālī-samriddhī-bhūḥ kumudini-bhā-aika-sampādanā-dhūrtī Dhūrjjati-
manī-sau-
- 2 dha-vasatiḥ pīyūṣa-dhārā-griham(ham) | Tār-āntaḥ-pura-nāyakō Rati-patēḥ śāstr-aika-
sā(śā)g-ōpalah Kṣhī-
- 3 rōd-āraṇṇava-nandanō virja(ja)yatō dēvaḥ Sudhādīdhitīḥ || [1*] Aśy-ānvayē mahati sāndra-
tamaḥ-kalaśka-vi-
- 4 chchhāya-dig-valaya-mārjjana-kūrcchakasya | utpēdirē sakala-sad-guṇa-janma-kandāḥ
kund-āvadāta_{ya}-
- 5 śasō jarga(ga)tībhujas-rē [2*] Rāj-ābhūj-Janamējayō-'tha nripatir-jjātō Yayātis-tataḥ
śrīmā-
- 6 n-Bhimaratbō-'bhavat-tad-ann cha kṣhmā-chakra-mukhā-maḥ | aṣṭāśv-āva dig-
autorēshu vijaya-stambh-āva-

¹ Pandit Ratha Sarma wanted that, in case the inscription was unpublished, I should write a paper on the epigraph and insert his name in it as that of the joint author as had been often done by me previously in his case and in the case of others who made new inscriptions available to me. It was, however, found to be a published record.

² The correct form of the name is *Udyōtakārin*.

³ From the original plate and impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

- 7 li-[in](chokha) dmanā hrich-chhalyāni diśā-bhujām-apī samārōpyanta yañ visphuṭam¹
|| [3*] Tasmād-Dharmmarathā manō-
- 8 ratna-phalam Śtāmāq-vaśā-śrī(śrī)yo nistriṇā-sika-sakhā śikhā-magīr-abhūm-niḥśāha-
bhūmā-bhujām(jām) | ya-
- 9 amin-dig-vijay-āvatāra(ri)ṇi pū(pu)rā vidvāśi-bhū(bhū)mibhujāḥ prātiśṭhanta dig-
antarām tadanu cha
- 10 sphītāś-chamu(mū)-rōṇavaḥ || [4*] Sēt-ōpānta-van-āntarē Himavataḥ paryyanta-bhū-
dī(a)mani Prāgambbōdhi-ta-
- 11 ṣi-vanśāha(aha) katakē Pārsvētarakahmēbhṛitāḥ | yaśy-ōttāmyad-arāti-rāja-yuvati-
niśvāsa-jhaṣṭh-ā-
- 12 nīś-vyāśāha-śvanad-antarāla-mukharair-ggītam yaśaḥ kichakaib || [5*] Bhrātē taśya
va(ba)bhūva [bhūta]lapatē-
- 13 r-Bhūtēsa-tulya-prabhaḥ prakhyātam kahiti-bhūśāhaṇam Naghuśa² ity-urvīpatināḥ
patib | yad-[d]ōr-dayāda-bhu-
- 14 jaḍgamēna vilāsan-nistriṇā(ka)-jīhvā-bhṛitā pītā-tē paṇipanti(nthi)-pārthiva-chamū-
kayā-āntarē mārutā-
- 15 ḥ || [6*] Atr-āstē kari-va(vi)ndām-nmadam-īha prauḍhō-eti pañchānanaḥ saṅty-ētāsu³
jagad-dṛṇhō gīri-darī-ka-
- 16 mbbhū kumbhinaśāḥ(sāḥ) | enēhād-ity-abhidhāya v[ri]ddha-Śavarī-varggēṇa va(ba)ddh-
śērupā yad-vairi-pramadā-janō vana-
- 17 bhuvāḥ saśchāram-adhyāpitaḥ || [7*] Taśy-ānujō nata-sa(ma*)sta-sapatna-mauli-
ratnātsamāsalita⁴-pāda-sarō-
- 18 [ja-rō]chib | vidyā-nidhūḥ pratinidhir-Mmadhuś(sū)danasya jātō-⁵īha viśva-vijayī
nīpatir-Yayātiḥ || [8*]

The first of the eight stanzas introduces the Moon-god, the mythical progenitor of the Sōma-
varāṇā. Verse 2 refers to the kings born in the family of the said god and the next stanza (verse 3)
mentions three early Sōmavarāṇā kings, viz. Janamājaya (i.e. Mahābhavagupta I Janamājaya I),
his son Yayāti (i.e. Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti I) and his successor Bhīmaratha (alias Mahābha-
vagupta II). In this enumeration, the regular succession of the kings has been indicated since
the second ruler was the son and successor of the first and the third the son and successor of the
second. We know that Mahābhavagupta I Janamājaya I was the first imperial ruler of the family,
very little being known about his father Śivagupta and nothing at all about the latter's ancestors.
Verse 4 speaks of king Dharmaratha (Mahāśivagupta II), son and successor of Bhīmaratha, while
verse 5 refers to his conventional dig-vijaya with reference to the *chakrasūri-kāṣṭha* bounded
by the Sētū (i.e. Sētubendha Rāmēśvara) in the south, the Himavat in the north, the Eastern
Sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east and the Western Mountain (i.e. the mythical Sun-set Mountain)
in the west. Verses 6-7 vaguely describe the exploits of Dharmaratha's [younger] brother and

¹ Read *gaur-visphujam*.

² The correct form of the name is *Nakula*.

³ There is a defective mark in the plate after this letter.

⁴ Read *ratn-dāru-samāsalita*.

⁵ These two letters are cut off.

successor Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa, probably called Mahābhavagupta III). Verse 8 mentions Yayāti (i.e. Chāṇḍihara Yayāti III Mahāśivagupta III) as the *auja* of Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa), the word *auja* being used here in the sense of a younger cousin, since the Brahmesvara temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription¹ represents Chāṇḍihara as the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravira and great-grandson of Janamājaya I Mahābhavagupta I.

The following stanza (verse 9) on the obverse of the second plate of the set suggests that this Yayāti, who was the father of Udyōtakēśarin, established his rule over both the Kōśala and Utkala countries, although his predecessors were very probably rulers of Kōśala only. When the early Sōmavamśis were ruling over Kōśala, Utkala was under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. The Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍi-mahādēvi was ruling over Utkala at least down to the year 187 of the Bhauma-Kara era, probably corresponding to 1018 A.D., and she is known to have been succeeded on the throne by two other rulers, viz. her step-mother Vakula-mahādēvi and her aunt Dharma-mahādēvi. One of the predecessors of Daṇḍi-mahādēvi was Prithvi-mahādēvi who was the daughter of the Sōmavamśi king Svabhāvatunga of Kōśala (i.e. Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta I) and was ruling in the Bhauma-Kara year 158 corresponding probably to 989 A.D. Another fact of chronological importance is that Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa or Mahābhavagupta III) seems to be the same as the ruler named Indraratha defeated by Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) as well as the king of the same name who belonged to the family of the Moon and was captured by the generals of Rājendra-chōla I at Ādinagara (i.e. Yayātinagara) sometime before 1023 A.D.² It is not impossible that verse 9 of the inscription really refers to the subjugation of the Kōśala and Utkala countries by the Chōla army among others and to their reconquest by Yayāti III. It seems that, while Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa) was struggling with the Chōla occupants of Kōśala, Yayāti III, who was probably related to the Bhauma-Karas either through his mother or by marriage and may have been passing his days at the Bhauma-Kara court,³ was fighting with the Chōlas in Utkala and that ultimately Yayāti III succeeded in consolidating his position in both the countries, his cousin Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa) having died (or killed by the Chōlas) in the meantime. Yayāti III thus ruled about the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. (c. 1025-55 A.D.).

Besides the importance of the Ratnagiri plates discussed by Mrs. Mitra, there are a few points requiring elucidation. Udyōtakēśarin, son and successor of Yayāti III, ruled about the third quarter of the eleventh century (c. 1055-80 A.D.). The Kelga plates suggest that he made over Kōśala to a prince named Abhimanyu and was himself ruling over Utkala,⁴ while the inscriptions of the Telugu-Chōḍas indicate that the successors of Udyōtakēśarin in Utkala had nothing to do with Kōśala which passed into the possession of the rulers of the Telugu-Chōḍa dynasty.⁵ Karṇa or Karṇakēśarin, grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, seems to have ended his rule over Utkala before the conquest of that country by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga probably before 1112 A.D.⁶ The issue of the present charter from Yayātinagara is thus interesting. The city of Yayātinagara (modern Binka in the former Sonapur State in ancient Kōśala), built by and named after Yayāti I, was originally the capital of the Sōmavamśis of Kōśala. It appears that, after the expansion of Sōmavamśi power over Utkala, their capital in Utkala was also given the name

¹ Cf. *J.R.A.S.B. Letters*, Vol. XIII, p. 69, text lines 7-8 (verse 7).

² See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 209 ff.

³ Cf. verse 7 of the Brahmesvara temple inscription which refers to a Sōmavamśi prince who was staying away from the country when Dharmaratha died without leaving an issue.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 323-24.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 286 ff.

⁶ Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 212.

Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, probably after Yayāti III who seems to have been the first Sōmavamśī king of Utkala. This new 'city of Yayāti' seems to be the modern Jāipur (possibly a corruption of *Yayātipura*) which was previously the capital of the Bhauma-Karas, the predecessors of the Sōmavamśīs in Utkala.¹

Another interesting fact is that the lady Karpūrasrī, the donee of the grant, is described as a *Rājī* or queen and as the daughter of a woman and the granddaughter of another woman. I am inclined to take the word *pastrī* in this context in the sense of 'the daughter's daughter'. The absence of any reference to Karpūrasrī's father and grandfather and her representation as the daughter and granddaughter of females appear to suggest that she was born of a harlot. There are other instances of similar representation of a harlot in inscriptions. Thus the Mahākūṣāvata (Badami) temple inscription² of the time of Chālukya Vijayāditya records the donations of the harlot Vinā-poṭī described as the daughter of Kuṣhi-poṭī and granddaughter of Revamañchal and the heart's darling (*prāṇa-vallabhe*) of king Vijayāditya Satyāśīra. Similarly, an inscription³ of the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva in the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal records the donation of Bādī-poḍḍī described as the daughter of Gōyinda-poḍḍī who was a harlot (i.e. *Dēvadāsī*) of the temple of the queen Loka-mahādēvī. These inscriptions are in the Kannaḍa language in which the word *poṭī*, *poḍḍī* or *boḍḍī* means 'a harlot'.⁴

If Karpūrasrī, apparently one of the secondary queens or concubines of the Sōmavamśī king Karṇa, was a harlot's daughter, there are a few points to be explained. The first of these is that whether the word *dēvī* suffixed to her mother's name should have to be taken to indicate the latter's status as a queen. We have, however, inscriptions mentioning harlots with names ending in *dēvī*.⁵ Even if Karpūrasrī's mother was the secondary queen or concubine of some ruler, we may think that she was originally a harlot but was later married to or associated with a king while Karpūrasrī had been born before her mother was associated with the ruler. I read the name of Karpūrasrī's mother as *Mahārī Māhūnadēvī*, the epithet *mahārī* being undoubtedly the same as Oriya *māhārī* (Prakrit *māhurī*) meaning a songstress or dancing girl or a *Dēvadāsī* or harlot. She had, therefore, nothing to do with the Hūya people as suggested by Mrs. Mitra. Secondly, Karpūrasrī is described as *Salōgapura-mahāvihāra-mārgatā*, i.e. hailing from Salōgapura-mahāvihāra. The *Dēvadāsīs* are, however, associated with Brahmanical temples and not with Buddhist monasteries. It is thus impossible to believe that the harlots in question were residents of the monastery at Salōgapura. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that *Salōgapura-mahāvihāra* has been used in the inscription as the name of the locality where the harlots lived. Probably the entire area under the possession of the Salōgapura monastery or the village or township around it was known under the name of Salōgapura-mahāvihāra. This is not improbable in view of the fact that the names of the town of Bihār (i.e. Bihār-sharīf) and the Bihar State are both essentially derived from the word *vihāra* meaning a Buddhist monastery originally standing at the site or in the vicinity of the modern town of Bihār called Bihār-sharīf by the Muhammadans. It is of course uncertain whether the harlots in question were attached to any temple situated in the said locality. The third point to be noticed in this connection is that Karpūrasrī is stated to have belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. This appears to have been the *gōtra* of one of her direct female ancestors, who first took to the profession of a harlot.⁶

¹ *JIN*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 273 ff. The city seems to be called Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the *Mādala Pāṇḍya*.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 123.

⁴ A Telugu inscription from Vēlūru in the Sattenapalli Taluk of the Guntur District, dated Śaka 1131, mentions Kāmadī Sōramodhārī, concubine (*bāḍga-srī*) of the Kōṭa chief Kīṭarāja, and her mother Amara-srī who was a harlot (*śII*, Vol. X, No. 249).

⁵ See above, p. 244, text line 7.

⁶ According to a Bengali saying, one having no *gōtra* can claim the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. Cf. also Brough, *Odṛaprasastamañjarī*, p. 171.

King Karṇa's *Sandhivigraha* Kṛṣṇadēva, who was probably the *dātaka* of the charter, has been described in the following two stanzas (verses 30-31) :

Yajda(d-da)va-maṇḍai-āgrēṣa khaṇḍitair-ahitair-ayam(yam) |

Sū(Su)āśirō=’rthavān puthvi(prithvī) pātrē ya(ch-ā)tra varundharā ||

*Yanya vu(bu)ddhi-va(ba)lāl=Lakṣmīr=ēka-patnī-va(vra)ta-rēthi(ēthi)lā ||**

sa śrīmān Kṛṣṇadēvō=bhū[d]=bhūpatīḥ sandhivigrahī ||*

The meaning of the first of the two stanzas, as it is found in the record, is rather obscure. But the author's idea seems to be that king Karṇa was made the lord of the earth in the real sense by the various kings killed by his minister Kṛṣṇadēva and that the earth, including the territories of those rulers, came into the possession of a better master.

Vāḥsu and Maṅguka, who engraved the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates, are described in that record as *Suvarṇa-vithi-vijānān*, i.e. an artisan who lived in a locality called *Suvarṇavithi*, probably meaning 'the goldsmiths' quarters' literally. But, in the present inscription, the engraver Saṅkhuka is called *Svarṇa-vithi-Svannahi* (or *Sunnahi*)-*vijānān*. It is not improbable that *Svannahi* or *Sunnahi* was the name of an area in *Svarṇavithi* or *Suvarṇavithi*.

The passage referring to the gift village in lines 33-34 may be read as *Uttara-Tsaha(sa)-liya-vrajmē(etc. rājyā ?) Atthāvisa-khaṇḍa-sam[baddha*]-Kōṇā-grāmaḥ | Atastati-khaṇḍiya-Vrā(Brā)hmanān-āpūjya*, etc. It is difficult to understand why, when the gift village was situated in one *khaṇḍa* or subdivision, the Brāhmaṇas honoured in connection with its grant should be represented as living in another *khaṇḍa*. I think it possible that the intended reading for *Atastatikhaṇḍiya*¹ is *atas-tat-khaṇḍiya*.

In this connection, reference may be made to another inscription of king Karṇadēva of the Sōmavamśa of Orissa, which I had an opportunity of examining recently. Among the epigraphs copied by me at the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, in December 1937, there is a fragmentary inscription engraved on the back of an image of the Sun-god.² The characters of the record resemble those of the Ratnagiri plates and its language is Sanskrit. Mr. P. Acharya informed me that the inscribed image had been secured from the village of *Gandhibedha* in the Balasore District of Orissa. The left half of the inscription is broken away and lost while the letters of the extant part of the writing have been deliberately rubbed off by means of chiselling. In spite, however, of this attempt to cancel the writing, the first two lines of the extant part of the record can be read as follows :

1 *dhīrāja-paramēśvara-Sōmakulatīlaka-Tṛi(Tri)*

2 *śrī-Karṇarājadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vi*

Before **dhīrāja* at the beginning of line 1, the *Siddham* symbol followed by the letters *paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājā*³ must have broken off. The letters lost at the beginning of the second line, following *Tṛi(Tri)* at the end of line 1, must have been **kalingādhipati*, *Trīkalingādhipati* being a well-known title of the Sōmavamśi kings. The number of lost letters in line 1 suggests that there was another expression between **kalingādhipati* in the lost part and *śrī-Karṇa*⁴ in the extant portion of line 2. This lost word seems to be *paramanādhīpāra*, an epithet of king Karṇa found in line 31 of the Ratnagiri plates, in which, however, the said epithet occurs before *paramabhāṭṭāraka*. But, if it is supposed to have been engraved in the same position in the lost part of line 1 of the Gandhibedha inscription, the gap between the lost **kalingādhipati* and the extant *śrī-Karṇa* in line 2 becomes bigger. Although the Ratnagiri

¹ This is No. B 394 of *A.I.E.P.*, 1937-38.

plates show that king Kārṇa's second name was Mahāśivagupta and presumably he was also called Yayāti; it is doubtful if we can bring in these names to fill up the big gap created in the last part of line 2 as a result of *paramanāhāra* being read in the lost part of line 1.

After *ra* at the end of line 2, **jayarājyē . samva(samva)śarē*, etc., or **jaya-rājya-samva(samva)-śarē*... must have been engraved at the beginning of line 3, which is now lost. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, the year of king Kārṇa's reign, that must have been mentioned here, cannot be determined.

No. 52—VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1380

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 13. 12. 1958)

This is an **incomplete set**¹ of ten plates which were obtained for examination nearly quarter of a century ago from an advocate of Bapatla in the Guntur District. The first plate of the set, which apparently contained about ten lines of writing on the inner side of it, is lost. It is stated that the advocate secured the plates from one of his clients. But the original provenance of the inscription is not known. The record was published by the late Raja Sahab L. H. Jagadeb of Tekkali in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 94 ff. (without illustration). But his treatment of the subject is quite unsatisfactory.

The plates measure about 14 inches in length and 7 inches in height (except the eighth plate which is only 6 inches high). They have raised rims and their borders are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. There is a ring-hole (about 1 inch in diameter) in the plates at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the left margin. The ring, which held the plates together originally, and the seal that may have been affixed to it are both lost. The total weight of the ten plates is 1367 tolas.

The plates bear writing on both the sides. But the record is a palimpsest, being engraved on an earlier grant which, with the exception of the concluding lines in Sanskrit verse, was almost completely beaten in. The names of certain donees of this earlier charter together with their *gōtras* can be read with some confidence. The numbers of the plates in the original document, which were incised in the left margin on their obverse, were not beaten in. The concluding lines of the original grant show that it was also a record of Kapilēśvara, the donor of the record that was later incised on the plates. The circumstances leading to the cancellation of the earlier document cannot, however, be determined.

The plates are numbered in the Telugu-Kannada numerals. But the numbers refer to the position of the plates in the original document as already indicated above. The figure 4, e.g., occurs in the left margin on the obverse of the first of the plates available. This is really the second plate of the present set and was apparently the fourth plate of the original document. There are 10 lines of writing on most of the inscribed faces. On the reverse of the last plate, there is the conventional representation of a dagger which is generally found at the end of the charters of the Śūryavarmā Gajapati of Orissa. This was meant to represent the king's signature on the original document later inscribed on copper plates. To the right of the representation of the sword, the figure of a standing elephant, the **emblem** of the Gajapatis (literally, 'the lords of elephants'), is engraved. We know that the figure of an elephant is affixed to the seal of the Rajahmundry plates² of Raghudēva, the nephew and viceroy of Gajapati Kapilēśvara. Beyond the elephant on the last plate, there are the representations of the crescent moon and the sun, both of which are often found in medieval epigraphs as an indication of the permanency of the grants recorded therein. There are also representations of the sun and a lotus beneath the above figures of the moon and the sun. A lotus is also seen engraved on the obverse of the same plate, in the left margin near the ring-hole.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1934-35, C. P. No. 17.

² Above, pp. 1 ff. Cf. the figure of an elephant on a stone bearing an inscription of Gajapati Purushōttama (SII, Vol. X, No. 729).

The inscription is written in Telugu characters except the last plate where there are eleven lines in the Oriya script. The palaeography of the Telugu section closely resembles that of the two grants of Rahgudēva, referred to above. No distinction is made between the medial signs of *i* and *ī*, *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. *Ri* is used in the word *Rigvēdi* (lines 29, 30, 31, etc.) : but, unlike the modern form of the letter, it exhibits the top *mātrā*. The letter *s* differs from its modern form in that it has no loop at the left end. It is difficult to distinguish between *d* and *ḍ* and between *bh* and *ch*. The sign of aspiration is indicated by a vertical stroke placed below the letters *dh*, *bh* and *chh*. *Th* and *ḍh* are distinguished ; cf. *Jagannātha* (lines 95, 123, 127), *Bhātānāthani* (line 87) and *Bahubhānya* (line 13). *Avusvāra* is invariably used for final *m* and the class nasals. There are some instances of the use of the final forms of *a* and *t*.

The characters of the Oriya section are of a cursive variety not noticed in the epigraphs discovered in Orissa proper. As in the records written in the later Kalinga script, often the same letter has different shapes and different letters the same shape. For instance, in the passage *Jāgāsrapura-nisana* (line 186), the letters *g* and *p* are almost similar. The letter *bh* has been written in several different forms in the words *bhōgyama* (line 181), *garabha-bhira* (line 182), *bhūmī* (lines 183 and 188) and *bhāḥ* (line 187). Similar is the case with *t* in *ātītā* (lines 180-81), *gāta* (line 183) and *tālā* (line 188) ; *v* in *purāṇa* (line 182) and *Brāhmaṇa* (lines 183-84) ; and *k* in *śrīharata* (line 181), *māhārāja* (line 185) and *kōḷā* (line 188). The similar forms of the letters *k* and *ṭ* in *Kāraṇāṭa-Kalavarapāsara* (lines 184-85) and *kōḷā* (line 188), etc., are also noteworthy. Letters like *k*, *j* and *h* have often extremely cursive forms. Conjunctions and letters with vowel-marks are likewise often written in a cursive way, e.g., *vā* in *khaṇḍe* and *tī* in *ātī* (line 180), *śrī* in *śrīharata* (line 181), etc. The letters *i* and *j* have been distinguished as in the modern Oriya alphabet. The letter *chh* has been written by the sign for *ksh* ; but the form of the letter is slightly different in *chhatī* and *chhāḍi* both in line 189. *B* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. As is well known, *v* (even in Sanskrit words) is always pronounced as *b* in Oriya as in other East Indian languages.

The record is trilingual having four sections, the first and fourth in Sanskrit verse (written in Telugu characters), the second in Telugu prose and the third in Oriya prose. The Telugu section describing the boundaries of the gift village calls for some remarks. The words *būruva* (silk cotton), *ādugula* (Alangium Lamarcckii), *mōṇḍugu* (bastard teak), *ṭige-mōṇḍugu* (Butea superba), *ṭuṇiga* (coarse grass or Rottleria tinctoria), *rāvi* (Ficus religiosa), *marri* (banyan tree) and *tāḍi* (palm), all denote the names of trees. In the expression *daṁṣṭa-tāḍi* (line 147), i.e. a pair of palm trees, the word *daṁṣṭa* is used for modern *jaṁṣa*, 'a pair, a couple'. In the compound words *yerram-butṭa* (lines 150, etc.) and *nallam-butṭa* (lines 174, etc.), the word *butṭa*, 'an ant-hill', is distinguished by the qualifying adjectives *yerra*, 'red', and *nalla*, 'black', both referring to the colour of the soil. The words *kara* (line 156) and *dariye* (i.e. *dari*, line 156) are used almost in the same sense of 'the bank or shore'. In the expression *borra-nakka-ṭiriki* (line 155), *borra* (i.e. *borra* or *boriya*) means 'a hole or burrow' such as is made by animals, while *nakka* is 'a jackal' and *ṭiriki* means 'ground with many cracks'. The meaning of the expression may thus be a plot of dry land with many fissures and burrows made by jackals. The word *kaṇama* (lines 161-62) or *kaṇuma* means 'a gap' or 'a mountainous pass'. The form *inṭhika* (lines 164-65 and 172), 'a little', is used instead of the modern form *inṭhuka*. In the compound *avuram-gōḍu* (line 171), the word *gōḍu* means 'a bed of bulrushes, a marsh', and *avura* is a kind of grass. Due to *sara-āḍāḥa*, *k* is changed to *g* in this expression exactly as *p* has been changed to *b* in *nallam-butṭa* and *yerram-butṭa*. The word *chaṇḍa-nāḥa* (line 178) is interesting. It means a well with a parapet around. The word *chaṇḍa* is not found in the lexicons but is now in common use.

* The same expression is also found in the Vilasa grant of Prōḷaya-nāyaka, where it has been read as *avura-āḍāḥa*. Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 267, text lines 150-51.

In the Oriya portion of the record, *s* has been generally used for *ś* and contractions are noticed in words like *smāś* for *samāś* (line 183) and *Gajapṭa(ṭi)* for *Gajapati* (line 184). The change of Sanskrit *gau* to *gāu*, *mādhyā* to *madhi*, *mānya* to *māreṇa*, etc., has also to be noted.

The date of the charter is quoted in verse 11 (lines 13-17) as the Śaka year 1380 (expressed by the chronogram *vyōm-ibha-vahn-indu*), Bahudhānya, Vaiśākhi (i.e. the full-moon day of the lunar month of Vaiśākha). The Oriya part of the inscription seems to supply the name of the week-day Brihaspati, i.e. Thursday. The details suggest 1458 A.D., April 27, Thursday, f.d.t. 77.¹

The first section in Sanskrit verse records the grant. The first half of this section is missing, and thus some information particularly about the ancestry of the donor seems to have been lost. Only five syllables, with which the verse marked as the sixth ended, are found at the beginning of the extant part of the inscription. Verses 1-5 of the record and the major part of the sixth stanza were, therefore, incised on the inner side of the lost first plate of the set. The first verse of the extant part (lines 1-4), marked as the seventh, speaks of Vira-śri-Kapilēndra's military prowess. It is stated that the noise of his battle-drums filled the whole universe and that, as a result, Hampā trembled, Dhārā was pressed hard, the horses fled from Kalubarigā and Philli was filled with savage women. Verses 8-10 (lines 4-13) describe the glory of Kapilēśvara in vague terms. He was an unrivalled ruler who destroyed his enemies and distributed their wealth among learned men. Verse 11 (lines 13-17) states that, while camping on the bank of the river Gōdāvarī on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha of the year Bahudhānya corresponding to Śaka 1380, Kapilēśvara made the grant of the village of Veligalani, situated in Harigukā-Mōḍuri-siman and renamed it after his father or parents (*sva-pitr-ākhyayā*), in favour of 120 Brāhmaṇas. The next stanza (verse 12 in lines 17-20) records the grant of a locality named after Vijaya-Pratāpa-Kapilēndra himself in favour of 120 Brāhmaṇas. The locality is stated to have been situated to the east of the joint streams of the Kṛishṇā and Vēppā. From the language of the above two verses it may appear that two localities were granted in favour of two groups of 120 Brāhmaṇas each, one of the localities being named after the king himself and the other after his father or parents. But, as will be seen from our analysis of the Telugu and Oriya sections below, this was not the case.² Verse 13 (lines 21-23), with which the first section in Sanskrit closes, refers to the enumeration of the donees in the following section in Telugu.

The Telugu portion begins in line 23, with the *maṅgala*: *śubham-astu* which is immediately followed by the passage: *Veligalani Kapilēśvarapurāṇaku*. This may indicate that two villages called Veligalani and Kapilēśvarapura were granted in favour of the donees whose names are enumerated in the following lines. The list shows the names of 120 Brāhmaṇas only. We have seen above that verses 11 and 12 of the Sanskrit section may appear to speak of the grant of the two localities in favour of two groups of 120 Brāhmaṇas each. The present section, however, makes it clear that there was only one group of Brāhmaṇas numbering 120, who received the gift.

The list of the 120 Brāhmaṇas, receiving equal shares in the gift land, are enumerated in the Telugu section in the following order (lines 23 ff.):

- I. Northern part of Jāgēśvarapura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas ;
- II. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmaṇas ;
- III. Northern part of Vellamāmbāpura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas ;

¹ See *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13-14.

² The Oriya section suggests that the village of Veligalani was divided into three *śālanas* named after Jāgēśvara, Vellamā (Vellamāmbā) and Kapilēśvara and this information can be reconciled with the Sanskrit section under review if the expression *sva-pitr-ākhyayā* in verse 11 is taken to mean '[named] after himself and his parents'.

IV. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmanas ;

V. Northern part of Kapilēśvarapura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmanas ; and

VI. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmanas.

It may appear from the above enumeration that the village of Veligalani was divided into two parts, one of which was named Jāgēśvarapura and the other Vellamāmbāpura. But, as will be seen below, the Oriya section of the charter seems to suggest that the above village was divided into three *sāmanas*, viz. Jāgēśvarapura, Vēlamapura (i.e. Vellamāmbāpura of the Telugu section) and Pratāpa-Kapilēśvarapura, and this may be regarded as supported by the Sanskrit part at the beginning of, as stated above, the expression *eco-pitr-ākhyā* in verse 11 is taken to refer to the names of the donor and his parents. It is, therefore, better to take *Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapurānaku* as referring to the gift village as Veligalani *alias* Kapilēśvarapura. In any case, it is clear that the word *pitr* in the verse means not merely 'father' but 'both father and mother' and that the name of Kapilēndra's father was Jāgēśvara and that of his mother Vellamāmbā or Vēlamā.

The third section in Oriya (lines 180-90) gives a short summary of the whole transaction which is already indicated in the Sanskrit and Telugu parts. The epithets *Vira-śri-Gajapati-Gauḍēśvara* and *Naxibōti-Kareṇḍa-Kalavarag-ēśvara* referring to Kapilēśvara's victories over the countries called Gauḍa, Karpūṭa and Kalavaraga (i.e. the dominions of the Sultāns of Bengal, of the Karpūṭa kings of Vijayanagara and of the Bahmanis of Gulbarga) are found for the first time in this record. The same titles were also assumed not only by his successors but also by the later rulers of Orissa, who considered themselves successors of the Imperial Gajapatis, till quite recent times.

The charter ends with a few verses in Sanskrit. One of these verses is in adoration of the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu (lines 191-93). There are two other stanzas (lines 194-99) which, as stated above, belonged to the charter originally incised on the plates. One of these speaks of the creation of a *servu-mūḍya* (i.e. rent-free holding) by Kapilēśvara after having renounced the thirty-six *śrēḍḍanas* or taxes while the other is one of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The word *śrēḍḍana* (*śrēḍḍā* of the Oriya section, line 189), used in the sense of 'a tax', is of lexical interest. The word *shaptimsat*, literally 'thirtysix', has been used here in the sense of 'many'.¹

This is the only copper-plate charter of the great Kapilēśvara, who was the founder of the Śūryavarmā Gajapati family of Orissa and ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., so far discovered. Two copper-plate grants² of prince Raghudēva, the nephew and viceroy of king Kapilēśvara, were recently discovered at Rajahmundry and they have thrown a flood of light on the ancestry and early career of the Gajapati monarch. His grandfather, bearing the same name, is stated to have been a *Nāyaka* (a ruling chief) who was one among the rulers of the solar and lunar races, while his own father Jāgēśvara, who possessed a large number of elephants, and his elder brother Balarāma lost their lives in a battle against their enemies. The Warangal inscription³ of prince Raghudēva mentions Jāgēśvara, the father of Kapilēśvara, as a *Māhārāja* (Sanskrit *Mahārāja*). The record under study speaks of Jāgēśvarapura named after the father of Kapilēndra or Kapilēśvara.

During the last years of the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhānu IV, his feudatories like Pratāpa Gaṅgarāja of the Śūlāvarma family of Nandāpur⁴ and Saubhāgyarāja of Viraghattam⁵ became semi-independent. The Reḍḍi chiefs Vēma and Virabhadra, sons of Allāda, conquered the southern

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 115. For an elaborate analysis of the Oriya section of the inscription under study, see *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13 ff.

² Above, pp. 1 ff. The family is stated to have belonged to the Kātyāya *gōtra* in the *Nandamptadi* plates of Pratāparudra (C. P. No. 5 of 1948-49).

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. 55; above, pp. 125 ff.

⁴ *SI*, Vol. V, No. 1170; Vol. VI, No. 950.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1161. Viraghattam is in the Palakonda Taluk of the Srikakulam District.

As already indicated above, verse 7 of the present charter refers to the success of Kapilśvara against Hampā, Dhārā, Kalubarigā (Gulbarga) and Dhili (Delhi). The same verse is found in the Chiruvroli grant¹ of his son Hambira. Verse 6 of the Gopinathpur inscription² also refers to the same achievements of Kapilśvara. We have also seen that the Oriya part of the record under study mentions the king as the lord of Gauḍa, Karnāṭa and Kalavaraga. Kapilśvara's claim of success against the kings of Hampā (Vijayanagara, capital of Karnāṭa), Dhārā (capital of Mālava), Gulbarga, Delhi and Gauḍa may thus refer to a date before 1458 A.D. when the charter under study was issued, although the nature and degree of the success cannot be determined in all the cases.

Hampā was the capital of the Vijayanagara king Mallikārjuna who succeeded his father Dēvarāya II in 1446 A.D. The *Gaṅgādāsapratiṣṭhāpavilāsam* states that both the Gajapati of Orissa and the Sultān of Gulbarga attacked the city of Vijayanagara, but that Mallikārjuna sallied forth from his capital and routed the besieging forces.³ This no doubt admits that Kapilśvara besieged Vijayanagara. The Anantavaram grant also states that Kapilśvara captured the city of Vijayanagara, the seat of the ruler of Karpātaka, and received tribute.⁴ Dhārā was the secondary capital of the Sultān of Malwa and Sultān Mahmud I (1436-59 A.D.) of the Khalji dynasty was the contemporary of Kapilśvara. Muhammadan historians refer to the defeat of the Malwa king at the battle of Muhura by the Bahmani Sultān Alāuddīn Ahmed (1436-58 A.D.).⁵ The Gajapati monarch was an ally of the Bahmani Sultān and seems to have helped the latter at the said battle. It is interesting to note that Muhura is mentioned in the list of places subdued by Kapilśvara.⁶

Kalubarigā or Kalavaraga (Gulbarga) in the present Mysore State was the capital of the Bahmani Sultān. According to the *Gaṅgādāsapratiṣṭhāpavilāsam*, the Bahmani Sultān were allies of the Gajapati king and their joint victory over the Sultān of Malwa at Muhura seems to support the statement. But the position was changed with the accession of Humāyūn Shāh (1458-61 A.D.), the eldest son of Alāuddīn Ahmad Shāh. Humāyūn besieged the fort of Dēvarakonda with a large army and the chief of the fort appealed for help to the king of Orissa who readily despatched a force. "The infidel's forces being more numerous than that of Islam the latter were routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted."⁷ This is also supported by a *chāḍa* verse⁸ which recounts the victories of Gajarāvu Tippa who is stated to have defeated the Yavanas (Musalmans) on the plain outside the town of Kambhametta in the presence of Ambarāya, i.e. Hambira, son of Kapilśvara. Two inscriptions in the Warangal fort, one of Hambira⁹ and another of Raghu-dēva,¹⁰ refer to the capture of the fort on the 2nd February 1460 A.D. and to the victory of the

¹ *Bhadrati*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 815 ff.

² *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 173 ff.

Karnāṭa-Bijhān-sinhāṭa Kalavaraga-jayā Mālava-dharmasāhita-jamghālā

Gauḍa-mardā Bharmāvaraga-śrīṣṭa dharmasā Dhili-Indra-garvā

³ *Kalingadāśacharitra*, p. 260.

⁴ Cf. the Anantavaram grant in the *Andhra Patrika Annual*, 1928-29, *Kalingadāśacharitra*, Appendix, p. 67:

*Prasādhya Karnāṭa-mahipatiṭh parthā
nirudhya Vāṅgānagarīn nija-śālāṭh
samantatān mātām-iv-śekhābhayam kavam
samādāya karkata-śāstra-vīramāṭh*

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 240 ff.

⁶ *Mark. Mes.*, No. 15-43:

*Vira-pungavulaka śāṭa mādala
maniki vāṭhāmbu Mahuranda.*

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 244.

⁸ *Chāṭupadhyamastamajari*, Vol. II, p. 85:

*Yavunula geluvā Yambharāyala śāṭa
mestāna Kambhametta dāṭa.*

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. B 53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. B 55; above, pp. 125 ff.

Gajapati generals over Humāyūn Shāh, though the date of the record under study is earlier than that of the capture of Warangal by Hambīra and Raghudēva. Dhilli (Delhi) was the capital of Bahlul Lodi (1451-89 A.D.), though nothing has come to light so far about the conflict between Kapilēśvara and the Lodi Sultān. Like Muhura, Dhilli also finds mention in the list of places subdued by the former.¹

The information about the donees of the charter, as found in the Telugu section, is appended below in a tabular form. Their family names may be mainly divided into two categories: (1) villages whence their families originally hailed, e.g. Bejavāda, Aḍḍāda, Komḍapalli, Lolla, Rājū-komḍa, Yeḍavalli, Ākunūri, etc.; and (2) titles indicating their proficiency in particular branches of learning, e.g. *Shāddarṇam*, *Sāmavēdin*, *Vēdāntam*, *Bhāgavatula*, *Purāṇam*, etc. Most of the family names mentioned in the list are still in existence in Andhra. The list of donees includes one called Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdin whose family name is Sāmavēdin but who calls himself a Yajurvēdin. His title *dvivēdin* would suggest that he was a student of both the *Sāmavēda* and the *Yajurvēda*.

L. (a) Northern half of Jāgēśvarapura

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Sākhā
1	Sarvā-bhaṭṭu	Goḍavarti	Kāśyapa	Rigvēda.
2	Nāgā-bhaṭṭu	Oḍḍe	Āngirasa-Bhāra-dvāja	"
3	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu	Karti	Maudgalya	Yajurvēda
4	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu	Monnadi	Bhāradvāja	Rigvēda
5	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu	Yempalela	"	Yajurvēda
6	Annam-bhaṭṭu	Jannasāni	Śrīvata	Rigvēda
7	Mukti-bhaṭṭu	Ākunūri	Kāśyapa	"
8	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu	Yenamandira	Kauśika	"
9	Yajñēśvara-sōmayājulu	Upadrashta	Kaundinya	"
10	Vallava-bhaṭṭu	Yētūri	Bhāradvāja	Yajurvēda
11	Narasimha-bhaṭṭu	Gorti	Śrīvata	"
12	Mallu-bhaṭṭu	Hari	Vādhūla	"
13	Parvata-bhaṭṭu	Sivā	Hārita	"
14	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu	Yeḍavalli	Śrīvata	"
15	Nāgā-bhaṭṭu	Malyāla	Kauśika	"
16	Vennā-ojhalu	Kōṇapalli	Bhāradvāja	Rigvēda
17	Kannā-dvivēdulu	Kṛishṇambhaṭṭu	Gārgya	"
18	Yatu-bhaṭṭu	Puvve	Ātrēya	Yajurvēda
19	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu	Bhamḍāru	Gautama	"
20	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭu	Machḍāpāru	Kauśika	Rigvēda

¹ *Madh. Mes.*, No. 16-4-3.

Gaja-gāḍhamala paṭṭu Kumbhila Kumbhila-paṭṭanamālu paṭṭila-paṭṭu Dhilli.

I. (b) Southern half of Jāgdevapuram

No.	Name of the Donor	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
21	Mallu-bhatlu	Rājukonda	Hārta	Yajurveda
22	Prōlu-bhatlu	Uppalūri	Kākyapa	"
23	Trivikrama-bhatlu	Pārimetta	"	Rigveda
24	Mallu-sōmayājulu	Kondapalli	Gautama	Yajurveda
25	Bhīmāvara-bhatlu	Pulyo	Ātrōya	"
26	Poddi-bhatlu	Gollapudi	Kaundinya	"
27	Sēmā-bhatlu	Maṇḍugūri	Hārta	Rigveda
28	Vitrāvara-bhatlu	Upadrasta	Kaundinya	"
29	Durgā-bhatlu	Māmjetti	Bhāradvāja	Yajurveda
30	Mall-āvadhānu	Kūchi	"	"
31	Vallava-bhatlu	Lolla	Hārta	"
32	Āditya-bhatlu	Pārimetta	Kākyapa	Rigveda
33	Vallava-bhatlu	Dūrvasula	Srīvata	Yajurveda
34	Komman-ojhalu	Kōnakamchi	Gārgya	Rigveda
35	Yellu-bhatlu	Nāgaravaru	Ātrōya	Yajurveda
36	Kāva-bhatlu	Dhūlipāla	Kauśika	"
37	Jānādana-bhatlu	Shāḍdarānam	Bhāradvāja	Rigveda
38	Rāmā-bhatlu	Kāndūri	Hārta	Yajurveda
39	Narabari-bhatlu	Bētanabhatlu	Kauśika	"
40	Dēchi-bhatlu	Yēturi	Ātrōya	"

II. (a) Northern half of Vellandūbūpura

41	Mahākālī-bhatlu	Kutsa	Yajurveda
42	Rāmā-bhatlu	Dūrvasula	Srīvata	"
43	Tippā-bhatlu	Āḍḍāda	Hārta	"
44	Peda-Kāmā-bhatlu	Yempallā	Bhāradvāja	"
45	Vallava-bhatlu	Ingū	Śaunaka	"
46	Pō-āvadhānu	Voddi	Kauśika	"
47	Gaṅgādhara-bhatlu	Pennubarti	Kaundinya	"
48	Sarvā-bhatlu	Kuppa	"	"
49	Poddi-bhatlu	Sādhu	Srīvata	"
50	Nārāyaṇa-drivēdulu	Sāmarēdi	Kaundinya	"
51	Mallu-bhatlu	Nāli	Bhāradvāja	"

No.	Name of the Donor	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
52	Prōlu-bhaṭṭu	Vāḍāntam	Hārita	Yajurveda
53	Annam-bhaṭṭu	Rāmakrishnam-bhaṭṭu	Vādhūla	"
54	Yeta-sūmayājulu	Siddhi	Āngirasa-Bhāra- dvāja	"
55	Chittē-oḥalu	Kāyva	Maitrēya	Kāyva-śākhā
56	Mamchi-bhaṭṭu	"	Kauśika	"
57	Peddi-bhaṭṭu	"	"	"
58	Narasimh-oḥalu	"	Maitrēya	"
59	Dēvarē-bhaṭṭu	Oḍḍe	Bhāradvāja	Rigvēda
60	Aubhaṭṭa-bhaṭṭu	Oḍali	Hārita	"

II. (b) Southern half of Vellamūmbāpura

61	Pōtu-bhaṭṭu	Chēvanapeddi	Hārita	Yajurveda
62	Dēvarē-bhaṭṭu	Bhāskararāju	Kuta	"
63	Peddi-bhaṭṭu	Annamgēri	Bhāradvāja	Rigvēda
64	Saumitri-bhaṭṭu	Perumādi	"	Yajurveda
65	Vallava-bhaṭṭu	Mukkolan	Kauśika	"
66	Āditya-bhaṭṭu	Koḍali	Kauṇḍinya	"
67	Gangādhara-bhaṭṭu	Tāḍēpalli	Hārita	"
68	Vīvēśvara-śāhāryulu	Kanḍavalli	Bhāradvāja	"
69	Anant-oḥalu	Moddāli	Maudgalya	"
70	Peddi-bhaṭṭu	Dāmōḍara	Kauśika	"
71	Narahari-bhaṭṭu	Challa	Kauṇḍinya	"
72	Tirumala-bhaṭṭu	Bhāgavatula	Kap	"
73	Nāgā-divēdula	Nōri	Hārita	"
74	Yarrē-oḥalu	Tāḍēpalli	Ātrēya	"
75	Narasimh-śāhānlu	Tēḍipōmḍi	"
76	Bhairava-bhaṭṭu	Bhātanāthani	Gautama	Rigvēda
77	Māru-bhaṭṭu	Poyyala	Mudgala	Yajurveda
78	Mallā-oḥalu	Anandula	Hārita	Rigvēda
79	Ṭimḡā-bhaṭṭu	Jagatpōmḍi	Bhāradvāja	"
80	Gangādhara-bhaṭṭu	Divākara-bhaṭṭa	Kāyapa	"

III. (a) Northern half of Kapileśvarapura

No.	Name of the Donor	Name of the family	Gotra	Veda or Śākhā
81	Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa	Nārāyaṇa-dvivedula	Bhāradvāja	Yajurveda
82	Narasimha-bhaṭṭa	Tōṇṭe-sōmayājula	Kauṇḍinya	Rigveda
83	Kāśīvara-bhaṭṭa	Jagadīśamōji	Bhāradvāja	"
84	Jagannātha-bhaṭṭa	Yajñanna-bhaṭṭa	Kauṇḍinya	"
85	Sarvā-bhaṭṭa	Appalābhaṭṭa	Śaṇḍilya	Yajurveda
86	Kaṣṇā-ojhalu	Sodikara	Gautama	"
87	Sōmā-bhaṭṭa	Māṅgamtī	Kāśyapa	"
88	Yaraoṭa-bhaṭṭa	Chintalapāṭi	Hārita	"
89	Poddi-bhaṭṭa	Satyāśāḍha	Śaṭhamarahaṇa	"
90	Poddi-ojhalu	Sōlasa	Bhāradvāja	"
91	Sōmayājula or — sōmayājula	Amḍuvilla	Kāśyapa	"
92	Pinn-Kāmā-bhaṭṭa	Yamparla	Bhāradvāja	"
93	Rudrā-bhaṭṭa	Bōtana-bhaṭṭa	Kauṣika	"
94	Narasimha-sōmayājula	Uttarēśvarapu	Kāśyapa	"
95	Rāmā-bhaṭṭa	Chengolani	Kauṣika	"
96	Prōṭu-bhaṭṭa	Kaṇḍavalli	Bhāradvāja	"
97	Pōṭu-bhaṭṭa	Jonnalagōḍa	Gautama	Rigveda
98	Tālū-bhaṭṭa	Mulakalūri	Kauṇḍinya	"
99	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa	Komḍapalli	"	Yajurveda
100	Pōṭu-bhaṭṭa	Satakūri	Kāśyapa	Rigveda

III. (b) Southern half of Kapileśvarapura

101	Lakshmaṇa-sōmayājula	Amḍuvilla	Kāśyapa	Yajurveda
102	Liṅgā-ojhalu	Tēlaprōḷi	Bhāradvāja	"
103	Aukhal-ojhalu	Maṇḍaḍapu	Kauṣika	"
104	Śiṅgā-ojhalu	Bējavāḍa	"	"
105	Kāmā-bhaṭṭa	Mānuchi-bhaṭṭa	Maltrāya	"
106	Bhāvanārāyaṇa-ojhalu	Bōrvugaḍḍa	Hārita	"
107	Tirumala-bhaṭṭa	Purōṣam	Śaṇḍilya	"
108	Māḍha-ojhalu	Bittaguntā	"	Kāśyapa-Śākhā
109	Mallā-ojhalu	Kundētī	Bhāradvāja	"
110	Bhūta-ojhalu	Rōṣalla	Kāśyapa	"
111	Māḍha-ojhalu	Makkolani	Hārita	Yajurveda

III. (b) Southern half of Kapilēśvarapura—contd.

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Veda or Sākhā
112	Prōta-bhaṭṭu	Pulya	Ātrēya	Yajurveda
113	Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu	Ālamūri	Kaundinya	"
114	Taḷu-bhaṭṭu	Appāya-śivirādula	Śaṇḍilya	"
115	Tolungari-bhaṭṭu	Mailavarapu	Bhāradvāja	Rigveda
116	Kīmadēva-bhaṭṭu	Aśvarōmala	Kaulika	Yajurveda
117	Aulihaḷa-bhaṭṭu	Kāṭanagaḍḍa	Ātrēya	"
118	Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu	Metaku	Kaundinya	"
119	Appala-bhaṭṭu	Dōrvēcula	Śrīvata	"
120	Sōru-bhaṭṭu	Chōtakūri	Kātyapa	Rigveda

Some of the geographical names mentioned in the record have been discussed above. The gift village of Veligalani is stated to have been situated in Harigukā-Mēḍūri-sīman. Mention is also made of the rivers Gōḷāvari and Kṛishṇā-Vēṇṇā (Kṛishṇā). While describing the boundaries of the gift land, the rivers Bhīmarathī and the villages of Penchikalapāḍu, Penamāṅgūru, Garaga-parti, Mōraṁṭāḍa, Kanumūru, Mūṁḷapūṁḍi and Mirti are mentioned. Amongst the other places mentioned, Delhi is referred to only in a few South Indian epigraphs.¹ Bhīmarathī of our record may be identical with the stream of that name mentioned in the Gavarapāḍu grant² of Kākatya Gaṇapati, which is now called Bhīma-nadi, though the famous Bhīmarathī is the modern Bhīmā, the well-known tributary of the Kṛishṇā. Harigukā-Mēḍūri-sīman, or Mēḍūra-thala as it is called in the Oriya section, is identical with modern Mēḍūru in the Gudivada Taluk of the Krishna District. Kapilēśvarapura of our record is no doubt the present Kapilēśvarapuram in the same Taluk, which is only a few miles from Mēḍūru. The old name Veligalani and the new names Jāgēśvarapura and Vellāmāmbāpura or Velamapura applied to two parts of Veligalani appear to have gone out of use while the name Kapilēśvarapura, which was originally applied to a third part of old Veligalani after the name of the donor, came to be applied to the entire village. The village of Mūṁḷapūṁḍi is apparently the present Muḷlapūḍi while Kanumūru is the village of the same name near Kapilēśvarapuram. Penamāṅgūru is modern Penamakūru. The other localities mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the gift village cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT*

Second Plate, First Side

[Sanskrit]

- 1 pi tślāyatē | 6 | * Vira-krī-Kapilēśvara tāvaka-chamū-dhātāhuḥ(ahu) bhīri-
- 2 dhvanan bhār-ābhogna-bhujāṅga-puṁgava-phāṇav-ākṛāṁṭa-rōd-ōmta-

¹ Cf. Panachadhurta pillar inscription (Saka 1325) of the Kōṁa king Chōḍa III (above, Vol. XIX, p. 156) and the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka (ibid. Vol. XXXII, p. 267, text line 150-51).

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 356.

* From impressions.

³ The Telugu numeral 4 is incised in the left margin showing that this was the fourth plate of the original grant later utilised for drawing up a new charter. The first plate of the new charter, which was engraved apparently on the inner side only, is lost.

* Metre : Śārdūlanikriṣṭa(7).

- 3 rē | **Maṃpā** kaṃpam-agāt tadā(60)-dhikadma(ta)rā **Dvā(Dhā)rā** cha dhār-ātura-
 4 dvārā **Kaḷubarigā**¹ vimukta-turagā **Dhili** cha **Bhili**-vijitā || 7 ||² Tulya-
 5 rō chōd-rajatēna śukti-rajatam hōma-ānakōtam samam syā-
 6 ch-chōt-kācha-maṃm-sucōndra-maṃmā sādrīyam-abhyōti chōt | nakaba-
 7 tram graha-nāyakēna tulanaḥ vīrudhēta chōt-tējasā vīra-śrī-**Kapi**-
 8 **lēsavarēpa** samatām-ayō janōśō vrajēt || 8 ||³ Dāsā yakuśa śauryā
 9 cha **Kapilēndra**-mahikshitā || 9 ||⁴ n-ācya samā-samā[s*]-syus-tō chatvārah śhōḍaśa
 tra-
 10 yab || 9 ||⁵ Nīśōbhām uhatāḥ parō vacumati nītā tadīyyā(yā) vasaṃ ta-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 d-vitta-pratipādanēna sakatā vidva-j-jaṇūḥ pōshitāḥ | vikhyātir-jagadō-
 12 ka-vit[ra]⁶ iti cha vyākhyāpitā rōdasō Rānōg-ōva dharā dharātridāśa-
 13 aūt-kāry-ōi buddhīm vahan || 10 ||⁷ Śāk-ābdō Bahudhānya-nāmnī || 8-
 14 gītō vyōm-ābhā-vahn-īndubhir-**Vaiśākhyān** **Kapilēśvarō** **Harigukā-Mō**-
 15 **ḡōri-sūmni** śhīlam(tam) | vīmatyai vīdushāḥ śatāya cha vasaṃ **Gō**-
 16 **dāvari**-saikatō nūḥśesham **Valigalani**⁸-nāmakam-udāl grāmam
 17 sva-pitr-ākhyayā || 11 ||⁹ **Kṛishṇā**-dakṣiṇa-vāḥiṇō(ōi) vijayatō **Vōṇuḥ(ṇā)**-
 18 naḥ-sangatā tat-prāchyāḥ **Vijaya**-**pratāpa**-**Kapilēndr-ākhyam** ma-
 19 hā-śānam(nam) | tatr-ābhānti śatam cha vīmatō param viprā Vasishṭh-ō-
 20 pamā ta[s-ta]d-dātā **Vijaya**-**pratāpa**-**Kapilēndrō** bhāti dharm-ōttarāḥ || 12 ||¹⁰

Third Plate, First Side

- 21 Maṇishv-anarghyōśhu parikshitōśhv-ōva dvijōndra-rathōśhu na lakshyatō kra-
 22 mah | tath-āpi bhūmāsurarāja-mālikā vilikhyatō rāja-vilīkha-
 23 ma-kramāt || 13 ||¹¹

¹ Read *Kaḷbarigā* for the sake of the metre.

² Metre: *Śārdūlanikrēḍita*.

³ Metre: *Asaukyaḥ*. Of the 4, 15 and 3 persons famous respectively for their liberality, fame and valour, the second group refers to the ancient imperial rulers of the *Viśāḍa-rājakṛta* section of the *Mahābhārata* (*Dṛoṇa*-*parvan*, chapters 53 ff.). It is difficult to say whether the first group refers to Karna, Śibi Uśman, Bali and Dadhi-*chi* and the third to Bhishma, Dṛoṇa and Arjuna.

⁴ The letter *ru* is written below the line.

⁵ The metre requires *Valigalai*.

⁶ The Tuluva numeral 6 is found in the left margin, indicating thereby that the plate was the fifth of the original set.

⁷ Metre: *Vasikā-mā*.

VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1380

64, a

2
4
6
8
10

2
4
6
8
10

64, b

12
14
16
18
20

12
14
16
18
20

Scale : Two-fifths

22

24

26

28

30

22

24

26

22

30

180

182

184

186

188

180

182

184

186

188

[Telugu]

Subham-satu | Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapurāṇaku | Jāgō-

- 24 śvarapurapu vīdhiki uttara-śrēṇi pāśchim-ādi Godavartti-Śarvā-bhaṭṭu Kā-
 25 śyapa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Oḍḍi Nāgā-bhaṭṭu Āṅgīrṣa-Bhāradvā-
 26 ja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Kurti Rāmā-bhaṭṭu [Maṇ]ḍalya-gōtram Ya-
 27 jurvēdi | Muṇṇa(na)ṅgi Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ri-
 28 gvēdi | Yeṇipalela Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yaju-
 29 rvēdi | Jamṇa(na)ṅgi Āṅgīrṣa-bhaṭṭu Śrīvata-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Ākū-
 30 ri Mukti-bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Yenamaṇḍra Sōmā-bha-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 31 ṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Upadrashṭha Yagūr(jñē)śva[ra*]-sōmayājulu
 32 Kaunḍinya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Yēṭūri Vallava-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gō-
 33 tram Yajurvēdi | Uotti(ṛtti) Narasimha(na)-bhaṭṭu Śrīvata-gōtram Yajurvē-
 34 di | Hari Malla-bhaṭṭu Vādhūla-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Śivā Parvata-bhaṭṭu
 35 Hārta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yeḍavalle Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Śrīvata-gō-
 36 tram Yajurvēdi | Maṇḍāla Nāgā-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi |
 37 Kūnapu(paj)ḷi Vennā-oḷḷalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Kṛishṇa-
 38 bhaṭṭu Kannā-dvivedulu Gārgya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Puṇye Yatu-bhaṭṭu
 39 Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Bhaṇḍāru Sōmā-bhaṭṭu Gautama-
 40 gōtram Yajurvēdi | Maṇḍāpū Gōpāla-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram

Fourth Plate, First Side¹

- 41 Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20 || Dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi pāśchim-ādi Rājukomḍa Malla-bhaṭṭu Hā-
 42 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Uppalūri Prōṭu-bhaṭṭu Kāśya(kya)pa-gōtram
 43 Yajurvēdi || Pūrimetta Trivikrama-bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Ko-
 44 mḍapalli Malla-sōmayājulu Gautama-gōtram Yajurvēdi ||
 45 Puṇye Bhīmēśvara-bhaṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi || Golla-
 46 pūṇḍi Peddi-bhaṭṭu Kā(Kau)ṇḍinya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Maḍugūri
 47 Sōmā-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Upadrashṭha Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭu Ka-
 48 ṇḍinya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Māṇḍēti Durgā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram
 49 Yaju[rvē]di | Kūchi Mall-āvadhāṇu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yajurvēdi |
 50 Lolla Vallava-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Pūrimetta Āditva-

¹ The Telugu numeral 6 is engraved near the ring hole showing that this was the sixth plate of the original set.

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 51 bhaṭṭu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Dūrvāśula Vallava-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtram
 52 Yajurvēdi | Kōṣṇa[kañchi] Komman-ojhalu Gārgya-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Nāgava-
 53 [ra]ṇṇu Yellu-bhaṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Dhūlipāḷa Kāśava-bhaṭṭu Kā(Kau)-
 54 śika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Shaḍḍarāṇam Janārdana-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram
 55 Rīgvēdi | Kāṣṭh[ḍā]tri Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Bēta-
 56 na-bhaṭṭu Narahari-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yeṭūri Dēchi-bha-
 57 ṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || 20 || Vellamāmbāpura-vēdhiki uttara-ārē-
 58 ṇi paśchim-ādi | Mahākāṇṇi-bhaṭṭu Kutea-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Dūrvāśu-
 59 la Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Adḍaḍa Tippā-bhaṭṭu Hā-
 60 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yempalela Peda-Kāmā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram

*Fifth Plate, First Side**

- 61 Yajurvēdi | Inḍu Vallava-bhaṭṭu Śaunaka-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Vaḍḍi Pō-
 62 t-āvadhāṇu Kauśika-gōtram [Ya]jurvēdi | Penun[ba]ṭṭi Gaṅgādhara-
 63 bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kuppa Sarvā-bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍinya-
 64 gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Sādhu Peddi-bhaṭṭu Śrī[va*]ṣa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |
 65 Sāmavēdi Nārāyaṇa-dvivedulu Kaṇḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)ju-
 66 rvēdi || Nāli Mallu-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |
 67 Vēdāntar Prōlu-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Rāmākṣhṇa-
 68 m-bhaṭṭu(tla) Annam-bhaṭṭu Vādhūla-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Siddhi Yetu-
 69 aṣṇayāṇu Āṅgi[raṣa*]-Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kā-
 70 ṇḍva(ṇva) Chippā-ojhalu Maitrēya-gōtram Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-śākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva) Main=

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 71 chi-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-śākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva) Peddi-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-
 72 gōtram Kāṇḍva(ṇva)-śākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-Narasimhō(h-o)jhalu Maitrēya-gō-
 73 tram Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-śākha | Oḍḍo Dēvarē-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Rīgvē-
 74 di | Oḍali Aubhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram Rīgvēdi || 20 || Dakṣhina-
 75 āṇṇi paśchim-ādi | Chēvanapeddi Pōtu-bhaṭṭu Hārta-gōtram
 76 Yajurvēdi | Bhāskararāju Dēvarē-bhaṭṭu Kutea-gōtram Ya-
 77 jurvēdi | Annaṅṇi Peddi-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Rīgvēdi | Pe-
 78 rumāḍi Saumitri-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Mu-
 79 kkolani Vallava-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Kaḍali Āditya-bha-
 80 ṭṭu Kaṇḍinya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Tāḍepalli Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭu Hā-

* Engraved in the left margin.

* The Telugu numeral 7 is engraved near the ring hole.

* Originally ṇa had been written and was corrected to ṇa.

*Sixth Plate, First Side**

- 81 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Kaṇḍave(va)lli Viāvē[śva*]r-ābhāryulu Bhāradvāja-gōtram
 82 Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Madilāli Anāst-ojhalu Maṇḍalya-gōtram Yajurvēdi |
 83 Dāmōdara Peddi-bhaṭṭu Kāṣika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Challa Narahari-bhaṭṭu Kau-
 84 ṇḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Bhāgavatula Tirumala-bhaṭṭu Kapi-gōtram Ya-
 85 jurvēdi || Nōri Nāgā-dvivēdulu Ye(Ya)jurvēdi Hārta-gōtram | Tā-
 86 gēpalli Yarrā-ojhalu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Tāḍipūm-
 87 ḍi Narasimhyā(h-ā)vadhānu* Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bhūtanāthani Bhairava-bhaṭṭu Gautama-
 88 gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Peṇṇala Māru-bhaṭṭu Mudgala-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvē-
 89 di | Anāṭṭula Mallā-ojhalu Hārta-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Jagalla(cā)pā-
 90 mḍi Simgā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Divākara-bhaṭṭu Gaṇḍā-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 91 dhara-bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20 || **Kapilēśvarapurapu** vidhi[ki]
 92 uttara-ārēṇi paśchim-ādi | Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdula Gaṇḍādhara-bhaṭṭu Bhā-
 93 radvāja-gōt am Yajurvēdi | Tōmṭa-sōmayājulu Narasimhyā(ha)-bhaṭṭu
 94 Kaṇḍinya-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Jagarlapūmḍi Kāśvara-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-
 95 gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Ye(ya)jñānu-bhaṭṭu Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍinya-gōtram Ru(Ri)-
 96 gvēdi |
 96 Appalē-bhaṭṭu Sarvā-bhaṭṭu Sānapīya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Śaṅkara Ka-
 97 auvā-ojhalu Gautama-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Māḡaṇṭi Sōmā-
 98 bhaṭṭu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Chintalapāṭi Yarpōta-bhaṭṭu Hāri-
 99 ta-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Satyābhāḍha Peddi-bhaṭṭu Śāthama[r*]ṣhaṇa-gōtram Ya-
 100 jurvēdi | Sōḷasa Pedd-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Arḍu-
 101 villa Sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Yaṁparēla Pina-Kā-

*Seventh Plate, First Side**

- 102 mā-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bētana-bhaṭṭu Rudrā-
 103 bhaṭṭu(tlu) Kāṣika-gōtram Ye(Ye)jurvēdi || Uttarōśvarapu Narasimhyā(ha)-
 104 sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Chēṇḡola-
 105 ni Rāmā-bhaṭṭu Kāṣika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Kaṇḍave(va)lli Prōḷu-
 106 bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Jonnalagadḍa Pōtu-
 107 bhaṭṭu Gautama-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Mulukalūri Tallu-bha-
 108 ṭṭu Kaṇḍinya-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Koṇḍapalli Gōpāla-bhaṭṭu Kaṇḍi-
 109 ṇḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Śatakūri Pōṇa-bhaṭṭu Kāśya(śya)pa-gō-
 110 tram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20 || Dakṣiṇa-ārēṇi paśchim-ādi ||*|| Arḍu villa Lakṣmāya-
 111 sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Tēlaprōli Lī-

* The Telugu numeral 8 is engraved to the left of the ring hole.

* The engraver has omitted the name of his gōtra.

* The Telugu numeral 9 is engraved in the left margin.

Seventh Plate, Second Side¹

- 112 mḡā-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Mamdaḍapu
 113 Aubhaḷ-ojhalu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bejavāḍa Siṃgā-
 114 ojhalu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Mamchi-bhaṭṭa Kāmā-
 115 bhaṭṭu Maitrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Būrun(vu)gaḍḍa Bhāva-
 116 nārāyaṇ-ojhalu Hārita-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Purā-
 117 paṃ Tirumala-bhaṭṭu Śāṃḍīya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bi-
 118 ttaguṃṭa Mādha-ojhalu Śāṃḍīya-gōtram Kāṃḍava(Kāṃva)-śākha ||
 119 Kuṃḍēti Maḷā-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Kāṃḍava(Kāṃva)-śākha ||
 120 Rēmalla Bhīmā-ojhalu Kāśyapa-gōtram Kāṃḍava(Kāṃva)-śākha || Mu-
 121 kkōlani Mādha-ojhalu Hārita-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi ||

Eighth Plate, First Side²

- 122 Pulya Prōlu-bhaṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Ālamā-
 123 ri Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kaumḍīya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Appāya-dvi-
 124 vēḍula Tallu-bhaṭṭu Chām(Śām)ḍīya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi ||[*] Maḷavarapu Te-
 125 luṃḡari-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || [A]³avarōmūla Kā-
 126 maḍēva-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Kāṭanagaḍḍa Aubhaḷa-bha-
 127 ṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Metaku Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kaumḍi-
 128 nya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Dūrvāṇḍa Appalā-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtra-
 129 m Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || [Chā]takūri Sūru-bhaṭṭu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 130 || 20 || Verasi 120⁴ || [*]

Ninth Plate, First Side

- 140 ḍi⁵ paḍamaṭi-mukhamai mōṭa-rāviki vellī ōḍugula-putṭa mō-
 141 cchi vu(u)ttaraṃ-mukhamai Bhīmarati(thi)-dhari prāṇita-putṭa mōchenu ||[*] Am-
 142 dnu-umḍi paḍamaṭi-mukhamai būrovuku vellī ā-paḍamaṭi-
 143 Kuṃpaṭiputṭi tirigi nēla-putṭan-umḍi vu(u)ttaraṃ-mukhamai pōi(yi)-
 144 lōkunimḡāṃ-dirigi uttaraṃ-mukhamai pōyi dēvara-chēni-
 145 paḍamaṭi-nallam-buṭṭan-umḍi(ḍi) paḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi
 146 mōṭa-rāviki vellī ā-paḍamaṭi-pedda-putṭan-umḍi dakha(kshi)ṇam-mu-
 147 khamai pōyi daṃṭṭa-tāḍi-putṭan-umḍi paḍamaṭi-mukhamai pō-
 148 yi ōḍugula-putṭan-umḍi uttaraṃ-mukhamai nēla-kūṇṭa mōchi pa-
 149 ḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi pedda-putṭan-umḍi uttaraṃ-mukhamaiyi(mai)

¹ The Telugu numeral 1 and a floral design are faintly seen at the margin.

² The number 10 in Telugu numerals is engraved near the ring hole. This plate is only 6 inches height.

³ The letter *r* seems to have been corrected to *a*.

⁴ The old writing on the rest of the plate is boston in. Some letters belonging to the earlier grant are visible here and there.

⁵ The writing on this plate referring to the boundaries of the gift land begins abruptly in the middle of a word which may be *amāva-maṇi*.

Ninth Plate, Second Side

- 150 manchi-nilla-kunṭa-āṇā(gnē)yaṁ-mūla yarram-butṭa mōchenu [I*]
 151 Amḍun-umḍi dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇam-mukhamai pōyi Penichikalapāḍu mō-
 152 chi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi pāḍu tirigi dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇa-mukhamai
 153 pōyi prāṇṭa-mōḍdugu-puttan-umḍi tūrpu-mukhamai
 154 pōyi yarram-buttan-umḍi dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇa-mukhamai pōyi pe-
 155 dda-putṭa mōchi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi borra-nakka-viriki vellī-
 156 kara-veṣṭṭanē pōyi Bhīmarati(thī) dāṁṭi dariya(ya)-dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇam-mukha-
 157 mai pōyi vāṁṭu vu(u)ttarapu-prāṇṭa-putṭa mōchi paḍumaṭi-mu-
 158 khamai tige-mōḍḍumuku vellī Paṁḍi-mukula-rāvula-ḍomkka
 159 mōchi vu(u)ttaram-mukhamai pōyi ḍomika tirigi pedda-puttan-um-

Tenth Plate, First Side

- 160 [ḍ=ih*]chika-mēra¹ vōyi paḍumaṭi mukhamai Bhīmarathī mōchenu [I*] Amḍun-n-
 161 mḍi Bhīmarati(thī) veṣṭṭanē uttarām-mukhamai pōyi Mallamarāju-kana-
 162 man-umḍi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi Penamamgūri polamēra-
 163 mīmḍi pedda-puttan-umḍi uttarām-mukhamai Samban-kunṭa paḍumaṭam-
 164 gāṁ-bōyi Nāgamayya-putṭa mōchi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai i-
 165 mōhika-mēra pōyi uttarām-mukhamai pōyi Garagaparti po-
 166 lamēra mīmḍi nēla-putṭa mōchi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi tur-
 167 ga-kunṭa mōchenu [I*] Amḍun-umḍi uttarām-mukhamai pōyi graddala-
 168 maṇṇi-kunṭa tirigi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi nēla-kunṭa mōchi u-
 169 ttaram-mukhamai pōyi Mōramṭāḍa polamēra-mīmḍi Garapapu-

Tenth Plate, Second Side²

- 170 polamēra nirṇa(rṇa)yamu | I(I)śāny-āḍi Kanamūri voḍḍum-jēruvu dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇapu-tū
 171 munan-umḍi(ḍi) dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇapu-mukhamai pōyi avuruth-gōḍu dāṁṭi
 172 imōhika-mēra pōyi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇapu-mu-
 173 khamai pōyi appaṭimṇni(ni) paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇa-
 174 mukhamai pōyi nallam-buttan-umḍi tūrpu-mu-
 175 khamai pōyi prāṇṭa-puttan-umḍi dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇa-mukhamai
 176 pōyi Doḍḍapanēni-vāri-tōṁṭa paḍumaṭi Pōturāju vam-
 177 kka-tṭi-puttan-umḍi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi Mmḍlap[ū]-
 178 mḍi manchi-nilla-kunṭa paḍumaṭi-chaṇṭa-nūmtan-umḍi(ḍi) dakṣha(kṣhi)ṇa
 179 mukhamai pōyi Mirti-pedda-puttan-umḍi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi ā³

¹ The letter ru is engraved above the line.² The Telugu numerals 1 and 2 are written vertically at the side of the ring hole.³ The writing stops here abruptly.

Eleventh Plate, First Side

[Oriya]

- 180 **Māḍura-thala-madhye Vēlagāliṇi** Kōṣṭa(shṭha)-kari(ra)ṇa-nāmā khayḍē āti-
 181 tō Bhōgyana-dapḍapāṭa mūla-kōṭha-dosarū phōḍi Śrīharsta(ṣṭa)-
 182 santako **Gaḍṭami**-nadi-gara(bha)-bhūṭa*]rē Siṅga Vrāhala(pa)ti Purṇa-
 183 kālī(la)-smaḥ Śrīhastē pāḍi chhāḍilā bhūmi-dāna nūnā-gōṭa Vrā(Brā)-
 184 hmaṇṇaku Vira-śrī-Gajapṭa(pati)-**Gaḍḍēsara** rṇṇa(na)va-kōṭi-**Karṇṇāṭa-**
 185 **Kalavarag-ēsara** Pratāpa-**Kapilēsara**dēva-mahārājā-
 186 ākara data **Jāgēsara**pura-sāsana **Vēlamapura**-sāsana Pratāpa-**Ka-**
 187 **pilēsara**pura-sāsana ē tiri sāsanaḥ bhā[ga*] 40 lēkhā bhāga 120 [I*] [āḥ]
 188 vāḍi-tōḷa-jaḷa-bhūmi madhikari dēi hūlā [I*] ē gāra bhūmi-
 189 pāa | aihmō sarva-māirṇa chhatist āvadānā madhikari chhāḍi bhāḥ[ga]-[bhō]-

Eleventh Plate, Second Side

- 190 ga kurāivā [I*]²

[Sanskrit]

- 191 Kalyāṇam ākalayatāni Kamalādhināthaḥ Kōlākr̥tiḥ-jala-nidhē-
 192 s-samudrahyamānā || (I) dantēna yasya kanak-āchala-karṇikā
 193 bhūr-vyākōcha-kōkanada-kōraka-kāntir-āṇ ||³ | Śr[ī]ḥ* |
 194 *Āvadanāni abhāttrīṃśat-tyaktvā śrī-**Kapilēsvara**ḥ [I*] grāma-
 195 grāh-ānvitāḥ grāmaḥ sarva-mānyāḥ sud-ākārāt [(I)]⁴ Rā-
 196 māny-|ōyam dha]rma-sētur-nripāṇām kālā kālā pāla-
 197 n[ī]yyō(yō) | bhavadbhū | ittham sarvān bhāvināḥ pā-
 198 rtthi[vēndrā]n bhūyō bhūyō yā[cha]tē [Rā*]ma-
 199 chaṇ[dra]ḥ [I*]⁵

* A floral design is engraved near the ring hole.

² The various designs engraved after this have already been discussed above, p. 275.

³ *Moire* : *Vasantatilāṭa*.

⁴ The following six lines, apparently belonging to the original charter, have to be read from the bottom side of the plate. They exhibit marks of being partially beaten in and appear to have been engraved by a different hand. These lines were probably not completely beaten in because they are not unsuitable to the context of the new record.

⁵ *Moire* : *Asaḥ/udā*.

⁶ *Moire* : *Sānta*.

No. 53—BANDORA PLATES OF MAURYA ANIRJITAVARMAN, YEAR 29.

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.11.1958)

This copper-plate inscription is edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, from a set of photographs obtained in his office during the year 1949-50.¹ The plates are reported to have been found at a place called **Bandora** in the Goa territory, along with the two grants of Bhōja Prithivīmallavarman² and another two of the Kadamba kings Tribhuvanamalladēva³ and Shashthadēva II⁴ respectively.

The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 6.6" by 2.6". In the left margin of each plate, there is a hole about .25" in diameter, through which passed a ring. A small piece of copper is chipped off in the right-hand corner of the first plate; but only three or four letters have been lost thereby, which, however, can be restored without difficulty. Otherwise, the writing is well-preserved.

The characters of the record closely resemble those of the two grants of the Bhōja king Prithivīmallavarman referred to above though they are box-headed (of a peculiar type) in our inscription instead of what has been called hook-headed in the other records. So on grounds of palaeography, the present inscription may be referred to about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Each plate is engraved on the inner side only and there are eleven lines of writing, the first plate containing five lines while the second plate six. The orthography of the record does not call for any special remarks. The language is Sanskrit and the entire text is in prose. In point of style also the record bears close similarity to the two Bhōja grants mentioned above.

The inscription opens with the word *śiṣṭham*. The charter is issued from the victorious **Kumāra-dvīpa** and refers itself to the reign of the Maurya *Mahārāja* **Anirjitavarman** (line 1). It is addressed, in the words of the king, to the inhabitants of the Twelve-village *dēśa* as well as the present and future officials such as the *bhōjakas*, *śyūktakas* and *sthāyins* (lines 2-3). The object of the record in lines 3-8 seems to register the king's grant of one *hala* of *khajjana* land as well as a piece of land, including a house-site, a garden and a tank belonging to an unnamed *Rāshṭra-kūta*. In addition to this, some land to be reclaimed by clearing the forest (*ararya-karṣaṇa*) by employing four batches of workers (*prēshya-kula*) was also granted. The gift was made for securing the welfare and final beatitude of the king as well as of *Nāgapadda*, *Malladatta* and *Achala*. The donee was *Hastyaṛya* of the *Hārīta gōtra*, who is called *ukta-niyōga* and *grihīta-sāhasra*. The expression *ukta-niyōga* seems to have been used in the sense of 'a specified or appointed person, while *grihīta-sāhasra* appears to denote 'a person learned in the Sāma-Vēda [which is supposed to have a thousand branches]'. The gift was exempted from all taxes (*paśga*).⁵

¹ It is registered in *A.R. Ep.*, 1949-50, App. A, No. 9. Cf. also above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 339-40.

² Above, pp. 51 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.

⁴ Below, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 105 ff.

⁵ For *paśga* meaning a kind of tax, see above, pp. 51 ff.

Lines 8-9 state that the Brāhmaga, i.e. the donee Hastyārya, who would enjoy the produce of the land by putting up a bund to prevent the salt water [from entering the field on the sea-shore] should not be disturbed in his enjoyment by anybody. This is followed by another imprecatory sentence in lines 9-11.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was the king himself (line 11). The charter ends with the date (line 11) which is given as the tenth day of the seventh fortnight of Hēma, i.e. Hēmanā, in the twentieth year apparently of the king's reign. This year 29 is expressed by the numerical symbols for 20 and 9.

The inscription is important as it introduces a hitherto unknown king of the Maurya dynasty, viz. Anirjitavarman who seems to have held sway somewhere in the western coast about the Goa territory about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Though it is difficult to identify Kumāra-dvīpa whence the charter was issued, it appears to have been located somewhere in this region. In this connection, we may notice another copper-plate inscription which is also reported to have been discovered in Goa and which belongs to the reign of a king named Chandravarman.¹ It is dated in the second regnal year of the king, Chaitra (?) ba-di 10. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be referred to a date slightly earlier than that of the inscription under study. Its object is to record the donation of some land to the *Maṣṭa-vihāra* at Śivapura which is identified with the modern village of the same name near Chandor in Goa. This shows that Chandravarman was ruling over some part of the Goa territory. Unfortunately the first line of the record which apparently contained the name of the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged is very badly damaged and effaced. Dr. M.G. Dikshit read two letters in this line as *m-āryya* and suggested that the king might have belonged to the early Kadamba dynasty. In a note on this inscription,² Dr. D. C. Sircar suggested the reading of the word *Mauryya* as an alternative to *m-āryya* and observed that Chandravarman of Goa might have had some relations with the Mauryas of the Konkan. A close examination of the printed facsimile of the record would show that the reading of the word *Mauryya* in line 1 is almost certain and this no doubt refers to the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged. Thus we get one Chandravarman of the Maurya dynasty who was also ruling somewhere in the west coast in the Goa territory near about the period of the inscription under study. Except Chandravarman and Anirjitavarman, no other king of this dynasty ruling in the said region at this period is known. But from the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja³ and from the recent discovery of a few copper-plate grants of the kings of the Bhōja dynasty, we learn that these Bhōja kings also held sway somewhere in the Goa territory on the west coast from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The relations between the two Maurya kings Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman with the Bhōja kings cannot be determined without further light on the subject. It may, however, be noted that, in the celebrated Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II dated in 634 A.D.,⁴ the king's father Kirtivarman I is described as a night of death to the Mauryas, Nālas and Kadambas⁵ of whom the Mauryas were ruling in the Konkan as stated later in the record. Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II also are credited with success against these Mauryas.⁶ The events took place during the latter half of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh century A.D. It is not impossible that the Mauryas defeated by the early Chālukyan kings belonged to the same branch as that of Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman. Since the early Western Chālukyan records do not refer to the defeat of the Bhōjas but

¹ *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 181-84 and Plate.

² *Am. Bk. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXIII (Silver Jubilee Volume), pp. 516-17.

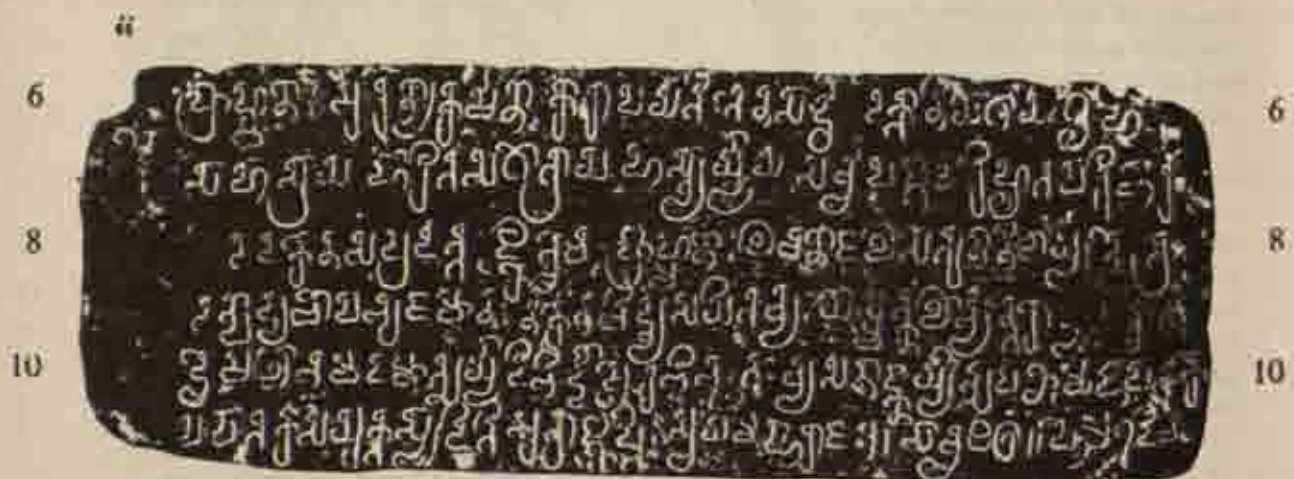
³ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 142 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., text line 4.

⁵ This event is also referred to in the later records like the Kaṇṭhām grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.).

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., text lines 6 and 10.

BANDORA PLATES OF MAURYA ANIRJITAVARMAN, YEAR 29



(from Photographs)

only to that of the Mauryas, it appears that the latter ousted the Bhōja kings in the west coast about the sixth century A.D. and that they, in their turn, were defeated by the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

As stated before, the gift was made for the merit of the king as well as that of three other persons named Nāgapadda, Malladatta and Achala. The relationship of these three persons with the king is not mentioned. It is possible that they were the real donors of the gift,¹ and the land, including the house-site, garden and tank belonging to the *Rāshtrakūṭa*, appears to have been purchased by them for the purpose of the gift. The expression *khajjana* occurs in some other records of this region and it has been shown to be the same word as the modern Marāṭhī (and also Konkani) *khājā* meaning 'a rice-field created out of the nullah on a sea-shore by putting embankments after the ebb-tide.'² It is interesting to note that this meaning is supported by our inscription which states that the donee would cultivate the land by putting up an embankment to prevent the salt water (*lavaya-jalam sētunā nivārya kahētram=utpādya cha*).

Kumāra-dvīpa is the only geographical name mentioned in the record and it has been discussed above.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 [Di]ṭṭham (Dṛiṣṭam) [] Vijaya-Kumāradvīpān-Mauryya-mahārājasya śrīmad-Anirjittavarmanasō vacha[nāt]⁴
- 2 dāsō Dvādaśagrāmyā⁵ grāmō(ma)-paurakāḥ varttamāna-bhaviṣyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthā-
[yy-ā]⁶
- 3 dayas=cha vaktavyāḥ yath=ātra grāma-sīmā-smābhiḥ Nāgapadda-Malladatt-Āchalānāsū(nām)
- 4 ātmanas=cha ih-āmūtrika-ni[h*]ārōyas-ārttham khajjanam(na)-halam-ārakam⁷-ēkataḥ
ēkataś=cha
- 5 rāshtrakūṭa-taṭāka-vāṭaka-griha-sthāna-bhu(bhū)miḥ chatu[r*]bbis=cha prēshya-kulair-
yyad=ātra sīmā

Second Plate

- 6 Brāhmaṇaḥ aranya-karṣaṇam(pari) kārāpayati⁸ tēna sārddha[m](reddham) uktā(ka)-
niyōgāya grihi[ta]-
- 7 sālā(ha)urāya Hārīta-sagōtrāya Hastyāryyāya sarvva-paṅga-parihṛita-pari(ri)hāram
- 8 udakēna sampradattam [] jñātva-aivam Brāhmaṇaḥ lavaya-jala[m] sētunā nivārya kahē-
ram
- 9 utpādya ch-ōpabhumjamānaḥ na kēnachid-vyadhisayitavyaḥ [] yō-smat-kul-ābhyanantarō-
nyō vā rāga-

¹ See above, pp. 50 ff.

² Ibid., pp. 53-54 and 63.

³ From photographs.

⁴ The portion in brackets has been chipped off.

⁵ Read "grāmyā".

⁶ Read "stha".

⁷ Read "ārakam".

- 10 dvēsha-lōha-mada-mātearyy-ādibhir-ddōshair-abhibbūtaḥ vyasanaśo-kurvyāt-sa pañcha-
mahāpātak-ś-
- 11 papātaśa-sam-yukta[ḥ*] ayād=iti [!*] atr=ājñaptiḥ svayam mahārājaḥ || sāvva(sariva) 20
9 || Hēma 7 diva 10 [!*]

No. 54—CHANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 23.3.1958)

In November 1957 I received an impression of a stone inscription for examination from Mr. A. C. Banerji of the Mid-Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Patna. The inscribed stone was found by the Circle officers at the village of Chandil in the Singhbhum District of Bihar. The stone slab was originally the lintel in the doorway of an old temple destroyed long ago. A new temple was later constructed on the foundation of the old one.

The inscription is written in three lines; but the third line is very small. The beginning of the second line is ahead of the first while line 3 begins ahead of line 2. The incision of the letters is deep and most of them can be seen clearly from the back of the impression. But the impression itself suffers from indifferent inking. The space covered by the writing is about 25½ inches in length and about 3½ inches in height.

The characters of the record resemble those in the epigraphs of the age of the early Palas and may be assigned to a date in the eighth or ninth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Both the Devanāgarī and Bengali types of the *anusvāra* are used in the epigraph.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; but it is very corrupt there being a number of grammatical and orthographical errors. An interesting orthographical feature is the indiscriminate use of *ś* and *s* in the words *śatata* (Sanskrit *śatata*), *śuta* (Sanskrit *suta*) and *sira* (either Sanskrit *śira*s or a mistake for *Siva*).

The inscription, written in three sentences, bears neither any date nor the name of the ruler of the country. Its object is to record the construction of a *dēvakula* or temple, apparently at Chandil in the Singhbhum District where the inscribed stone has been found, by a person named Dāmappa who was the son of Bhōgulla. This is indicated by the last sentence of the record which reads: *Bhōgullasya śuta-Dāmappena dēvakula sthāpitam* (i.e. *Bhōgullasya sutaṁ Dāmappena dēvakulaṁ sthāpitam*). The name Dāmappa seems to be of Kannaḍa origin and the original home of the family to which the person belonged may have been in the southern part of India. The name of the deity for whom Dāmappa built the shrine is not clear from the context. But the person is introduced in the first sentence of the record as a devotee of a deity called *Bhagavati Trailōkyavijayā* and it is apparently this goddess whose shrine was built. This sentence reads: *śrī-bhagavatyaṁ Trailōkyavijayāṁ Dāmappa śatataṁ bhaktibhāve tiṣṭhātī* (i.e. *śrī-bhagavatyaṁ Trailōkyavijayāṁ Dāmappaḥ śatataṁ bhakti-bhāveṇa tiṣṭhātī*).

The second sentence of the inscription is very much corrupt. It reads: *nā[ma]-śarapaṁ pra[tyakṣha] jī[ti]-āñjalim-ashṭhaṅga śirasā yōjyā pata[m] prapaṁāmī*. It will be seen that, while the first sentence uses the name of the individual responsible for the construction of the shrine in the Third Person, the second is apparently represented as his speech in the First Person. Moreover the too many grammatical errors in the sentence make it very difficult to understand its real import. But we may possibly suggest that the main part of the sentence in correct Sanskrit should be *nāmu-smaraṇāt pratyakṣhāṁ kṛt-āñjalim a-ṣṣṭhaṅga śirasā yōjyāṁ pātan prapaṁāmī*. In that case, *śirasā yōjyā*, 'one worthy of being placed on the head', together with *nāma-smaraṇāt pratyakṣhā*, 'one who becomes visible to a person as soon as the latter remembers her name', has to be regarded as an epithet of the goddess Trailōkyavijayā. The sentence would then mean: 'I bow down, with all my eight limbs and with folded palms, to the goddess who becomes visible to a person as soon as he remembers her name and who is worthy of being placed on the head, after having fallen flat on the ground.'

Or, should we think that the intended word is *Śiva-śāyujyā*? *Śiva-śāyujyā* is of course 'communion with the god Śiva', or 'absorption into Śiva'. *Śāyujyā* is the last of the four grades or states of *mukti* or beatitude, the three others being *śāśkyā* (being in the same world as the god to whom one is devoted), *śāmyā* (nearness to the object of devotion), and *śāyujyā* (assimilation to or conformity with the deity), to which some authorities add *śāśkyā* (equality in rank or condition or power with the deity).¹ If this emendation is accepted, Dāmappa no doubt believed that his devotion to the goddess Trailōkyavijayā would lead to his communion with Śiva. The association of Trailōkyavijayā and Śiva again would suggest that the goddess was conceived as the *Śakti* of the god.

There is no goddess named Trailōkyavijayā in the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon. In the lexicons, the expression *trailōkyavijayā* in the feminine is recognised only in the sense of 'a sort of hemp from which an intoxicating infusion is prepared'. But the name of the goddess reminds us of the Buddhist god Trailōkyavijaya whose conception is associated with the Buddhist attempt to humiliate the Hindu deities Śiva and Pārvatī. This god is represented as blue-coloured, four-faced and eight-armed and as exhibiting the Vajrahūkara-mudrā (i.e. with the wrists of the principal hands crossing at the breast, an attitude indicating intensity) with the hands holding the bell and thunderbolt, as carrying in the three other right hands the *khapālāṅga* (a staff with a skull at the top), goad and arrow and in the three other left hands the bow, noose and thunderbolt, as standing in the *pratyāṅbha* attitude (i.e. with the left foot advanced and the right drawn back) with garments of various colours, and as trampling on the head of Śiva with his left foot and the breasts of Gaurī or Pārvatī with the right.² Trailōkyavijayā was probably conceived by the Buddhists as the *Śakti* of the god Trailōkyavijaya even though she may not have enjoyed wide popularity. But our inscription may also suggest that in the early medieval period the goddess was already identified with Gaurī or Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. The case may thus be similar to such other Buddhist deities as Tārā. The inscription would then, along with others like the Nārāyaṇpur Vināyaka image inscription³ of the fourth regnal year of the Pāla king Mahipāla (probably Mahipāla I, c. 992-1040 A.D.), give an indication as to how the Buddhist masses were gradually absorbed into the Brahmanical society. The Nārāyaṇpur inscription records the installation of a Brahmanical deity by a follower of the Buddhist faith. Whether the nature of our inscription is Buddhist, or semi-Buddhist, the region around Chauli appears to have come once under the influence of Buddhism.

TEXT

- 1 Śrī-bhagavatya[m] Trailōkyavijayā¹ Dāmappa[h*] śa(sa)tata[m] bhakti-lhāvā² ti(ti)śhṭhati
[i*] uā[m] śaragat³
- 2 pra(tyāśha)⁴ it-śājalim-śaśhṭhati⁵ śicā⁶ yōjyā⁷ pta[m]⁸ praṇamāni⁹ Bhōgullasya
śu(m)ta¹⁰-Dāmappena
- 3 dēvakula[m] śhāpitam[tam]

* Cf. *Saddakapāṇḍita*, v. v. śāyujyā.

² See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, (1.1.8), p. 311, No. 262; It. Śāstracharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 146-47; A. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 114-15.

³ *Ind. Arch.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121 ff.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Read 'śāśhṭhati'.

⁶ Better read śhāśhṭhati.

⁷ Better read śaragat.

⁸ Read pta[m].

⁹ The *śhāśhṭhati* is written below the line. Read śrī-śājalim-śaśhṭhati.

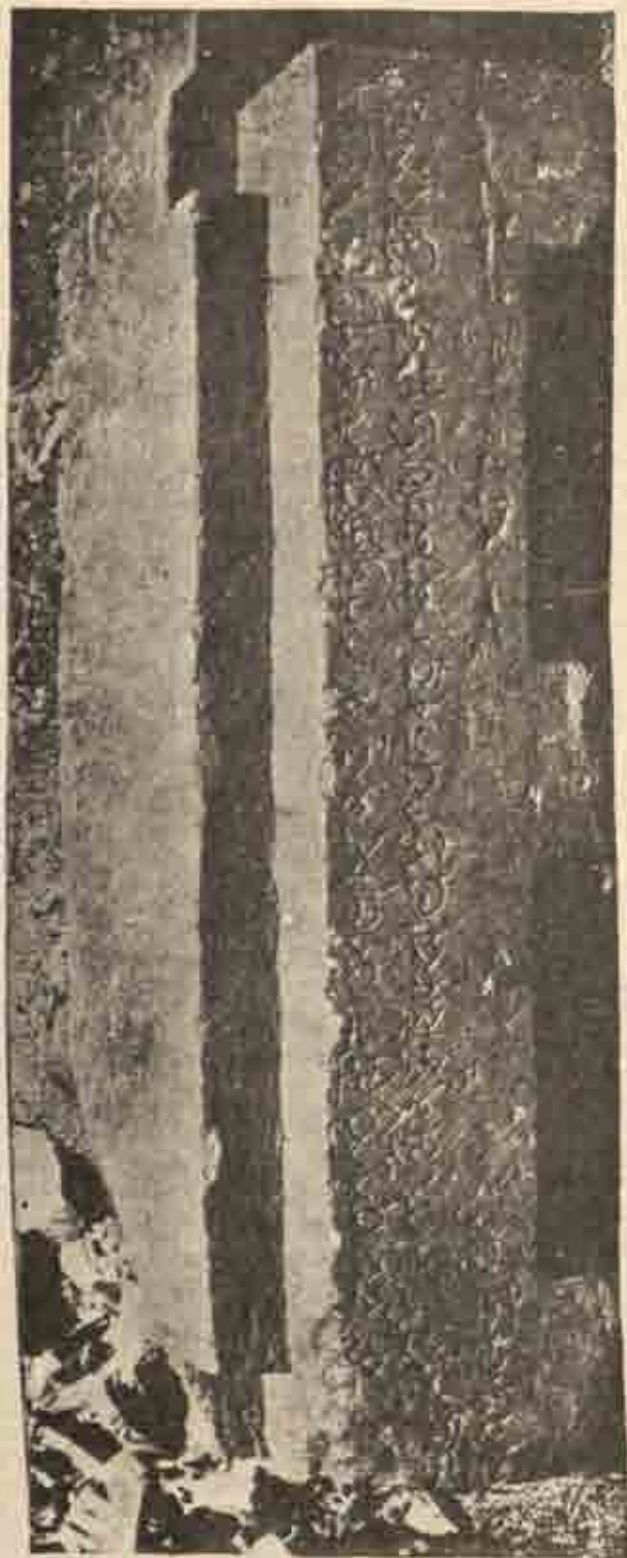
¹⁰ The intended reading may be śhāśhṭhati (or śhāśhṭhati) or śhāśhṭhati.

¹¹ Read pta[m].

¹² The punctuation mark is indicated by a cursive-like sign.

¹³ Better *Bhōgulla-suta* or *Bhōgullasya-suta*; but *śhāśhṭhati* is quite common in the epigraphic literature of India. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 170, note 6; p. 170; p. 278, note 2, etc.

CANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION



Scale : One-third

No. 55—INSCRIPTION FROM BANTVALA

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND, AND R. SATHYANARAYANA, MYSORE

(Received on 6.3.1958)

The inscription,¹ edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone tablet fixed into a platform in front of the Veṅkaṭaramaśaśvāmin temple at Bantvāla in the Mangalore Taluk of the South Kanara District.

The epigraph is engraved in Kannaḍa script excepting the last two lines which are in Nāgarī characters. Its language, however, is Kannaḍa all through. As regards the palaeography of this late record, it is interesting to note that it uses the sign for indicating the length for *ē* and *ō*, which is placed to the right side of the letter.

The record registers the death of Svāmi Bhuvaṇēndra-tīrtha Śrīpāda of the Kāśī maṭha and the erection of a lamp-post by Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga, the fifth son² of Venkaṭēśa Bāḷiga of Bantvāla, in commemoration of the event. The inscription contains two dates, one relating to the death of the Svāmi and the other to the erection of the lamp-post. The first date is Śaka 1808, Vyaya, Mār-gaśīrsha-śu. 1, Friday, corresponding to the 26th November 1886 A.D. The same date is referred to in the concluding section in Nāgarī characters (lines 20-21), where reference is made to Friday the twelfth day of the month of Vṛśchika in the year Vyaya. The details agree with the 26th November 1886 A.D. The date of the erection of the lamp-post is given as Māgha śu. 15, Tuesday, regularly corresponding the 8th February 1887 A.D., and this English date also is specified in the record in line 19.

Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga, the donor of the lamp-post, was a Brāhmaṇa of the Gauḍa-Sārasvata community belonging to the Kāśī maṭha. It is said that the Sārasvatas originally belonged to the Punjab where they dwelt on the banks of the river Sarasvatī. Some of them are believed to have migrated to Bihar and settled in Tirhut, whence they moved westwards and settled in Goa in the South Konkan.³ About 1554 A.D. when the Portuguese, who were by then masters of Goa, began their religious persecution, the Sārasvatas fled from Goa and settled in the neighbouring Sonda State, the North and South Kanara Districts and the Cochin and Travancore States. In the earliest *Kaḍatas* (old account books) and palm-leaf documents available in the South Kanara District, they are known as *Koṅkapaṭha* or, as we find in our inscription, *Koṅkapaṭha-Gauḍa-Sārasvata*.

Till the advent of Madhvāchārya, the founder of the dualistic philosophy, the Sārasvatas belonged to the Kavale maṭha (Kaivalyapura or Quela in Goa). But later many of them became followers of Madhvāchārya and set up their own spiritual heads. Thus there are two other maṭhas of the Gauḍa-Sārasvata community besides the Kavale maṭha, viz., the Kāśī maṭha and the Gōkarṇa maṭha, both being Vaiṣṇava institutions of the dualistic school of philosophy. A maṭha at Bantvāla was established by Svāmi Dēvēndra-tīrtha of the Kāśī maṭha about the middle of the 18th century. Svāmi Bhuvaṇēndra-tīrtha, whose death our record registers, was the disciple of Svāmi Suyatindra-tīrtha and is said to have possessed *mantra-śakti* as well as *vidya-śakti*. He attained *saṃādhi* at Basrūr in 1886 A.D. on the date given above.

¹ A.R.E.-p., 1956-57, No. B 223.

² According to a note received by us from the authorities of the Kāśī maṭha, Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga was the second son of Venkaṭēśa Bāḷiga. But, according to the genealogical chart received from Shri B. Vaikunta Bāḷiga, the former was the fifth son of the latter and this is supported by the record under study.

³ For further details about the Gauḍa-Sārasvatas, see Chavan, *Vaiṣṇava Dharma of the Gauḍa-Sārasvatas*.

The donor of our record was a member of the Bālīga family that was among those that fled from Goa and after various vicissitudes at last settled at Baṇṭvāla and had a temple constructed there. A celebrated member of this family is the late Bāb Bālīga, in whose memory a peepal tree was planted and a high stone platform was built for its protection. Our inscription is engraved on one of the stones fixed into this platform.¹ In the present inscription, Baṇṭvāla, described as the abode of the *guru*, is referred to as **Vaṭapura**.

The main interest in the record lies in the fact that it contains a song in praise of the *guru*. The song is, as the record itself mentions, in the *Kāpi-rāga* and *aṭṭa-tāla* (*aṣṭa-tāla*). *Kāpi* is a *dāṭya* (imported) *rāga*, borrowed from Hindustani music and assimilated into the Kārṇāṭaka system. It is a *bhāṣā-rāga-janya-rāga* belonging to the Kharaharapriya *mēla*, omitting *ga* and *dha* in the ascent, with curvature about *dha* in the descent, and employing *Kakuli nishāda* as an accidental in the ascent. It bears a general structural resemblance with its North Indian namesake and is in wide usage in South India, especially since the advent of the Trinity of Kārṇāṭaka music, viz. Tyāgarāja, Dikshitar and Śāma Śāstri. *Aṭṭa-tāla* is one of the seven *sufādi tālas* of ancient origin popular in Kārṇāṭaka, especially in the devotional songs of the Haridāśas.

The song in our record consists of a *pallavi*, an *anupallavi* and two *charaṇas*, and is in the literary style of the Haridāśas. The *pallavi* and *anupallavi* are of equal length, each consisting of two lines of eleven and thirteen syllables respectively. Each of the two *charaṇas* is of approximately the same size and consists of four lines. Inasmuch as the *anupallavi* of the present composition is of the same size as the *pallavi*, the general rule in musical composition that the *anupallavi* should be twice the length (i.e. twice the number of lines of the same size as in the *pallavi*) is not observed. It may, however, be noted that it is one of the numerous exceptions where this rule is not followed. The composition conforms, in any case, to the rule so far as the *charaṇa* is concerned as it is twice in length of the *anupallavi*. The two *charaṇas* are also in general agreement with the compositional style of the Haridāśas in the simple, almost prosaic, form of the language, the subject matter, the length of each line and the mention of the author in the last line of the last *charaṇa*.

The metre of the composition cannot be classified under *mātrā-gaṇa* or *akṣaṇ-gaṇa*. The accent and caesura are nowhere uniform. At best, it is an approximate *Anācārāṇi-vṛtta* and as such suits melodic rendering. The approximately uniform syllabic quantity in the lines of the verse is an advantage to the composition which is *nibaddha* (i.e., set to time) in view of the possibility of equitable syllabic distribution over the *tāla* cycle. The syllabic quantity in the lines is suited to the *aṭṭa-tāla* cycle of fourteen *mātras*, as there would be the minimum crowding or gap. Moreover there is abundance of the metrical units tribrach, dactyl and anapaest in the composition. The absence of complex consonantal combinations is a feature of the song. Despite all these, the composition lacks force of expression and elegance.

The literary theme of the song is consistent with Mādhva philosophy which places considerable importance on the status of the *guru* and marks out a gradation of the *jīvas* in the cosmic world in which the *guru-traya* head the list. The theme of the song is suitable since Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha was probably the *guru* of the author.

The song may be translated freely as follows :

Pallavi : There is no god greater than the Preceptor. Emancipation cannot be obtained without [the guidance of] a good Preceptor.

¹ We are indebted to the manager of the Kāñi *maṭha* for giving us information about the Gowla-Śācārāṇi community and the Kāñi *maṭha* and some other details.

Anupallavi: The foot of the lord, the Preceptor, which has created the world, is without beginning, middle or end. It is beyond *nāda* and *śruti*. It is to be seen and understood through *sādhana*.

Charaṇas: The mortals made of the three *guṇas* (viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) contemplate the foot of the Preceptor which is free from these constant attributes. Countless great saints contemplate the foot of the Preceptor in their hearts. All the living world as represented by the celestial, human, reptilian, aerial and animal beings as well as the movable and immovable (i.e., animate and inanimate) are but the light [reflected] from the dust on the Preceptor's foot. The noble *Vaṭapura* is the abode of the Preceptor.

The name of the composer of the song occurs in line 7 as *Śrīvāsakṛishṇa*. Enquiries reveal that the donor was a pious man who was an ardent lover of poetry and music. It may be surmised that he himself composed the song. The text, however, refers to the composer as hailing from *Śrīvaṭa* which we are unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- 1 Ōm [i*] Rāga kāpi ashtatāla [varasa]*[i*] Guruvind-adhika daivavilla sad-guru vinahā
- 2 mukti doregonbud-illa || pallavi || Ādi-madhy-ādita-rahitavu | jagad-ādi-
- 3 nirmita gurunāthana padavu | nād-ādi-śrutig-agōcharavu | bha(ba)lu sādhiṣi ti-
- 4 jidu-no(nō)dirō guru-padavu || Guṇa(tri)ti(ti)y-ātma mūrtiyaru nitya-guṇa-virali-
- 5 ta guru-pāda-dhyānīparu | gaṇaney-illada yōgi[śvara]ru | hriday-āṅgaṇadali guru-pā-
- 6 da-dhyānīparu || Sa(Su)ra-nar-ōraga-khaga-mṛigavu | char-āchara jagat guru-pāda-rēpu-
- 7 [sa]vu | Vara-Vaṭapura guru-yiravu | Śrīvaṭada Śrī(Śrī)vāsakṛishṇana sa[d-gu]ṇuvu ||
- 8 m-ādya-ashtāṅga-yōga-saṁpannar-āda Komkaṇa-dēai(e)ya Gaṇḍa-Sārasvata Brāhmaṇa-
- 9 ti(ti)ya* guru-parāmparya* Kāśi-mata(tha)da Suyatindratīrtha Śrīpādāṅgaṇavara kara-ka-
- 10 mala-saṁjāta Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpādāṅgaṇavaru asht-āṅga-yōga ba-
- 11 ladiṣ saha-j-ānamda samādhiyam padedu sthita-prajñar-āgi prārabd-ānusāra bhōga-
- 12 vani tirisi adya Śālīvāhana Śaka varuṣa 1808 nō Vyaya saṁ* | rada Mārgi(rga)-
- 13 kṛa pratipade Bhṛigu-vāra mā(ma)dhyāṇa(hna) abhūja(ji)n-muhūrtakke iha
- 14 prakṛa(kṛi)t-ānusāra dēhavani tore-
- 15 du ātm-ānamda chidābhā nāma aikya nirupādhiḥa punarāvartti-rahita āśvi(śva)ta mōksh-
- 16 ānamdava-
- 17 m-aidid-ā śrīguruvarar-ādighriya [e]kānta bhakt-ānubhaktar-ādha(da)vara pāda-kamala-
- 18 rēgugaṇitha

¹ From impressions.

² The reading is doubtful and the meaning not clear.

³ The reading is doubtful.

⁴ Could the reading be *jā* in the sense of caste?

⁵ Read *pāramparya*.

⁶ The akshara *saṁ* is the abbreviated form of *saṁvatsara* the last letter (*ra*) of which, however, is also inscribed.

- 16 alarkru(kri)tam-āta śira[s-carō]¹-chō(jā)ta || Supravarā Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtraja ghana-
varāhi(śa)athar-āda Bathjavāja
- 17 Verhkaṣṭha Bājigara aidane maga Śatnivāsa Bājiganu Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpā-
18 daṅgaḷavara yaḷassu chirakāla uḷiyuvante 1 di(di)pa-stambhavu sthāpindd-āg-iruttade ||²*
- 19 Māgha śukla paurṇami Kuja-vāra tā³ 8 nō Phabravari 1887 nō isavi ||⁴*
- 20 *Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpādaṅgaḷavaru Vyasa nama sarpvatsarada Vṛāchi-
21 ka-māsa dina 12 nō Bhṛigu-vāra dāhavanī tōra(re)du mōkahavan-aīdida(ru) ||⁵*

¹ The letter rō looks like la.

² The letter ā is the abbreviated form of āvāṭṭu meaning date.

³ This and the next line are engraved in Nāgarī characters.

NO. 56—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.5.1959)

1. Kalāchhalā Fragmentary Grant of Īśvararāta

The inscription was discovered by Prof. A. V. Pandya of Sardar Vallabhbhai University at the village of Kalāchhalā near Karālī, about 10 miles to the west of Chhota Udaipur in Kathiawar. It is stated to have been lying with one Gambhirasingh Adesingh Parmar of the said village. Prof. Pandya deciphered the text of the inscription with the help of Prof. V. V. Mirashi and Dr. M. G. Dikshit and has published his transcript in the *Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, International Language Section, pp. 2 and 28, with a photograph (Plate II A facing p. 4) and an eye-copy (p. 28).¹ Prof. V. V. Mirashi has also edited the inscription in *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 603-04, Plate XCVII.

This is the first plate of a set, which is inscribed only on the inner side. The concluding part of the record, probably engraved on two other plates (i.e. on both sides of the second and the inner side of the third), is lost. There is a hole in the lower margin of the writing. But the ring which must have passed through it to hold the plates together and the seal of the donor of the charter which may have been affixed to it are both lost. The plate measures about 8 inches in length and about 3 inches in height. Its weight has not been recorded.

There are only four lines of writing on the plate. The characters belong to the West Indian variety of the South Indian alphabet of about the second half of the 4th century A.D. Letters like *va* and medial *va* exhibit an angle at the lower end. The initial vowel *i* occurs in line 1. The language of the record is Sanskrit. Of orthographical interest is the fact that consonants are rarely reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

Prof. Pandya assigns the record approximately to the fourth century A.D.² and further says, "Shri Mirashi supports the writer's dating of this plate (4th century A.D.), for its characters and wording bear close resemblance to those of the grants of the *Mahārājās Svāmīdāsa*, *Bhulūṇḍa* and *Rudradāsa*. He suggests further that Īśvararāta's suzerain was some king of the Ābhīra dynasty."³ In his own work referred to above, Prof. Mirashi says that Īśvararāta ruled in the 4th century A.D. over a fairly extensive territory including Central Gujarāt and parts of the Khandesh District as a feudatory of the Ābhīras and that his family continued to hold Central Gujarāt until it was ousted by Śarva-bhaṭṭāraka who rose to power about 400 A.D. as indicated by his coins imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas.⁴ We are sorry that it is not possible to agree with these views entirely. About the period in question, Kathiawar and the adjoining regions formed a part of the dominions first of the Śakas of Western India and then of the Imperial Guptas. No Ābhīra emperor is known to have ruled in the 4th century over wide areas of Western India.

The palaeography of the epigraph closely resembles that of the Sanchi inscription⁵ of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.), which is dated in the Gupta year 23 (412 A.D.). It is considerably earlier

¹ An inaccurate transcript and a faulty interpretation of the record were originally published by Prof. Pandya in a brochure entitled *New Dynasties of Gujarat History*, 1950, p. 12, together with the same photograph and eye-copy.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. xxvii. Prof. Mirashi's views that the records of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa (Rhandekar's Nos. 1259, 1260 and 1861) are dated in the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chōli era and that they were feudatories of an unknown Ābhīra ruler (cf. *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.; *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 6 ff.) are absolutely untenable. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65; Vol. XXIV, pp. 75-77.

⁵ Cf. *CHI*, Vol. III, No. 3, Plate III B; Bühler's Table VII.

than the Mandasor inscription¹ (473 A.D.) written in the same alphabet. Among the copper-plate grants² of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, the palaeography of Svāmīdāsa's grant of the Gupta year 67 (386 A.D.) resembles that of our record while the characters of Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, dated respectively in the Gupta years 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.), are decidedly later. The characters of our epigraph, however, appear to be slightly earlier than the inscriptions of Chandragupta II and Svāmīdāsa, referred to above. A date in the second half or about the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. appears therefore to suit the inscription under study.

The charter begins with a symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by a single sentence forming the introductory part of the grant. It introduces a subordinate ruler named *Īśvararāta*³ who is described as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*, i.e. meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* who was an imperial ruler and apparently *Īśvararāta*'s overlord. The order of the chief *Īśvararāta*, in regard to the grant to be recorded in the document, was issued from *Prachakāśā* to the Brāhmanas and other villagers of *Vādhyakūpikā-grāma* situated in *Vanikikā-paṭṭa* and to all his officers such as the *Āyuktas* and *Vinīyuktas* as well as the *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Dāyāḍikas*, *Dāndapāṇikas*, *Hastyaśvajanyāprikas*, *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* who were associated with the said village. This shows that *Īśvararāta* granted either the village called *Vādhyakūpikā-grāma* or a portion of it to some donee whose name must have occurred in the latter part of the document engraved on the other plates of the set, which are now lost. The word *paṭṭa* in the name *Vanikikā-paṭṭa* reminds us of its use in the sense of a district in records like a copper-plate grant⁴ of king Hastin of the Parivrajaka family. *Āyukta* seems to have been an administrative officer appointed by the king and *Vinīyukta* a subordinate officer under the *Āyukta*, who was probably appointed by the latter. *Kumārāmātya* was an administrative officer enjoying the status of a prince and *Uparika* a viceroy. *Dāyāḍika* and *Dāndapāṇika*, generally occurring in the list of royal officials in the copper-plate grants, are often understood in the sense of a judge of criminal cases and a police officer respectively. *Hastyaśvajanyāprikas* were apparently military officers in charge of the elephant force, cavalry and infantry. The *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* appearing in numerous records seem to have been policemen and *Pāika*.

The title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, applied to *Īśvararāta*'s overlord who is not mentioned by name, was not assumed by Indian monarchs before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The official designations *Kumārāmātya*,⁵ *Uparika*⁶ and *Vinīyukta*⁷ are similarly unknown in the records of the pre-Gupta age. There also appears to be Gupta influence on the official designation *Hastyaśvajanyāprika*.⁸ Under the circumstances, it is impossible to believe that *Īśvararāta* flourished before the Gupta occupation of Western India.

It is well known that the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, together with *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramāśvara*, was popularised by the Gupta emperors whose feudatories enjoyed the title *Mahārāja*. This is clearly indicated by epigraphic records like the Udayagiri inscription⁹ of 401 A.D. mentioning a Śanakānika *Mahārāja* as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, No. 18, Plate XI.

² Above, Vol. XV, Plate facing p. 280; *CII*, Vol. IV, Plate II, A-C.

³ For names ending in *rāta*, see *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 33, 254; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

⁴ *CII*, Vol. III, p. 102, text line 15.

⁵ This first occurs in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 296).

⁶ One of the earliest occurrences of this designation is found in the Damodarpur inscription of 444 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 284).

⁷ This seems to be the same as *Vinīyāṇika*, *Tadainīyāṇika* and *Tadāyāṇika*. See (*Ibid.*, pp. 284, 351, 360, etc.; *CII*, Vol. III, p. 169 and note).

⁸ The expression *hastya-śva-janyā* occurs in the Damodarpur plates of 543 A.D. and *śaśa-śva-janyā* in the spurious Nalanda and Gaya plates of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 253, 265, 239). Cf. *Hastyaśvajanyāprikas* of some epigraphs.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271. Cf. also the evidence of the Damodarpur plates (*Ibid.*, pp. 224-26, 228-30) mentioning the *Mahārājas* Brahmadatta and Jayadatta as favoured by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Indragupta.

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Chandragupta II. That the Gupta suzerain was sometimes mentioned only as *Bhaṭṭāraka* or *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* without specifying the name is clearly indicated by inscriptions like the Baigram plate¹ of 448 A.D., and the Paharpur plate² of 479 A.D. There is little doubt that, about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., king Narēndra of Śarabhapura mentions a Gupta emperor in his Kurud plates³ merely as the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and that *Mahārāja* Śatradamana (first half of the 5th century A.D.) in his Peddadiṅgam plates⁴ and Maitraka Drōṇasinha in his Bhamodra Mohota plates⁵ (502 A.D.) call themselves respectively *Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* with reference to a Gupta emperor. There can also be no reasonable doubt that the *Mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa issued their charters in the Gupta years 67 (386 A.D.), 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.) respectively and called themselves *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* with reference to their Gupta suzerains.

The Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.) claims to have defeated the Āryāvarta ruler Rudradāsa who seems to be none other than the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasēna III ruling over the Malwa-Rajasthan-Kathiawar region in the period between 348 and 378 A.D. The absence of Rudrasēna's coins for the period between 351 and 364 A.D. was rightly regarded by Rapson as 'marked by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased'.⁶ As we have suggested elsewhere,⁷ this was probably due to his defeat at the hands of Samudragupta and acceptance of the latter's allegiance. But Rudrasēna III appears to have assumed independence about fifteen years after his subjugation by the Gupta monarch. This necessitated the reconquest of the Śaka dominions by Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.). The latest date on the coins of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasinha III falls between 382 and 397 A.D., while the presence of Chandragupta in East Malwa, in connection with a military expedition, is indicated by his Udayagiri inscriptions, one of which is dated in the Gupta year 82 (401 A.D.).⁸ The Śaka dominions in Western India thus appear to have been permanently annexed to the Gupta empire about the close of the 4th century A.D.⁹ Śivararāta of Kathiawar, acknowledging the supremacy of a Gupta emperor, may thus have issued his grant either about 360 A.D. when Kathiawar appears to have formed a part of the Samudragupta's empire or shortly after the overthrow of Śaka Rudrasinha III by Chandragupta II. It may be questioned whether he would have been allowed to issue a charter in his own name in the above fashion when Gupta power was fully established in the erstwhile Śaka kingdom. But, as already indicated above, we have instances of some other feudatories of the Gupta emperors issuing similar grants apparently with the permission or acquiescence of their overlords.

The importance of the inscription under study lies in the fact that it is the earliest extant copper-plate charter of the usual type so far discovered in the northern part of India. It appears to be earlier than the Dhansidaha plate¹⁰ (dated the Gupta year 113-432 A.D.) of the time of Kumāragupta I, which was so long regarded as the earliest such genuine record.

I am not sure about the location of *Prachakāśā* nor of the district called *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* and the village called *Vēdhyakūpikā-grāma*. But *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* may be modern Wankaner in Kathiawar. *Prachakāśā* cannot be identified with Prakasha in the West Khandesh District, since the chieftain of Śivararāta does not appear to have extended beyond Kathiawar.

¹ Ibid., pp. 342 ff. (cf. *Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuhyāta* in line 1 and *Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānam* in line 13).

² Ibid., pp. 346 ff. (cf. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānam* in line 16).

³ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 267-68.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 89 ff.

⁵ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 403 ff.

⁶ Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. 145.

⁷ *Proc. IHC*, 1944, pp. 78 ff.

⁸ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 271, 272 and note 8.

⁹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. cxlix ff.; Alan, *Catalogue (Gupta)*, pp. xxxvii f., lxxvi f.

¹⁰ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 280 ff.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² [] svasti [] Prachakāśyāḥ paramabhaṭā(ṭṭā)ṛaka-pād-ānuhyāte
Iśvararāta[h] kuśal
- 2 Vāṅkikā-paṭṭā Vādhyaḥpikā-grāma-samupāgatātes(n=sa)rvvān=āy-āmad-āyukta-
vini-
- 3 yuktān-kumārāmāty-ōparika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsika-hastyaśvajanaṇyā[prita]-chāṭa-
- 4 bhāṭ-ādīdhrā(n=Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarānś=cha grāma-prativāsi[na]h kuśalam-anuvarya
bōdhaya³

No. 2. Supia Pillar Inscription of the time of Skandagupta, Gupta Year 141.

The stone pillar bearing the old inscription under study was discovered in the village of Supia in the former Rewa State now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The pillar was utilised at a much later date to incise another inscription recording a performance of the *Sati* rite. This second epigraph on the back side of the pillar is much damaged; but its purport is clear from the sculptural representation above the lines of writing. The older inscription recording the purpose for which the pillar was originally raised is written in seventeen lines covering an area about 8 inches in breadth and about 22½ inches in height.

Impressions of the inscription and photographs of the pillar were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India for examination about fifteen years ago. A small paper on the inscription was read at the Archaeological Section of the Banaras Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1943-44. It was published in the *Proceedings* of the Session, Vol. III, 1948, pp. 587-89. Unfortunately, the note was based on an inaccurate transcript of the epigraph. It is stated that 'the object of the inscription is to record the consecration of an image of the goddess Shashthi by one Chhandaka.' But what was read as *Shashthi* is clearly *yash(hi)sh(i)* meaning 'a pillar' and undoubtedly referring to the stone pillar on which the inscription is engraved.⁴ It was moreover not Chhandaka but his brother Varga whose pious activity is described in the record. About ten years ago, I received an impression of the inscription from the late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar through Dr. R. C. Majumdar and noticed it briefly in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Vol. XV, 1949, p. 6.

The characters are the same as in the contemporary inscriptions of the central part of India such as the earlier records of the kings of the Parivrajaka and Uchchakalpa dynasties.⁵ The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are some errors of grammar and orthography. As regards orthography, it may be noted that, like many contemporary inscriptions, our epigraph exhibits the reduplication of some consonants preceding or following *r*. A point of orthographical interest is offered by the words *vanśa* (for *vanśa*) and *chātvarīnśa* (for *chātvarīnśa*).

The date of the record is quoted in lines 8-9 in words as the year 141 of the reign of Skandagupta. The year has of course not to be referred to the regnal reckoning of the monarch, as the language may literally suggest, but to the Gupta era. Thus our inscription was engraved in the year 460-61 A.D. The specific day of the year, when the epigraph was incised, is indicated at the end of the record in lines 16-17, although the passage *asyāṣṭa dīvata-pūrvvādyāṣṭa* follows the mention of the year in lines 9-10 as if the day has been already indicated in the preceding section. The exact date of the record is given as the second tithi of the bright half of the month of Jyāshṭha.

¹ From the photograph published in the *Valabhi Vaidyanagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, International Language Section, Plate facing p. 4.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ The last letter of the expression *ādīdhrā* was apparently engraved on another plate which is now lost.

⁴ Cf. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 607 and note, to which my attention was drawn when this paper was going through the press.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 92 ff., Nos. 21 ff.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

1. KALACHIHALA FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF ISVARARATA



(from a Photograph)

2. SUPIA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SKANDAGUPTA, GUPTA YEAR 141



Scale : One-Third

Lines 1-8 introduce the reigning monarch, during whose rule the pillar was raised by one of his subjects. Mention is first made of Ghaṭōtkacha, and *Mahārāja Samudragupta* is then stated to have belonged to the former's family. Samudragupta was actually the son of Chandragupta I and the grandson of Ghaṭōtkacha. The inscription then mentions Vikramāditya, the son of Samudragupta, and Vikramāditya's son *Mahārāja Mahēndrāditya*. There is no reference to the qualities or achievements of any of these rulers, and Ghaṭōtkacha and Vikramāditya are mentioned even without the epithet *Mahārāja*. It may be mentioned in this connection that the genealogy of the Guptas in the records of the family generally begins with *Mahārāja Gupta*, father of *Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkacha*. But the mention of Ghaṭōtkacha as the head of the Gupta genealogy is found in the copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, which represent Ghaṭōtkacha as the first king of the Gupta family.¹ Another interesting feature of this part of the record under study is that Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta, and the former's son Kumāragupta I have been mentioned in it by their titles as Vikramāditya and Mahēndrāditya respectively. These titles are found in the legends of some of the coins issued by these monarchs and not in the inscriptions of the family. We have also to note that the Gupta records generally mention Gupta and his son Ghaṭōtkacha with the title *Mahārāja*, while Ghaṭōtkacha's son Chandragupta I and the latter's successors are endowed with the more dignified title *Mahārājādhirāja*. But inaccuracy in such details is not unexpected in a private record like the one under study.²

Lines 4-8 describe the reigning monarch *Skandagupta*, also called a *Mahārāja* rather inaccurately. He is stated to have been equal to the *Chakravartins*³ in prowess and valour, to Rāma (probably meaning Rāma, son of Daśaratha) in righteousness and to Yudhiṣṭhira in the matter of speaking the truth as well as of good conduct and modesty. These are of course vague praises which do not offer any historical information.

The next three lines (lines 10-12) introduce the person who was responsible for erecting the pillar. First is mentioned a *śrēṣṭhin* or banker named Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhin. Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhin's son is stated to have been Hari-śrēṣṭhin whose son was Śrīdatta. This Śrīdatta seems to be described as a *kuṣumbhika*, i.e. a husbandman, residing at the locality called *Avaḍara*. The language of the section may also be taken to mean that it was Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhin who was a *kuṣumbhika* of *Avaḍara*. But it is doubtful whether the same person should have been called both a *śrēṣṭhin* and a *kuṣumbhika*.⁴

Next Varga is introduced as the brother of Śrīdatta and Chhandaka as the brother of Varga. Thus Hari-śrēṣṭhin had three sons, viz. Śrīdatta, Varga and Chhandaka, of whom Śrīdatta seems to have been the eldest and Chhandaka the youngest. It is interesting to note that, while the father and grandfather were *śrēṣṭhins* or bankers by profession, none of the three brothers is called a *śrēṣṭhin*. On the other hand, as already indicated above, the elder brother appears to be described as a *kuṣumbhika* or husbandman while the second brother Varga is called a *grāmika* or village headman in the latter part of the document. This probably suggests that the cognomen was not yet stereotyped in the family.

Lines 13-15, recording the object of the inscription, state that Varga-grāmika, for the purpose of acquiring merit for himself, erected the *bala-yashti* which was a *gōtra-lalitā* meant for the

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 412, note 3.

² See, e.g., the Mankwar image inscription mentioning Kumāragupta I as a *Mahārāja* (ibid., p. 388, note 2).

³ Twelve ancient imperial rulers of Indian tradition, beginning with Bharata, are specially called *Chakravartins*. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁴ The words *śrēṣṭhin* and *kuṣumbhika* as found in inscriptions have been generally understood in the above sense. See Lüders' *List*, Nos. 976, etc.; Nos. 24, etc. Cf. R. Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-East India*, Eng. trans., pp. 256-57.

increase of *yaśaḥ* and *kīrti*. It will be seen that Varga, who was the elder brother of Chhandaka, younger brother of Śrīdatta, son of Hari-śrēṣṭhīn and grandson of Kaivartti-śrēṣṭhīn, has been mentioned here as Varga-grāmika. The word *grāmika* affixed to Varga's name suggests that he was the headman of a village which seems to be no other than Avadara. The synonymous words *yaśaḥ* and *kīrti*, when used together, are often understood in the sense of glory in this life and fame after death.¹

There is no doubt that the stone pillar, which bears the inscription and was erected by Varga, is called a *bala-yashṭi*. The use of the word *yashṭi* in the sense of a pillar raised in memory of the dead is known from the Sui-Vihār and Andhan inscriptions.² It therefore appears that Varga raised the pillar bearing the inscription in memory of his grandfather Kaivartti-śrēṣṭhīn, his father Hari-śrēṣṭhīn, his elder brother Śrīdatta and his younger brother Chhandaka who were apparently all dead. The memorial pillar is also called a *gōtra-śailikā* or 'family [pillar of] stone' apparently because it was raised in the memory of several members of the family. We know that the word *gūtra*, apparently a mistake for *gōtra* which is a contraction of *gōtra-śailikā*, was used to indicate a memorial pillar in the region in question even in the medieval period.³

The word *bala* in the expression *bala-yashṭi* seems to have been used in the sense of 'strong or stout'. Otherwise we have probably to suggest that, somehow in some regions, such memorial pillars were called 'Bala's (i.e. Balarāma's) Club' just as the pillars bearing Aśoka's inscriptions are known in certain places as 'Bhīmasēna's Club'. But this is less likely.

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription is Avadara which appears to have been a locality near modern Supiā, the findspot of the epigraph.

TEXT⁴

- 1 [Śrī]-Gha[ṭṭ]akcha[ḥ] [*] tad-vanśe⁵ prava . . *
- 2 [nē] mahāra(rā)ja-śrī-Samu[dragu]pta[ḥ] [*] ta[t-pu]-
- 3 [tra][ḥ] [*] śrī-Vikkramā[ditya][ḥ] [*] ta[tputra][ḥ] [*] mahārā[ja]-
- 4 [śrī]-Mahā[ndrāditya][ḥ] [*] tasya [pu]tra[ḥ] [*] Chakka[ra]va
- 5 [rtti]-tu[lyō] [mahā]-bala-vikkra[mā]ga R[āma]-
- 6 [tu]lyō dha[rma]-pa[ra]taya Yudhishtira⁶ sa[tyā]-
- 7 nacharavi[naya]⁷ mahārāja-śrī-Ska[nda]-
- 8 guptasya⁸ rājya-[samva]tsara⁹ śatē Śka-
- 9 chatvāri[nśōtta]rakō¹⁰ [] [*] [asyām] divasa-pū-
- 10 rrvāyām(yām) Avadara-vāstavya-kūmbh[ī]kaḥ [*]
- 11 Kaivartti-śrēṣṭhī-napti[ptā] Hari-śrēṣṭhī-pu[tra][ḥ] [*] Śrīda-
- 12 [ta][ḥ] [*] tad-bhrātri(tā) Vargga[ḥ] [*] ta[d-bhrā]ta(tā) Chchha(Chha)nfaka¹¹ [] [*]
- 13 sva-puny-āpyāyan-ārtham yaśaḥ-kī-
- 14 [rtti]-pravardha[ya]¹² māna-gōtra-śailikā bala-ya-
- 15 shṭhi(ahṭiḥ) pratishṭhāpitā Vargga-grāmikēna
- 16 Jē(Jyē)shṭha-māśē śukla-pakhasya dvitī-
- 17 [yāyāri] ti[thau] [] [*]

¹ Cf. III, Vol. I, p. 18, note 7.

² See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 135-36, 167-69.

³ Cf. above, p. 172.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Read *inf. vanśe*.

⁶ The two lost *śākhā*s may be restored as *rtti* and *śākhā*.

⁷ The damaged letter looks more like *śukh*.

⁸ Read *Yudhishtira-tulyaḥ*.

⁹ Read *śākhā-vinayaḥ* or *śākhā-vinayaḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *gupta* or *śākhā*.

¹¹ Read *śākhā*.

¹² Read *śākhā-vinayaḥ*.

¹³ The lost letters may be restored as *śākhā*.

No. 57—NOTE ON DIDGUR INSCRIPTION OF KATTIYARA

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 26-11-1958)

The inscription which comes from **Didgur** in the Haveri Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State, was published by Fleet in the pages of this journal, Vol. VI, pp. 231-53. It refers itself to the reign of a king named **Kattiyara** under whom a certain **Dōsi** was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand provinces. The record is not dated but Fleet assigned it, on palaeographical grounds, to about 800 A.D. As regards the king and the governor, he wrote, "The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter."¹ Further, from the emblem of bear found at the top of the record, he suggested that Kattiyara was a Chālukya, descended from the Chālukya house of Bādāmi, and that he might be the same Kattiyaradēva mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in the Managoli inscription of 1161 A.D.² Thus, according to Fleet, Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription was a Chālukya chief of the Bādāmi house, who flourished about 800 A.D. during the time of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas.

Now palaeography is only an approximate test and, as will be shown below, we shall not be wrong even if we refer the Didgur inscription to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Then the question arises whether there was any king named Kattiyara at this time and in this region who, as stated in the record, was 'ruling the earth' indicating thereby his sovereign status. And the only supreme king about this period was Kirtivarman II (744-45 to 757 A.D.), the last ruler of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. One is therefore led to identify the Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription with Kirtivarman II and it is not difficult to see that the name Kattiyara is only a colloquial form of Kirtivarman. This identification is supported by the fact that Kirtivarman I (566-96 A.D.) who was the sixth king in ascent from Kirtivarman II was also called Katti-arasa as revealed by his Godāchi plates.³ Just as the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva, Krishna and Gōvinda were also called Dhōra or Dhōraparasa, Kannara and Gojjara or Gojjigadēva respectively, Kirtivarman I as well as Kirtivarman II were called Katti-arasa or Kattiyara.⁴ The palaeography of the Didgur inscription does not militate against this identification. The characters of the record resemble those of the Ādur⁵ and Pattadakal⁶ stone inscriptions as well as the Vakkaleri⁷ and Kendur⁸ plates of Kirtivarman II. We may, for example, compare the letters *ṇ*, *d*, *y*, *l*, *ś*, etc.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 232.

² Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 13 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 36 ff.

⁴ The name Kattiyara is only the shortened form of Kattiyarasa.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 68.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 202 ff.

Now Kattiyaradēva mentioned in the Managoḷi inscription referred to above as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa is, in my opinion, none other than the same Kirtivarman II, though Fleet was not inclined to accept this identification. The record expressly states that this Kattiyaradēva was of the Chālukya family and that his hereditary capital was at Kisuvoḷa, i.e. modern Pattadakal. It is not clear why Fleet says¹ that Kirtivarman II did not stand in the relationship with Ayyapa I of the later Chālukyas as asserted in the Managoḷi record. For, the inscription clearly states (text lines 5-6) that Ayyapa belonged to the Chālukya lineage descended from the younger brother of Kirtivarman's father, i.e. Bhīma I who was the younger brother of Vikramāditya II and uncle of Kirtivarman II. And exactly this is the relationship which is mentioned in the Kauthem² plates of Vikramāditya V and the Nilgund plates³ of Vikramāditya VI and is accepted by Fleet.⁴

In view of the identification of Kattiyara of the Didḡur inscription suggested above, let us now see whether Dōsi who is mentioned therein as the governor of Banavāsi-12000 could also be identified. From the Vakkalēri plates of Kirtivarman II, we learn that certain villages included in Pānuṅgal-vishaya were granted by the king at the request of one Dōsirāja. This would suggest that Dōsirāja was a subordinate of the king, probably in charge of the Pānuṅgal-vishaya which was included in the larger territorial division of Banavāsi-12000 and comprised the area round about modern Hangal in the Dharwar District. As the provenance of the Didḡur inscription is not far from Hangal, it is tempting to identify Dōsi of the Didḡur record with Dōsirāja of the Vakkalēri plates. Incidentally, it may be observed that the Didḡur inscription provides the earliest reference known so far to the Banavāsi province as a twelve-thousand division in the records of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

¹ Above, Vol. V, p. 20, note 4.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 379.

No. 58—MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.11.1958)

During the year 1941-42, a set of copper-plates was obtained in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India from one Shri Venkata Reddi who was then a Branch Post Master at Nossam in the Koilkuntla Taluk of the Kurnool District, through Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma.¹ The plates are reported to have been found at **Māyalūr**, a village in the same Taluk. The inscription is edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India from a set of impressions preserved in his office.

This is a set of three rectangular plates with slightly raised rims all round to protect the writing. Each plate measures 9.12" by 4.25" approximately and has a hole (about .6" in diameter) at the left margin, through which passes a ring with a diameter of about 4.5". The ends of the ring are soldered to the brackets at the base of a circular seal about 1.36" in diameter, which contains on its counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right. The plates, with the ring and the seal, weigh 132 *tolas*.

The plates have suffered some damage, specially the second and the third, and hence the writing is not in a good state of preservation. Moreover, the engraving on the third plate is rather careless. The first plate is engraved on one side (inner) only while the remaining two plates bear writing on both the sides, the second side of the third plate having only four lines of writing. There are altogether 43 lines of writing, the first plate and the two sides of the second plate having 10 lines each and first side of the third plate 9 lines and its second side 4 lines.

The characters are early Kannaḍa-Telugu and closely resemble those of the other grants of the same king.² The **paleography** and **orthography** do not call for special remarks. The **language** is Sanskrit and except the invocatory and imprecatory verses, the text of the entire record is in prose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king **Vijayāditya** who ruled from 698 to 733 A.D. The introductory portion (lines 1-31) giving the genealogy of the family from Pulakēśin I to the ruling king Vijayāditya is identical with that found in the other known grants of this king.

The record is dated in **Śaka 622** (expressed in words) and the **fourth regnal year, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī**. Since Śrāvaṇa of the Śaka year 618 expired was the first month of the first year of this king,³ Vaiśākha of Śaka 622 expired would fall in his fourth year as stated in the record. The date is not verifiable in the absence of further details. However, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vaiśākha Paurṇamī of Śaka 622 expired corresponded to **Thursday, the 8th April 700 A.D.**

The inscription records that on the above-mentioned date, when the king was camping at **Poṭṭaliḥanagara** in the Bāviḥāra district, he made a grant of the village of **Yukrōmbē** to the west of **Viñchihichēṭi** in the **Pe[ḍe]kal** district as an *śka-śhōga* gift to a person named **Māraśarma** of the **Vatṣa gōtra** and to other Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the **Vēdas**.

¹ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 232 (No. A 6 of 1941-42).

² Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff.

³ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 370 and note 3.

The record is important in that it is one of the few inscriptions belonging to the early part of the king's reign and is the earliest copper plate grant of the king discovered so far in the Telugu country. We have two more records dated in the fourth regnal year of this king. One is the Kottāra stone inscription¹ which does not supply any more details of the date except the mention of the regnal year. The other is the Nerur copper-plate inscription² dated in Śaka 622 (expired), Āshāḍha Paurṇimā. In this year, the month of Āshāḍha was intercalary so that the date of the inscription under study is two or three months earlier than that of the Nerur plates. The Nerur plates were issued from Rāsēnanagara which is identified with modern Rāsin in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay State. And Poṭṭalikānagara in Bāvihāra-vishaya from where the present plates are issued may be the same as Poṭṭalakere or Poṭṭajakere which was the capital of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla Jayasīma II (1018-42 A.D.) and is also spelt as Hoṭṭajakere in the Kannada records, the change of *p* to *h* being a regular feature in that language. If this identification is accepted, then our inscription provides the earliest reference to the place known so far. Poṭṭalakere was identified by Fleet with modern Dappāyakankere in the Bellary District on insufficient grounds;³ but later researches have shown that the place can be identified with modern Patañcheru which is situated at a distance of about 18 miles north-west of Hyderabad.⁴ And so Bāvihāra-vishaya seems to have comprised the area round about this place. As shown above, the Nerur plates were issued two or three months later than our grant and, during this intervening period, the royal camp was shifted from Patañcheru to Rāsin which is about 250 miles north-west of Patañcheru.

The writer of the grant was *Mahāsāndhikagrahika* (minister for peace and war) Rāma Puṇyavallabha. He lived almost contemporaneously with Vinayāditya and wrote almost all his grants while the same position was enjoyed by Niravadya Puṇyavallabha, who was possibly his son, during the reign of Vijayāditya. Rāma Puṇyavallabha was last mentioned as the composer of the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 616,⁵ and Niravadya Puṇyavallabha appears for the first time in the Rāyagad plates of Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625.⁶ Therefore, the inscription under study is interesting in that it shows that Rāma Puṇyavallabha lived also for some time during the reign of Vijayāditya and seems to have died sometime between Śaka 622 and Śaka 625. Puṇyavallabha was possibly the name of the family.⁷

Besides Poṭṭalikānagara and Bāvihāra-vishaya discussed above, other geographical names mentioned in the record are: Peḍekal-vishaya, the gift village Yukrōma included in it and Viñchihichēḍi to the west of which the gift village was situated. Peḍekal-vishaya is mentioned in an earlier copper-plate inscription of the king's father and predecessor Vinayāditya also secured from the same village Māyalur.⁸ It also figures as Peḍekali-vishaya in the Togarchēḍu plates of the same king Vinayāditya.⁹ This tract is identified with the Peḍakanṇi-sīmā of the later Vijayanagara records, which comprised a part of the modern Kurnool District.¹⁰ I am not sure about the identification of Yukrōma and Viñchihichēḍi.

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125 ff.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 437 and note 3.

⁴ *Sarasa Sahitya* (Kannada), Vol. IX, pp. 456-57 and 521-25.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. The last two or three lines of the Nerur plates of Vijayāditya dated in Śaka 622 and referred to above, which are lost, possibly contained the name of the writer of that grant.

⁷ Above, Vol. X, p. 15; Vol. XXVI, p. 221.

⁸ *JOR*, Vol. X, pp. 27 ff.

⁹ *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 231.

¹⁰ Cf. *A.N.Sp.* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 232.

MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622—PLATE I



ii, a



Scale : Two-thirds

Second Plate, Second Side

- 21 pitāma[hō] samunmūlita-nikhila-kapṭaka-sambhatir-Uttarapathā(tha)-vṛjigṛhō(r-gu)rō-
 22 magrāta śv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaṇa-(gṇa)tā-pātana-viśṛīyamāṇa-kṛi-
 23 pāṇa-dhāras=samagrā-vigrah-āgrāsaras=sen=sā[hasa]-rasikaḥ-parāṇmu(rāṇmu)khikṛita-
 {āstru-maṇḍa}-
 24 [10] Garhgā-Yamunā-pāli-dhvaṇa-pa[ḍa]-dhakkā-mahāśabda-chihna-ka-māṇkya-mataṅga)-
 ād[n=pi]-
 25 tṛisātkurvvan=parāḥ=palāyamānair=āsādyā katham=api vidhivaśād=apanitō=pi pra-
 26 tāpād=eva viśa[ya]-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja iv=ānapēkahit-ā-
 27 para-sāhāyaka(s=tad-a)vagrahān=nirgatya eva-bhuj-āvasatambha-prasādhit-āsāha-vi-
 28 svambharah=prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvātchha(ch=chha)tru-mada-bhāṇjanatvā(d=udāra)tvān=niravadyatvā
 29 [d=yas=sama]sta-bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvarya-vyakti-bhūta-(pāli-dhva)-ādya-ujjva-
 (jiva)la-
 30 prāṇya-rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīpṛthivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-pa-

Third Plate, First Side

- 31 ramāvara-bhāṭṭarakas=survān=ēvam=ājñāpayati [1*] viditam=astu vō=smā-
 32 bhīr-dvāvirīśaty-uttara-shachchha(t=chha)tēshu Śaka-(varah)shv-atitēshu
 pravarddhamā-
 33 na-vij[ā]ya-rājya-samvatsarē chaturthē varttamānō Bāvivhāra-viśa-
 34 [yō] Pottalikā-nagaram=adhivasati vijaya-ekandhāyārē Vaiśā-
 35 [kha]-Pauruṇamāyām Agnikārya-nimittam Pe[ḍe]kal-viśayō Viśchī[hi]-
 36 [chō]ji-vārūya-diśā-Yukrōmbi-nāmā-grāmaṇ(mah) Vatas-gotrāya
 37 Māraśarmamāṇu(rmnaṇ) ēka-bhōgaṇ Brāhmaṇēbhyō veda-pārā(ra)gēbhyas=sa-bhō-
 38 gas=survva-bādha-parihār-ōpētō dattam(ttah) [1] Yasya yasya yadā-bhūmi-
 39 [s=tasya ta]ya tadā phalam [1*] Svām(Svam) [dātum] samahatsa(ch=chha)kya[m] duḥkha-
 [m]-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 40 m=anyatcha(sya) pālana[m] [1*] dānam vā pālana[m] [1*] v=āti dānāśri(ch=chhrā)yō-napā-
 lana[m] [1*]
 41 Svadatta(ttam) parādatta(ttam) vā yyō(yō) harēti(ta) vasundhā(ndha)rā[m] [1*] ahasi[m]
 varaha-sā(sa)hā(ha)srū-
 42 nī viśṭa(ahā)yā[m] [1*] jāyate kṛima(mi) [1] Mahāsandhivigrahika-ārī-Rāma-punya(va*)-
 43 bhāhā(bhā)na likhitam=idam āsā(sa)na[m] [1]

* This is the second half of a well-known stanza.

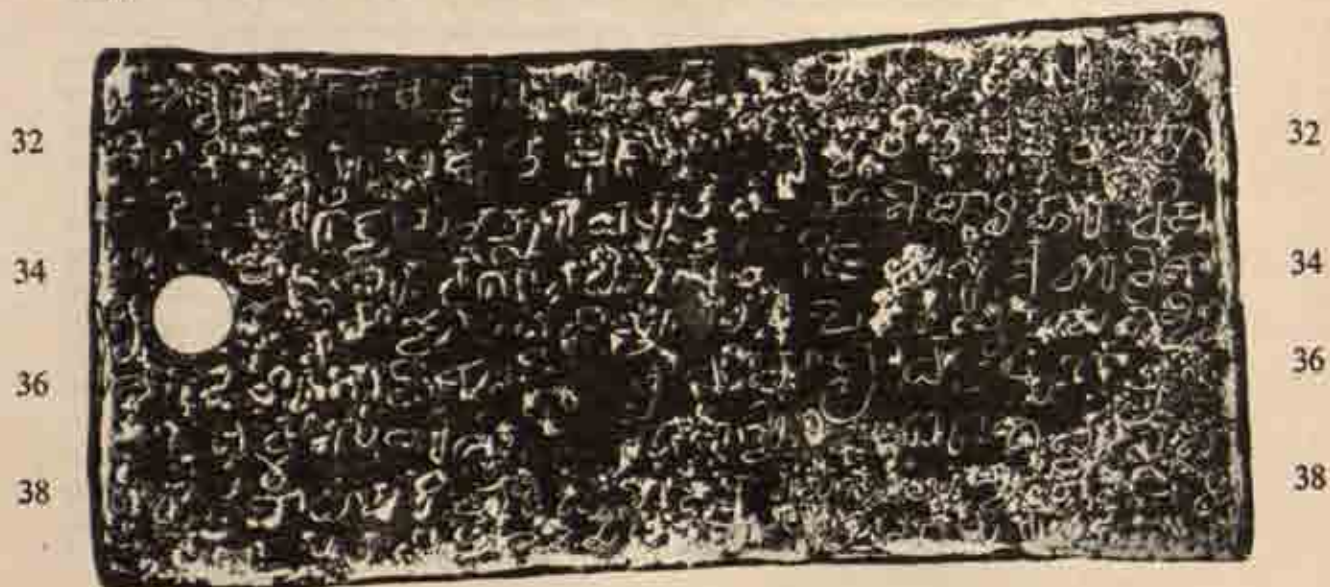
* This final m is unnecessary.

MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622—PLATE II

ii, b



iii, a



Scale : Two-thirds

40

42

40

42



No. 59—MADANAPADA PLATE OF VISVARUPASENA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OCTACAMUND

(Received on 30.3.1959)

The inscription was first published by N. N. Vasu in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, pp. 6-15 and Plates. He recorded its discovery as follows: "In the village of Madanapādā, Post Office Piñjari, Pargana Kotālipādā of the Faridpur District, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper plate and made it over to the land-holder who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakshmi Chandra Sāṅkhyatīrtha in 1892."¹ The inscription was subsequently acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, though later it could not be traced in the Society's collection. N. G. Majumdar re-edited the inscription in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 133-39, from the facsimile published by Vasu, which was, however, not quite satisfactory and reliable. Neither Vasu nor Majumdar could read and interpret the grant portion of the record correctly and the latter remarked, "This portion of the text being extremely corrupt and full of scribal mistakes, it is difficult to say what is actually intended."²

In 1952, I had an opportunity of examining the plate in the Dacca Museum where it is now preserved and was also allowed by the authorities of the Museum to take impressions of the inscription. On an examination of the epigraph, it was found that the said grant portion of the charter is fairly free from scribal errors while its meaning is quite clear. Consequently I published my reading and interpretation of parts of the record in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 209-17 and Plates. Since the inscription throws considerable new light on the history of the Śēnas of Bengal, some of the readers of my paper have requested me to re-edit the Madanapādā plate in the *Epigraphia Indica* with a full-size illustration.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring 12½ inches in length and 10 inches in height. The Śēna seal representing the god Sadāśiva is affixed at the top of the plate and it is referred to as the *Sadāśiva-mudrā* in line 50 of the inscription. As regards **palaeography** and **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles other Bengal epigraphs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and nothing calls for remarks in these respects. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. After the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala Ō namo Nārāyaṇāya* at the beginning, there are 20 stanzas in lines 1-31. All these verses are also found in the Idilpur plate³ often ascribed to Kāśavasēna who is supposed to have been a brother of Viśvarūpasēna. The Idilpur plate, however, contains four additional stanzas which are also found in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna.⁴ The versified introduction referred to above is followed by the grant portion in prose in lines 31-53. Then come seven of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas and a verse mentioning the *dāta* in lines 53-59. Lines 59-60 contain certain endorsements in prose and the date of the charter in the regnal year 14.

The most interesting feature of the inscription is that a large number of passages in it are re-engraved on erasures. As will be seen from our discussion below and the notes on the text of the inscription, the original donor of the charter was another king of the Śēna family, whose name was erased to re-engrave the name Viśvarūpa at a later date.

¹ Op. cit., p. 6.

² Op. cit., p. 138, note 4.

³ See N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 118 ff.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 140 ff, and Plates.

Verse 1 contains an adoration to the Sun-god, to whom the *Paramasaura* donor of the charter was specially devoted, while verse 2 introduces the Moon-god whom the Śena kings claimed as the progenitor of their family. The next stanza (verse 3) refers to the kings of the lunar race and verse 4 introduces king *Vijayasēna* (c. 1095-1158 A.D.) as one of them. The following two stanzas (verses 5-6) describe *Vijayasēna*'s might in vague terms. Verse 7 speaks of *Ballālasēna* (c. 1158-79 A.D.), son of *Vijayasēna*, while *Lakshmapasēna* (c. 1179-1206 A.D.), son of *Ballālasēna*, is introduced in the following stanza (verse 8). Verses 9-10 continue the description of king *Lakshmapasēna*. The second of these two stanzas may be translated as follows: "In hundreds of previous births, that king (i.e. *Lakshmapasēna*), leaving aside all care for his liberation, surely propitiated Hara (i.e. the god Śiva), on the banks of the *Suradhuni* (i.e. the Ganges), being desirous of having a son. For this [reason] (*āstasmāt*), the illustrious *Viśvarūpa*, who was the head of (i.e. the foremost among) the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives, was born [to him]. Otherwise how could it be [possible]?" If the word *āstasmāt* used in the stanza is taken to mean 'from this [king, i.e. *Lakshmapasēna*]', we may have the following in place of the last two sentences of our translation: "Otherwise, how could he born to this [king] the illustrious *Viśvarūpa* who was the head of the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives?" Thus king *Viśvarūpasēna* is introduced in this stanza as the son of *Lakshmapasēna* and the verses immediately following must naturally be regarded as describing his achievements and not of his father *Lakshmapasēna*.

The second of the two verses 11-12 in the following description of *Viśvarūpasēna* state that the king planted sacrificial posts as well as pillars of his victories in battles at the following places: (1) the coast of the **Southern Ocean** where there is the altar on which *Musaladhara* (*Balarāma-Saṅkarashaya*) and *Gadāpāṇi* (*Vishṇu-Krishṇa*) dwell; (2) the site of *Viśvāśvara* near the junction of the **Asi**, **Varaṇā** and **Ganges**; and (3) the banks of the **Trivēṇī**. The three places referred to are no doubt *Puri* in *Orissa*, *Vārāṇasī* (*Banāras*) and *Prayāga* (*Allahābād*). Verse 13 mentions the queen of the same *Viśvarūpasēna*. But the original name in three *akṣharas* (— — —) following *śrī* was erased and a new name in four *akṣharas* was re-engraved in the space, the re-engraving also affecting the medial *i* sign of *śrī*. The third and fourth of the four *akṣharas* read *dēvī*; but the first and second of them cannot be deciphered because neither the original writing was fully erased nor were the re-engraved *akṣharas* clearly incised and properly shaped. There is no doubt that originally the name of *Viśvarūpasēna*'s queen was engraved in the verse. But whose name was re-engraved after having erased the original writing? The answer to this question is clearly supplied by the next stanza (verse 14) in which the donor of the charter is introduced as born of the king and his queen mentioned in the previous stanza. It is interesting to note that the *akṣharas* *viśvarūpa* are quite obviously re-engraved before *śrī* in this verse in the space where originally only two *akṣharas* were engraved. It is also to be noticed that the second of these two *akṣharas* of the original name had a superscript *r* above it and that this sign was not erased apparently through oversight. Owing to the incision of four *akṣharas* in the space of only two and to the presence of the superscript *r* above the second of the two *akṣharas* originally engraved, the donor's name looks more like *Viśvarūr* than *Viśvarūpa*. The two corrections in the names of the donor and his mother in the original writing of the introductory part of the *Madanapādā* plate show beyond doubt that the grant was originally made by the son of *Viśvarūpasēna* and that *Viśvarūpasēna*'s name was subsequently inserted in the place of his son's.¹ As a result of these corrections arbitrarily made at a later date in the original composition, the reader is compelled to regard verses 11-12 as describing *Lakshmapasēna* even though this is quite against the trend of the composition and its original and real meaning. As we shall see below, there is further evidence in the grant

¹ The son's name was in two *akṣharas* and the metre of the stanza was originally *Āryā*. With the introduction of the bigger name of the father, the metre became *Ghā*.

portion of the document to show that the original charter was issued by the son of king Viśvarūpasēna.

Verses 15-20 describe the donor of the original grant, i.e. the son of Viśvarūpasēna, although the corrections in verses 13-14 lead to the description being referred to Viśvarūpasēna himself. Verse 15 states that the king in question had a thirst for military pursuits ever since his youth. Verse 16 refers to his liberality vaguely while the next stanza (verse 17) represents him as the death to the Garga-Yavanas no doubt meaning the Turkish Muhammadans, whatever the significance of the word *garga* in this context may be. Of verses 18-20, the first and second speak of his scholarship and physical charm respectively and the third states that he granted many villages in favour of the Brāhmanas.

Lines 31 ff. introduce the donor as having issued the charter from his victorious camp at Phasphagrāma, the name of which has been wrongly read as Phalgugrāma. In this section, *śrīmat-Viśvarūpasēnadēva*, supposed to be described as *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*, is mentioned as the son of *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara-śrīmat-Lakṣmapasēnadēva*, the grandson of *Arirāja-niṣāṅka-śaṅkara-śrīmat-Ballālasēnadēva* and the great-grandson of *Arirāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara-śrīmat-Vijayasēnadēva*. It is, however, interesting to note that, as in verse 14 in the introductory part discussed above, the four *akṣaras viśvarūpa* in the king's name (line 38) have been re-engraved on an erasure offering space only for two *akṣaras* which were originally engraved and the second of which had a superscript *r* above it. In this case also, the sign of superscript *r* was not erased apparently through oversight. Equally interesting is the fact that, in his title written as *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*, the *akṣaras vṛishabha* appear to have been re-engraved after having erased the *akṣaras niṣā*, so that the title of the original donor of the grant was *Arirāja-niṣāṅka-śaṅkara*. But more interesting is another fact. It is that, in the names and titles of the donor's father, grandfather and great-grandfather, the *akṣaras* between *śrīmat* (or *śrīmat*) and *sēnadēva* in the former and between *arirāja* and *śaṅkara* in the latter are re-engraved on erasures. In many of these cases, the traces of the original writing are clear and these show beyond doubt that the original donor was represented as the son of Viśvarūpasēna, the grandson of Lakṣmapasēna and the great-grandson of Ballālasēna. That such was the case is also suggested by the description of the father of the donor of the charter, i.e. Lakṣmapasēna after the correction but Viśvarūpasēna in the original writing, as *Paramasaura*. In his own records, Lakṣmapasēna is called either *Paramavaiśya* or *Paramanārasimha*¹ while his son Viśvarūpasēna was the first *Paramasaura* in the Sēna family.² This shows that the person, who was responsible for the erasure and re-engraving and changed the name of Viśvarūpasēna to that of Lakṣmapasēna, forgot to correct the former's epithet *Paramasaura* to the latter's *Paramavaiśya* or *Paramanārasimha*. It has also to be noticed that the final *t* in *śrīmat* has been joined in *sandhi* with the first letter of the king's names in this section in all the cases excepting that of Viśvarūpasēna. This fact suggests that the first letter of the original royal name in the stanza did not require any modification of *t* in *Sandhi*. It may have thus been a letter like *s*.

All the five kings including the donor are called *Gauḍēvara*. But the donor and his father are endowed with certain additional epithets such as those indicating their descent from the Sēna family and the lunar race. They have also the imperial titles *Paramēvara*, *Paramabhāṣṭraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. Their title *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-pañjara* was originally used by the subordinate rulers of the Kannaḍa-speaking area which was the original home of the Sēnas. The title *Ānāpātī-gajapati-narapati-rāja-traya-ādhipati* appears to have been assumed by the later Sēnas after a

¹ N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 86, 95, 101, 111.

² In their own records, Vijayasēna and Ballālasēna claim to have been *Paramanārasimha* (ibid., pp. 62, 73). Ballālasēna seems to have become a *Vaiśya* in the later years of his life since he is described as *Paramavaiśya* in one of his son's records (ibid., p. 93).

successful encounter with the Gāhaḍavālas of U. P., who are known to have enjoyed the title. It has to be pointed out that verse 12 of our inscription refers to the victories of Viśvarūpasēna (Lakṣmapasēna after the correction) at Banāras and Allahābād which formed parts of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavālas before their overthrow by the Turkish Muhammadans. Since Viśvarūpasēna's reign of about fourteen years has to be assigned to c. 1206-20 A. D., i.e. after the Turkish conquest of Eastern India, his exploits at Banāras and Allahābād have to be assigned to the period when his father Lakṣmapasēna was ruling. The Mādhānagar plate represents Lakṣmapasēna as having conquered the king of Kāśī (Banāras), i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king, and having obtained success in Kālīṅga and other countries.¹ Viśvarūpasēna must have commanded the Sēna forces against the Gāhaḍavālas as his father's general.

The list of subordinates and officers, whom the donor addressed in respect of the grant, is quoted in lines 38-41. This is similar to such lists quoted in other Sēna charters. The said list of addressees is followed in lines 41 ff. by the declaration regarding the grant. Lines 41-43 state that the gift land was situated in a village in the Vikramapura *bhāga* (division) of Vaṅga forming a part of the *bhukti* (province) of Puṇḍravardhana and that it was bounded in the east by an embankment and a plot of land belonging to the village of Athayāga-grāma (or Aṭhapāga-grāma), in the south by a piece of land belonging to Vāraytpadā-grāma, in the west by a plot of land belonging to Uñchōkāṭṭi-grāma and in the north by an embankment belonging to the locality called Virakāṭṭi. The expression *vārayi-padā* in the name of one of the boundary villages is interesting as it means 'the habitation of the Bārayis (betelvine-growers)'.

The actual description of the gift land in lines 43-46 is entirely written on an erasure, clear traces of the original writing being visible under many of the *akṣaras*. The gift land is stated to have been situated in the village called Piñjōkāśṭhi or Piñjōṭhiya which is the modern Piñjāri near Madanapādā, the findspot of the record. A portion of the village yielding an annual income of 132 Purāṇas or Chūrṇas was excluded and the remainder yielding 500 [Purāṇas or Chūrṇas] per annum was made the subject of the grant. In this connection, the contraction *sām* stands for *sāmvatsarika* 'annual', and *sām-bhū-ḥi* for *sāmvatsarika-bhūmi-hiranya*, 'annual revenue of the land in cash', while *bahūḥ* has been used to indicate 'excluded'. The smaller part of the village, yielding 132 Purāṇas per year, was called Padāti-Sāpāmārka apparently after a Paik named Sāpāmārka, and belonged to the *śrama* of Kandarpaśāṅkara probably a deity named after *Arirāja-madana-śāṅkara* Lakṣmapasēna, the expressions *kandarpa-śāṅkara* and *madana-śāṅkara* being synonymous. It is further stated that the donee also received another plot of land yielding 127 Purāṇas or Chūrṇas annually (*sām-ḥi-sāmvatsarika-hiranya*) and situated in the village of Nāraṇḍapa-grāma belonging to the share of the said *śrama* of Kandarpaśāṅkara. It was the property of a dependant of the king (*svakīya-pālya-sva*), that is to say, it formed part of a *jāgīr* in the possession of one of the king's dependants. The two plots of gift land is now mentioned as Piñjōṭhiya-grāma. It appears that, in the original grant, the whole village of Piñjōkāśṭhi was granted in favour of the donee of the charter and that, sometime later when it was brought to the notice of the authorities that a part of the village belonged to the Kandarpaśāṅkara *śrama*, the necessity of making a readjustment was felt. The donee's loss of 132 Purāṇas or Chūrṇas per year was then compensated by the gift of another piece of land yielding 127 Purāṇas or Chūrṇas. The two plots of the gift land were situated in the villages of Piñjōkāśṭhi and Nāraṇḍapa, apparently abutting on each other; but they were now made one unit under the name Piñjōṭhiya which appears to be a modified form of Piñjōkāśṭhi. The donee's privileges enumerated in lines 45-46 are similar to those found in the other charters of the Sēnas.

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

Lines 46 ff. describe the donee who was the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpadēvasārman of the Vataśa gōtra and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya pravaras. He was the son of Vanamālin, grandson of Garbhēśvara and great-grandson of Parāśara. The donee is called a *śruti-pāthaka*, i.e. a reciter of the Vedic texts, and the grant is stated to have been made according to the principle of *bhūmi-chchhīdra* for acquiring the merits as described in the *Śiśu Purāṇa*. An interesting passage in this section states that the grant was made in the month of Bhādra (probably on the 8th day) in the year 14. But, in the expression *chaturdaśayāudī(bdī)ya*, *chaturdaśa* is clearly re-engraved after having erased the *akṣaras* *dvīti*, so that the passage read *dvītiyāudī(bdī)ya* in the original writing. Thus the original grant was made by the son of Viśvarūpasēna in his second regnal year while the corrections were carried out in the charter in the 14th year of Viśvarūpasēna's reign.

The above section is followed in lines 52 ff. by the donor's request to future kings for the protection of the grant, seven imprecatory and benedictory verses being quoted in this connection. The concluding section contains a verse (lines 58-59) stating that Kōpivishṇu, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahaika* (minister of foreign affairs) of Gaṇḍa, was the *dātā* or executor of the grant. This is followed by three endorsements: (1) *śrīman-mahāsūn-karaya-ni* (i.e. *śrīman-mahāsāndhivigrahaika-karaya-nirikahita*),¹ 'examined and approved by the office or clerk of the minister of foreign affairs'; (2) *śrī-mahāmahattaka-karaya-ni*, i.e. examined and approved by the office or clerk of the *Mahāmahattaka* (probably the head of the group of villages including the gift land); and (3) *śrīmat-karaya-ni*, i.e. examined by the king's personal office or by his personal clerk. The date of the issue of the charter, viz. the 1st of Āśvina in the year 14, comes at the end. It is interesting to note that this date is not re-engraved on an erasure, although it certainly refers to the reign of Viśvarūpasēna and not of the original donor of the charter. This is clear from the fact that while the original grant was made in the second year of the reign of Viśvarūpasēna's son, the corrections were inserted in the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpasēna himself. It seems that this space was blank in the original grant, the date of which in the donor's second regnal year was quoted in line 51.

What has been stated above regarding the nature of the grant, viz. its original issue by the son of Viśvarūpasēna and the later insertion of Viśvarūpasēna's name in the place of that of the original donor, seems to admit of no doubt. But it involves a number of problems most of which cannot be settled without further light being thrown on the subject by new discoveries. We have seen that the name of the original donor of the Madanapādā plate, who was the son of king Viśvarūpasēna and whose name was erased in verse 14 and line 28, was written in two *akṣaras* before *sēna*, that the second of these two *akṣaras* was endowed with a sign of superscript *r* and that the first of them was a letter like *s* which did not necessitate the change of the preceding *r* in *Sandhi*. The word in two *akṣaras* that suggests itself to us for filling up this lacuna is *sūryya* since *Kumāra Sūryasēna* is known from the Vatgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna and he is generally regarded as a son of the latter.² But the name of his mother who was the queen of Viśvarūpasēna, that was erased in verse 13, cannot be restored. Even the re-engraved name of Viśvarūpasēna's mother, who was the queen of Lakṣmapasēna, cannot be read in our inscription. It has been read as *Tāḍādevī* or *Tāndrādevī*. But they do not suit the metre. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the Idilpur plate, ascribed to Kēśavasēna, exhibits the erasure of the old writing of the name of the donor's mother in verse 14 (verse 13 of our record) and that of the donor in verse 15 (verse 14 of our record) as well as in line 43 (just as in line 38 of our record). The queen-mother's name in this case has been read as *Chāndrādevī* which also violates the metre.

¹ The contraction *ni* may also stand for *nibaddha* or registered (cf. above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, text line 16). We have *drōḍha*, which is the same as *nirikahita*, 'seen', on the copper plates of such dynasties as the Vāṭakās and the Pallavas. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 406, 412, 419, 433, 437.

² See *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 227.

The *akṣaras* read as **dēvi su(ta)ṣya* in this record are, however, clearly **dēvy-amuṣhya* which is also the reading in the same verse as found in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. In the Madanapāḍā plate, the intention of the person responsible for the corrections was probably to correct *taḍ-asya* after **dēvi* to *ṭasya* in accordance with the requirement of the metre, though he forgot to effect the change. The Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna quotes the name of his mother, in our opinion, as *Ahvaṇadēvi*.¹ It thus appears that the intended correction in the Madanapāḍā plate was **dēvy-Ahvaṇadēvi* *ṭasya* and in the Idilpur plate **dēvy-Ahvaṇadēvy-amuṣhya*, even though the *akṣaras* *Avaṇa* are not recognisable in either of the cases. I do not think it possible that the queen's name was quoted differently in the three inscriptions.

Another problem relates to the name of the donor of the Idilpur plate which exhibits similar re-engravings on erasures as the Madanapāḍā plate and was issued from Phasphagrāma whence the Madanapāḍā plate was also issued. In our opinion, the reading *śśōra* in verse 15 and line 43 of this inscription is a mistake for *viśvarūpa* engraved after having erased *vūryya* exactly as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Indeed the suggestion that *śśōra* is a wrong reading for *viśvarūpa* in the Idilpur plate was already offered by some scholars, although it has been generally ignored by writers on the history of the Sēnas.² It is, however, difficult to ignore it since it appears to be supported not only by the re-engraved names but also by the fact that the so-called Kāśavasēna's title in the Idilpur plate, which was wrongly read as *Arirāja-asakya-śākara* by previous writers, reads *Arirāja-nāṣabha-śākara*, in which *śabha* is clearly written on an erasure. It appears that what now looks like *nāṣabha* is the result of an attempt to re-engrave *viśhabha* after having erased *nīṣaśaka* just as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Viśvarūpasēna's title appears really to have been *Arirāja-viśhabha-śākara* as in the case of his great-grandfather Vijayasēna just as his son assumed the title *Arirāja-nīṣaśaka-śākara* in imitation of his own great-grandfather Ballālasēna. We have seen how, in the Madanapāḍā plate, *viśhabha* is re-engraved after having erased *nīṣa* so that the epithet reads there as *Arirāja-viśhabhaśaka-śākara* which is meaningless.

Now we come to the most important of the problem relating to this enquiry. It is that the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate, which does not exhibit clear signs of re-engraving the names of Viśvarūpasēna and his mother on erasures, has all the stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate in the same order with a few additional stanzas that are also found in the Idilpur plate and that Viśvarūpasēna's title there reads *Arirāja-viśhabhaśaka-śākara*. In our analysis of the introductory stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate, we have seen that verses 11 ff. should have to be regarded as referring to Viśvarūpasēna and verses 14 ff. to his son and that, by the arbitrary insertion of Viśvarūpasēna's name in the place of his son's, we have not only Viśvarūpasēna twice introduced in this part, the second introduction being quite unnecessary and even unnatural, but have also to regard verses 11 ff. as continuing the description of Lakṣmīpasēna and verses 14 ff. as describing Viśvarūpasēna, even though this is plainly against the trend of the composition. How then could this modified composition be quoted in a genuine charter of Viśvarūpasēna himself? The only answer to this question that suggests itself to us is that the introductory part of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna is merely a copy of the modified draft of the introductory section of his son's records and is not a fresh and independent composition.³ This seems to be supported by his title *Arirāja-Viśhabhaśaka-śākara* as found in Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. *Viśhabhaśaka* in this expression is quite meaningless and the emendation *viśhabha-śaka* does

¹ Cf. *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, pp. 201-02.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 149 and note 3.

³ See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1693 and notes; *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 211.

⁴ The explanation I suggested in *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 213, seems to be wrong.

not improve the position since the title would not still offer any satisfactory sense.¹ The copy must have been made from a modified draft like that of the Madanapādā plate which, as we have seen, reads *ṛiṣabhaśāka* since *ṛiṣabha* was re-engraved on *nīḥa* of *nīḥaśāka* without erasing *śāka*. That *śāka* was left out through oversight is suggested by the correction effected in the same title in the Idilpur plate in which *śabha* is re-engraved after having erased *śāka*.

The circumstances under which Viśvarūpasēna's son ruled during the lifetime of his father cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The case does not look like that of Paṇḍu Nirjitavarman succeeding his son Pārtha on the throne of Kaśmir.² It appears that the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpasēna, when the corrections were effected in the Madanapādā plate, fell not long after the 2nd regnal year of his son when it was originally issued. Thus it looks as if the son was raised to the throne when the father was already a king for several years. Whether this was the result of the son's revolt and temporary success against the father or the father being temporarily incapacitated by the attack of some disease from which his recovery was not expected or by his captivity for a few years in the hands of his enemies is more than what we can say at present. In the Idilpur plate, originally issued by Viśvarūpa's son like the Madanapādā plate, the son seems to refer to his father reverentially as *brāhṇa-nṛpati-śaraṇāḥ*³ while the son, if he is identical with Sūryasēna as he seems to us to be, is mentioned in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate as having created a *jāgīr* which was ratified by Viśvarūpasēna.⁴ These facts probably suggest that the second of the two alternatives, viz. the son ascending the throne during a period when the father was somehow incapable of holding the reins of government, is preferable. Whether the issue of Sūryasēna's grants from Phaspha-grāma suggests the temporary loss of Vikramapura to some enemy is more than what we can say at present. He ruled at least for about three years since the Idilpur plate was issued in his 3rd regnal year. The period of the son's rule seems to have corresponded roughly to the years 11-13 of the father's reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have already spoken of the reference to Puri, Banāras and Allahābād. The gift village was situated in the province of Puṇḍra-vardhana which included wide areas of Northern and South-Eastern Bengal in the age in question. Its division called Vaṅga must have comprised the Dacca-Faridpur region while the Sub-Division of Vikramapura no doubt included the Munshiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca District and the Madaripur Sub-Division of the Faridpur District. The Madaripur region, now separated from the Pargana of Vikramapura in Munshiganj by the river Padmā, is still called Dakṣiṇa-Vikramapura, 'South Vikramapura', and it seems that the old Vikramapura division was divided into two halves by the changing course of the Padmā at a date later than the Sēna age. As already indicated above, the gift village called Piñjōkāśthī or Piñjōthīya is the modern Piñjāri in the Koṭālipādā Pargana of the Faridpur District. The other localities mentioned in the inscription including the description of the boundaries of the gift village have not been identified.

TEXT⁵

[Metres: verse 1 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 2-3, 5, 7-10, 13, 15-16, 20 *Śāradālavikṛīḍita*; verses 4, 17 *Prithvī*; verses 6, 12 *Śragdhara*; verses 11, 26 *Pushpitāgrā*; verse 14 *Gītī*; verses 18, 21-25 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 19 *Mandākrāntā*; verse 27 *Aryā*.]

Obores

I Siddham⁶ Ō namō Nārāyaṇāya || Vandē⁷ ravinda-vana-vā(bā)ndhavam-andhakāra-kārā-niva-(ba)ddha-bhuvana-traya-mukti-hētum | paryāya-vistṛita-si-

¹ *Arīṣṭa-ṛiṣabhaśāka* means 'the god Śiva to the bull that was the enemy kings', the bull being Śiva's animal. The expression *ṛiṣabhaśāka* has no sense suitable to the context.

² See Ray, *DENI*, Vol. I, pp. 124-25.

³ N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 125, text line 49.

⁴ Ibid., p. 147, text line 54; p. 148, text line 66.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Expressed by symbol.

- 2 i-āṣṭa-pakṣa-[yugmaṁ-udya]ntam-ādḥbute-khaṇṇi nigama-drumasya || [1*] Paryasta-ṣṣa-
tik-āchalāṁ vasmatāṁ viśva(śva)g-vimudrābhavan-muktā-kṛtmalam-avdhi(bdhi)as-s-
- 3 mva(mba)ra-nadi-vany-āvanaddham nabhaḥ | ndbhūna-smite-mañjari-parichitā dik-kāminīḥ
kalpayan pratyunmilatu Puṣpasāyaka-yaśo janm-āntaram
- 4 Chandramāb || [2*] Śtasmat kahiti-bhāra-nibhaḥ-ārō-dam(da)rvvikara-grāncapi-vicram-ōtma-
dāna-dikahita-bhujā-tō bhūbhujō jajūre | yōhām-apra-
- 5 timalla-vikrama-kath-āravdha(bdha)-prava(ba)ndh-ādḥbute-vyākhy-ānanda-vinidra-sāndra-
pulakair-vyāptāḥ sadasyair-ddisāḥ || [3*] Avātarad-ath-ānvayō mahati tatra dēvab
- 6 avayam Sudhākiraṇasāḥkharō Vijayasēna ity-ākhyayā | yad-aughri-nakha-dhōrapi-sphurita-
maulayāḥ kṣmābhujō Dāsēya-nati-vibhramam vida-
- 7 dhire kil-sāḥkharasāḥ(sāḥ) || [4*] Nil-āmbhōruha-sōdarō-pi dalayan-marmamāpi kadamvi(mh)at-
kāntō-pi jvalayan-manāṁmā madhupa-sugdhō-pi tanvan bha-
- 8 yam || () nirṇukt-āḥjana-sannibhō-pi janayan-nōtra-klamam vairipām yasy-āśāḥ-jan-
ādḥbuteṣā samarō kaukṣāyakaḥ khēlati || [5*] Iṣan-nistritāni-ni-
- 9 drā-viraha-vilasitair-vvairi-bhūpāla-vamśyan-nchehidy-ōchehidyā mūl-āvadhi bhuvam-
akūlāni āśatō yasya rājāḥ | āsit-tājō-jigīṣāḥ sāha diva-
- 10 sakarōp-aiva dōshas-tul-ābhūd-bharitr-aiv-āśviahāṇam-ajani dig-adhipair-ēva smā-
vivādāḥ || [6*] Khēlat-khaḍga-lat-āpamānjana-hṛita-pratyarthi-
- 11 darppa-jvaras-tasmād-apratimalla-krtitr-abhavad-Va(d-Ba)Hālasēnō nripaḥ | yasy-āyō-
dhana-simni sōgita-sarid-duhsaṁcharāyāḥ hṛitāḥ saṁsakta-dvīpa-
- 12 danta-danda-śrīvikām-ārōpya vairi-śriyāḥ || [7*] Śrī-kāntō-pi na māyayā Va(Ba)u-jayī Vāg-
dvarō-py-akṣharat vaktur n-ēty-apatāḥ kalā-nidhir-ape
- 13 prōamukta-dōshāgrahaḥ | Bhōg-Indrō-pi na jhūmagāḥ parivṛtas-trailōkya-rākḥ-ādḥbute-
tasmād-Lakṣmāpasēna-bhūpatir-ābhūd-bhūlōka-kalpa-drumaḥ || [8*]
- 14 [Pratyū]ḥ nigaḍa-ēvanair-naiyamita-pratyarthi-bhūmibhujām maddhyāṇnō jala-pāna-
mukta-karati-prōākhōla-ghaṣṭā-ravaiḥ | sāyam vōḥ-villāsinī-ja-
- 15 na-ragan-mañjira-mañja-ēvanair-yēn-ākāri vihinna-ēvda(bda)-ghaṣṭan-āvandhyam tri-m-
ndhyam nabhaḥ || [9*] Pūrvvāḥ janma-tātēḥ bhūmipatinī santyaḥya muktī-gra-
- 16 haṁ nānam tēna sut-ārtinā Suradhunī-śrō Harāḥ prāpitāḥ | śtasmat-katham-ānyathā ripa-
vadhū-vaiddhavya-va(ba)ddha-vratō vikhyāta-kahitipāle-man-
- 17 li-ābhavat* śrī-Viśvarūpō nripaḥ || [10*] Na gagana-tala-ēva ātta-raṁmir-ma* Kanaka-bhū-
dhara ēva kalpa-sākhī | na vivu(bu)ḍha-pura ēva Dōvarājō
- 18 vilasati yatra dhar-īvatāra-bhāji || [11*] Vēlāyām Dakṣiṇ-āvdhō(bdhō)-Mmussaladhara-
Gadāpāni-sathvāsa-vēdyāḥ kahāirō Viśvōdēvarasya sphurad-Asi-Vara-
- 19 p-āśāḥ-Gaṅg-ōrmni-bhāji | tir-ōtāṅgō Trivēṇyāḥ Kamalabhava-makh-ātam-
nir-vyōja-pūtō yēn-ōchehair-yaḥṣa-yūpaḥ sāha samara-jaya-eta-
- 20 mha-mālā nyadhyāyī || [12*] Yām nirumāya pavitra-pāṇir-abhavad-Vēdhāḥ satnāḥ fikḥā-
ratnam yā kim-ape ēva-rōpe-charitair-vvīśvam yay-ālanāpitam |

* This has been wrongly read as prōāpāḥ here and in the Idūper and Sēhitya Parishad plates.

* Sādī has not been observed here.

* This has been read as rāśāḥ here.

2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30
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- 21 Lakṣmīr-Bhūr=apā vācchitāni vidadhē yasyāḥ sapatnyau¹ mahārājñi ār[1..dēvi]² tad-
asya³ mahisā s-ābhūt-tri-varg-ōchitā || [13*] Etābhyām Śaśiśekha-
- 22 ra-Girijābhyām-iva va(ba)bhūva Śaktidharaḥ | ār[Viśvarūpa]⁴ sēnadēvaḥ pratibhāṣa-
bhūpāla-mukṣa-mayib || [14*] Ā-kaumāraṁ-spāra-saṅgāra-bhāra-vyāpā-
- 23 ra-triśāpā-vaśa-sv-āntasy-āya nīkamyā vīra-pariśad-vandyaśya dōr-vvikramam | n=ōdam
n=ōlam-idaś-cha n=ōti chakitair=durggaṁ praviśya drutaṁ nirggachchha-
- 24 dbhir-arāti-bhūpa-nivahair=bhramyadbhir=ev=āsyatē || [15*] Kālpa-kāmāruha-kānanāni
Kānaka-kāmābhrid-vibhāgān-nidhiṁ ratnānām pulin-āntarāpi cha pari-
- 25 bhramya prayāśasāḥ | tat-pāda-payōdhara-prapayini cōchbhāyā-vitān-āśchalā viśā-
myanti satām-anidra-vidaś-ōdbhrāntā manō-vpittayāḥ || [16*]
- 26 Kim=ōtad=iti vismay-ākulita-lōkapāl-āvali-vilōkita-viśpūkhala-pradhana-jaitra-jā(yā)trā-
bharāḥ⁵ | āśāsa prithivīm-imām prathita-vīra-va-
- 27 rgg-āgrāṇib sa Gargga-Yavan-ānvaya-pralaya-kāla-Rudrō nripaḥ || [17*] Padm-ālaya-ōti
yā khyātir=Lakṣmīyā ōva jagat-trayē | Sarasvaty=api tān lōbhā yad-ānana-
- 28 kṛit-ālayā || [18*] Āruhy-ābhramāliha-grīha-āikhām=asya saundaryya-rēkhām paśyantibhiḥ
puri viharataḥ paum-simantinihiḥ | vānt-ākūta⁶r=naya-
- 29 na-valitair=vibhramam darśayantyō dṛiṣṭāḥ sakhyāḥ kahapa-vighaṣita-prēma-rukṣaiḥ kaṣṭ-
kṣaiḥ || [19*] Ētēn-ōnnata-vēśma-sākaṣa-bhuvāḥ erōtasvatī-
- 30 saikata-kṛidā-lōla-marāla-kōmala-kala[s*]-kvāpa-prapit-ōtsavāḥ | viprēbhyō dadirō mahi-
magha(va)ṭā nāka-pratiśthā-bhṛitāḥ pāka-pm-

Reverse

- 31 kramaśāli-śāli-śavala-kahētr-ōkṣatāḥ karvvaṭāḥ || [20*] iha khalu Phasphagrāma⁷-samā-
vācita-ārimaj-jayaakandhāvārāt sama-
- 32 stasu⁸praśastyupēta⁹-Arirāja[vṛiṣabha]¹⁰sāṅkara-Gauḍēśvara-ārima[d*]-[Viṣaya]¹¹-
sēnadēva-pād-ānndhyāta-samastasu⁸praśastyupēta⁹-Arirāja-

¹ For *sapatnyau mahā*, better read *sapatni-dvayam* or *sapatnyā-dvayam* as in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. The language of the stanza as found in the Madanupātā and Idilpur plates is faulty because the use of *sapatnyau* in the dual renders the verb *vidadhē* in the singular unsuitable.

² The four *akṣaras* giving the name of the queen are written on the erasure which originally accommodated only three *akṣaras* after *ār*. The *i* sign of *ār* has been affected by the erasure and it looks like *ār*. Of the two damaged letters before *dēvi*, neither can be satisfactorily read because the original *akṣaras* were not carefully and fully erased and the new *akṣaras* clearly shaped. The name has been read as *ār-Tūndrādēvi* or *ār-Ṭūndrādēvi* both of which violate the metre and could not have been the intended reading. See above, pp. 312-30.

³ Here the four *akṣaras* *vīraśpa* have been re-engraved in the space for only two *akṣaras* that had been originally incised. The name *vīraśpa* cannot be easily recognised and looks somewhat like *vīraśpa*. The superscript *r* above the second of the two *akṣaras* in which the original name was written has not been affected by the erasure. The two original *akṣaras* may have been *vīraśpa*. See line 32 below.

⁴ The reading is *ākṣarā* and not *ākṣarā*.

⁵ This has been wrongly read as *ār-ābhāṣa*.

⁶ The name of the locality has been read by previous writers as *Phalagurāma*.

⁷ The *akṣara* looks more like *śa*, though in the Gauḍiya alphabet often there is no difference between the medial sign for *ś* and subscript *ś*. In any case, the intended reading is *śa*.

⁸ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁹ These three *akṣaras* were re-engraved after having erased the *akṣaras* *śaśāśa*. The original *ś* was changed to *s* by re-touching its loop. The superscript and medial *i* signs of the original *śā* are still visible.

¹⁰ Although the traces are not clear, there were no doubt re-engraved after having erased *d-Vallā*.

- 33 [nīśāṅka]¹śaṅkara-Gauḍśvara-śrīma[d*]-Va(Ba)llāla]²sēnadēva-pād-ānudyāta-samastasu³prastasyupēta⁴-śvapatiga⁵spatinarapatirājatrayādhi-
- 34 pati-Sēnakulakamalavikāśabhāskara-Sōmavathāpradipa-pratipanna-Karṇa-satyavata-Gāṅgēya-śaraṇāgatavajrapañjara-paramēśva-
- 35 ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaura⁶-mahārājādhirāja⁷-Arirāja[maḍana]⁸śaṅkara-Gauḍśvara-śrīma[l-Lakṣmaṇa]⁹sēnadēva-nād-ānudyā-
- 36 ta¹⁰-śvapatiga⁵spatinarapatirājatrayādhipati-Sēnakulakamalavikāśabhāskara-Sōmavathāpra-dīpa-pratipanna-Karṇa-satyavata-
- 37 ta-Gāṅgēya-śaraṇāgatavajrapañjara-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaura-mahārājā-dhirāja⁷-Arirāja[¹¹vṛishabha]¹²śaṅkara-
- 38 Gauḍśvara-śrīma[¹³Viśvarūpa]¹⁴sēnadēva-pādā vijayinaḥ | samupāgat-āsēśa-rāja-rājanyaka-rājñi-rājaka-rājaputra-rājīmātya-ma-
- 39 hāpurōhita-mahādharṇmadhyakṣa-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahāsēnāpati-dauhsādhi-chauroddharanika-nauva(ba)lāstyaśvagōma-
- 40 hianā]vikādivyāpita-gaulmika-danḍapāsika-dandanāyaka-vishayapaty-ādīn-anyaṁś-cha sakala-rāja-pād-ūpajivinō¹⁵-dhyakṣa-
- 41 pravarān chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa¹⁶-jāṭṭyān Brāhmaṇān Brāhmaṇ-ōttarāś-cha yathārham mānayanti vō(bō)dhasyanti samāśiantī cha [l*] viditam-astu bhavatiṁ ya-
- 42 thā Paupdravardhana-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Vaṅgē Vikramapurā-bhāgē pūrvē Athayāga-grāma¹⁷-jaṅghāla-bhūḥ śīmā dakṣiṇē Vārayipadā-grāma-bhūḥ śī-
- 43 nā pāschimē Uchōkātṭi-grāma-bhūḥ śīmā uttarē Virakātṭi¹⁸-jaṅghāla[h*] śīmā ittham chatuḥ śīm-āvachchinnah(unna)-Piṭṭōkāshtṭi¹⁹-grāma-madhyāt Kandarppaśaṅkar-ā-

¹ These three akṣaras are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. Originally maḍana must have been engraved at this place.

² These akṣaras are re-engraved on an erasure. Originally l-Lakṣmaṇa must have been engraved. The first akṣara still looks more like la.

³ See above, p. 323, note 7.

⁴ Saṁdā has not been observed here.

⁵ The person responsible for the erasure and re-engraving forgot to change this epithet of Viśvarūpaśa to Paramarūpaśa or Paramarūpaśa which was the correct epithet of Lakṣmaṇaśa.

⁶ These three akṣaras must have been re-engraved after having erased the akṣaras vṛishabha, although the traces are not clear.

⁷ These akṣaras are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. That originally d-Vikrūrpa was engraved is proved by the traces of pa underneath so and of the medial i sign of śa. The space also suggests that four akṣaras and not three were originally engraved here.

⁸ These three akṣaras were apparently re-engraved after having erased nīśa of nīśāṅka, the last akṣara of the original word in three akṣaras being left out through oversight. The intended reading seems to be arirāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara and not arirāja-vṛishabhaśa-śaṅkara.

⁹ These four akṣaras were clearly re-engraved after having erased a name in two akṣaras. The second akṣara of this original name had a superscript * which was not erased. The re-engraved name looks more like Viśvara than Viśvarūpa. Note that i of śrīmat has not been modified in sandhi as in the other cases in this section. The original name engraved here seems to have been Śūrya. See line 22 above.

¹⁰ This is the same as rādja-śāpa of early inscriptions.

¹¹ The name may also be read as Athayāga-grāma.

¹² The name has been read as Virakātṭi.

¹³ The name has been read as Piṭṭōkātṭi. From this word down to Piṭṭōkātṭi in line 46, the letters are all re-engraved on erasures. From the beginning of this re-engraved section down to ¹⁴vinagā at the end of line 45, the akṣaras are small in shape and pressed against each other. This was due to the fear that all the akṣaras might not find space enough to be accommodated in the blank created by the erasure. But when the work of re-engraving had reached the beginning of line 46, it was found that the remaining akṣaras were not enough to fill up the available space in that line. Thus the akṣaras re-engraved on the erasure in line 46 are bigger in size, and have more space between any two of them than even in the original part of the writing.

32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60
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- 44 śramiṇya¹-padāti-Śāpāmārka-sām²-va[divā]trīṃsat-purāṇ-ōtara-chūrṇaī-śat-aika³ 132 va(ba)-
hīb sām-bhū-hi⁴ 300 tathā Kāṇḍarppasāṅkar-āṃśa⁵-bhūmau Nārāṇḍapa-grāmō evakiya-
pāya-avam sām⁶]-*
- 45 hi [1]27 dvābhyām sapta[v]jñāṣṭi-purāṇ-ādihika-sām-chūrṇaī(rṇaī)⁷-śat-śatik-ōtpattika-
Piñjōkāśhī⁸-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ a-ōsharaḥ⁹ sa-guvāka-nārikōla-
trīṇa-yū¹⁰.
- 46 ti-paryyanta upari-likhita-chatuḥ-si(ś)m-āvachchhianaḥ **Piñjōthiya**¹¹-grāmō-yath Śiva-
purāṇ-ōkta-bhūmi-dāna-pha-
- 47 la-prāpti-kāmanayā Vatsa-sagōtrasya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva¹²-Jāmadagnya-
pravarasya Parāsa(śa)radēvaśarmmaḥ prapautrāya Va-
- 48 tsa-sagōtrasya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva¹³-Jāmadagnya-pravarasya Garvbhē-
(rbbhē)īvaradēvaśarmmaḥ pautrāya Vatsa-sagōtrasya Bhārggava-
- 49 Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva¹⁴-Jāmadagnya-pravarasya Vanamālīdēvaśarmmaḥ putrāya
Vatsa-sagōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-
- 50 Aurvva¹⁵-Jāmadagnya-pravarāya śruti-pāṭhakāya¹⁶ śri-Viśvarūpadēvaśarmmaḥ Brāhmaṇa-
ya vidhivad-utpijya Sadāśiva-mudrayā mu-
- 51 drayitvā bhū-chchhidra-nyāyēna [chaturdaśa]y-āvdī(bdī)ya¹⁷-Bhādra-dinā¹⁸ tāmraśā-
senikṛitya pradattō¹⁹-amābhīb | yatra chatuḥ-sām-āvachchhi-
- 52 nna-sām-āśana-bhū-hi²⁰ 627 tad-bhavadbhīb sarvvair-ēv-ānumantavyaḥ bhāvibhir-āpi
nripatibhir-āpaharaṇō nara-ka-pāta-bha-
- 53 yāt pālāṇ dharma-gauravāt pālaniyam | bhavanti ch-ātra dharm-ānuśāśinaḥ śōkāḥ ||
Āphōṭayanti pitarō valga-
- 54 nti²¹ pitāmahāḥ | bhūmidō-śmat-kulē jātaḥ sa na-trātā bhaviṣhyati || [21*] Bhūmih yaḥ
pratigrihṣāti²² yaś-cha bhūmih prayachchhati | ubhau
- 55 tau puṇya-karmmaṇau niyataḥ svargg-gāminau || [22*] Va(Ba)hubhūr-vvasudhā dattā
rājābhīb Sagar-ādibhīb | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya

¹ This was read as *Kāṇḍarppasāṅkar-grāmāya*.

² This was read as *śāpāmārka-āśa*. Sām is a contraction of *śāpāmārka*.

³ This was read as *śāpāmārka*.

⁴ This was read as *śāpāmārka*. *Bahī* (Bengali *ba*) is the same as *śāpāmārka* (i.e. excluded) as found in some records (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 100, text line 185, etc.). Sām-bhū-hi stands for *śāpāmārka-bhūmi-hiranya*.

⁵ This was read as *śāpāmārka*.

⁶ The last seven akṣaras were not read.

⁷ This was read as *śāpāmārka*.

⁸ The akṣara was read as *śāpāmārka*.

⁹ The vicarja was omitted.

¹⁰ This akṣara may also be read as *pū*.

¹¹ The re-incision on erasure in this part ends with the akṣara *ya*.

¹² Read *Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva*.

¹³ This was read as *śāpāmārka*.

¹⁴ The intended reading is *chatur-śat-ādīya*. The four akṣaras *chaturdaśa* are re-engraved after having erased two akṣaras. The medial *i* and *t* signs attached respectively to the first and second of the letters are still visible. There is no doubt that the expression *śāpāmārka* was originally engraved and that *chaturdaśa* was re-engraved after having erased *śāpāmārka*.

¹⁵ The intended reading may have been *dinā*.

¹⁶ *Śāpāmārka-bhū-hi* (*śāpāmārka-bhūmi-hiranya*). 'the annual revenue of the gift (and in cash)', is the same as *śāpāmārka-bhū-hi* (*śāpāmārka-bhūmi-hiranya*) of line 65 of the Vangya Śāhitya Parichad plate (N. G. Majumdar, *Ira. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 148).

¹⁷ Read *śāpāmārka* or *pramāṇānti*.

- 56 tasya tadā phalam || [23*] Shashṭi-varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā
ch-ānūmantā cha tāny-eva narakē vasēt || [24*] Sva-da-
- 57 ttām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām | sa viśṭhāyām kṛimī-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ
saha pachyatē || [25*] Iti kamala-dal-ānvu(mbu)-vindu-lō-
- 58 lām śriyam-annachintya manushya-jivitañ-cha | sakalam-idam-udāhṛitañ-cha vu(bu)ddhvā
na hi parushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [26*] Sachiva-
- 59 śata-mauli-lālita-pad-ānvu(mbu)jasy-ānuśāsane dūtāḥ | śrī-Kōpivishṇu-abhavad-Gauḍa-
mahāsāndhivigrahikāḥ || [27*] śrīman-mahā-
- 60 sām-karaṇa-ni || śrī-mahāmahattaka-karaṇa-ni || śrīmat-karaṇa-ni || sarn 14 Āsvina-dinē
1 || ||

No. 60—BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF GOVINDA III. SAKA 726

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.7.1959)

The inscription was published by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 125—27 and Plates. The findspot of the plates is unknown. They appear to have been deposited in the British Museum along with the other epigraphical collections bequeathed by Fleet.

The set consists of **three** plates, each measuring about 5·75" long and 2·5" broad. The ring attached to the plates is .25" in thickness and 2·5" in diameter. The circular seal fixed to the ring is about 1·5" in diameter and has, in relief on a counter sunk surface, a much worn representation of Garuḍa, sitting cross-legged on a lotus and facing full front. The first and the last plate are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. Though the plates are corroded here and there, the writing is very well preserved. The first plate and the second side of the second plate have each 6 lines of writing whereas the first side of the second plate and the third plate have 4 and 3 lines respectively. Thus there are 19 lines altogether.

The characters are early Kannada-Telugu and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Of the initial vowels *a* occurs in line 16, *i* in lines 12 and 13 and *e* in lines 2, 9 and 11. Dravidian *r* is found in lines 1, 10 and 18 and *ṛ* in lines 1, 7 and 9. Final *s* is met with in line 15 and final *ḥ* in lines 5 and 6. *L* is written either with a curve inside the letter as in lines 4, 8, 10, etc., or with a curve outside as in lines 9 and 19. *B* is of the box type (cf. lines 3, 5, 8, 9, etc.) and *kh* of the cursive variety (cf. lines 2 and 19). There is no distinction between medial *e* and *ē* or *o* and *ō*. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is generally doubled (cf. lines 1, 6, 9, etc.). There are certain orthographical errors like *s* used for *ś* (line 2), *bh* for *b* (line 2), *b* for *v* (line 14), etc.

The language is Kannada prose except the imprecatory verse and a sentence at the end referring to the composition of the record, which are in Sanskrit.

The inscription is interesting in more than one respects. It is the shortest of the copper-plate inscriptions of Govinda III discovered so far. Besides being the only copper-plate grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which is written in the Kannada language, it is one of the earliest copper plate inscriptions in that language. The form of the record resembles rather that of the stone inscriptions of the dynasty than that of the copper-plate grants. There is no invocatory verse at the beginning and the inscription straightway begins with the date-portion as in the case of the stone inscriptions. Neither the genealogical account of the ruling king is given nor is the grant addressed to the feudatory officials as is generally found in the case of the copper-plate grants. The present inscription is the only record mentioning the name of the Pallava adversary of Govinda III as Dantiga, i.e., Dantivarman (761-812 A.D.).

* Prof. V. V. Mirashi's view (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 296 and note 4) that the absence of the genealogical section in these plates is due to the fact that they were not issued from the capital of the king is not convincing. There are numerous instances of copper-plate grants which were issued from places other than the capitals and yet contain the genealogical section. Cf. the copper-plate grants issued by Chālukya Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.) from the following places away from his capital at Badāmi: Rāshtrakūṭa (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125 ff.); Kanchōṭanagara (above, Vol. X, pp. 146 ff.), Ellāpura (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 425 ff.) and Kumbhājanagara (*J. R. S.*, 1934-35, App. A, No. 22). The Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III himself was encamped at a place called Sūgūṭra at the time of issuing the Nēarika grant (below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III.)

The inscription commences with the word *svasti* and proceeds to give, as indicated above, the date which is expressed in words as Śaka 726 (expired), Subhānu, Vaśākha vadi 5, Thursday. According to the Southern cycle, the expired Śaka year 726 corresponded to Tāraṇa and Subhānu fell in the previous year, viz. Śaka 725 expired. In the latter year, the given *tithi* was not Thursday as mentioned in the record while, in the Śaka year 726 expired, it regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 4th April 804 A.D. This, therefore, appears to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Gōvindara, the Kannaḍa form of the name Gōvinda, who, from his distinguishing epithet *Prabhūtarāṣa* as well as the date of the record, is none else than Gōvinda III. He also bears the usual epithets *Prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhāṣāra*. We are informed in lines 5-8 that his queen (*mahādēvi*) was Gāmuṇḍabbe who is not known from any other source. It is not clear in what connection she is mentioned in the record. It may, however, be suggested that the king made the grant specified in the sequel at the request of his queen, though it is not so stated.

Lines 7-12, refer to the conflict of the king with the Pallava ruler and the object of the record. They have been translated by Fleet as follows: "when (*the king*), having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñchi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra, and when having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the *tirtha* called Rāmēśvara, he came (*there again*) to spear the boars that had been preserved (*for his sport*)—grant of king Kirttivarma to (*the god*) Paramēśvara."

Fleet read the words in line 7 as *Dantiganame gelḍu* and translated them as "having conquered Dantiga." But the word *gelḍu* does not give any sense in Kannaḍa unless one assumes that it is a mistake for *gelḍu*, the verb *gel* meaning 'to conquer'. Moreover, the emphatic *e* in *Dantiganame* does not suit the context. We propose to read the two words as *Dantigana meḡ-ḍu* which means 'having marched against Dantiga.' Thus the sentence has to be understood in the sense that the king was on his march to Kāñchi against the Pallava king Dantiga in order to levy tribute from him and that on his way he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra. This shows that the conquest of the Pallava king by Gōvinda III was not complete on the date of this record but was subsequent to it. In view of this conclusion, it would be necessary to modify the opinion of the scholars who have written on the chronology of the conquests of Gōvinda III and who following Fleet's translation, have understood that the conquest of the Pallava king was complete when the present plates were issued in 804 A.D.¹

Fleet translated the sentence *Rāmēśvara emba tirthadā modaloḷ-mepp-ikki* (lines 9-10) as 'having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the *tirtha* called Rāmēśvara'. He understood *modaloḷ* in the sense of 'at first' and thought that it referred to the first visit of the king to the place. This led him to suppose that the king came there again to spear the boars referred to in the next sentence (line 10) *porada pandigalaṇ-ṛipal-bandalli*. He also took *mepp-ikki* in the sense of 'having approved'. Now the word *meppu* is not found in Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary* and the meaning given by Fleet does not suit the context. We feel that *meppu* may be connected with *meḡpu* meaning 'grazing, pasturage' derived from the root *me* or *meḡ* 'to graze' and *mepp-ikki* has to be taken as qualifying the following words *porada pandigalaṇ*. The word *modaloḷ* in the sense of 'first or first visit' does not suit the preceding word *tirthadā* which is in the genitive case.

¹ Altakar (*The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 63) thought that Gōvinda III was returning from his expedition against the Pallava king when the present plates were issued. Cf. also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 215; Vol. XXXII, p. 169.

² *Meḡpu* is used in this sense in the Kannaḍa work *Pampa-Bhāṣam* (Chapt. V, section in press after verse 43) on the description of the hunting expedition of Arjuna.

So it has to be understood in the sense of 'in front of' or 'opposite to'. The whole sentence appears to mean that there was a sort of a game-sanctuary located on the opposite side of Rāmśvara-tirtha (i.e. on the other side of the river) where boars were grazed and preserved for hunting purposes. Thus the words *molola* and *bandall* do not support the view that the king had visited the same place on two occasions, as supposed by Fleet.¹ But this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier invasion of the Pallava capital by Gōvinda III. The fact that the king was on his march in order to levy tribute from the Pallava king may possibly suggest that the latter had failed to pay the tribute levied on a previous occasion. This view may gain support from the statement, that from Śrībhavana, Gōvinda III went to the banks of Tuṅgabhadra with his forces and captured the fortune of the Pallavas, though it was already in his hands.²

The object of the inscription (lines 11-12) is to register the renewal of a grant, by the king, to the priest (*gorava*) Śivadhāri. It is stated that the former grant was made by Kirtivarmanarāja-paramēśvara who was most probably Kirtivarman II (744-45-757), the last imperial Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi.³ The meaning of the expression *mudumbayama=untu* used in this connection is not clear but it appears to refer to the name of a locality or to the former privileges attached to the grant which was renewed by Gōvinda III.⁴

Thus lines 7-12 of the inscription may be rendered as: "When (Gōvinda III) was on his march, in order to levy tribute, against Dantiga who was ruling over Kāñchi, and when he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra, and when he had come to spear the boars that had been grazed and preserved (for his sport) on the opposite side of the tirtha called Rāmśvara (i.e. on the other side of the river), seeing the beauty of the tirtha, he (i.e. the king) gave to the priest named Śivadhāri the grant of Mudumbayama which was (formerly) given by Kirtivarmanarāja-paramēśvara." Lines 13-17 contain the imprecatory portion and a sentence in lines 17-18 refers to a stream called Kunda or Kundu as lying on the boundary of the gift land. This is followed in lines 18-19 by the mention of *Mahāsandhivigraha* Śrīdhara as the writer of the grant. This officer is not known from the other grants of Gōvinda III.

The chronology of the campaigns of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III has been discussed by many scholars. As pointed out by Prof. Mirashi, the copper-plate charters of Gōvinda III fall into two groups. The first one gives the draft of the introductory part which mostly follows that of the earlier charters of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. To this group belong the Paiṭhan plates (Śaka 716),⁵ Añjanavati plates (Śaka 722)⁶ and the Jharikā grant (Śaka 725).⁷ To the second group, which gives a new draft describing the victories of Gōvinda III, belong all his other charters including the Maṅge plates⁸ (first set) of Śaka 724 and the Badaṅguppe plates⁹ of Śaka 730 which were issued by the king's brother Stambha. Prof. Mirashi has tried to show that all the important victories of Gōvinda III (including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha) were attained before

¹ It may, however, be pointed out that though Fleet seems to have rectified this mistake later (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 367; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 159 and note 5), other scholars have followed it. Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and note 7.

² Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 234, verso 12: *eva-kara-sthānamapi paṇam-śīlāśānam-śrīśaṅkaraḥ Pallavaśāna-śrīpaṇam*. Cf. also, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and K.V.S. Aiyar, *Three Lectures*, p. 82.

³ Fleet takes Paramēśvara as the name of the god to whom Kirtivarman made the grant previously. But it seems better to take it as an epithet of Kirtivarmanarāja.

⁴ For other meanings suggested by Fleet, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127 and note 20.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, pp. 103 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 8 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 157 ff.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, XL 61.

⁹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, pp. 112 ff.

Śaka 724, the date of the Maṅge plates (first set).² But from the recent discovery of the Jharikā grant of Śaka 725 using the earlier draft, it has been shown that the Maṅge plates which are dated one year earlier (i.e. Śaka 724) and in which the later draft is used should be regarded as spurious.³ Therefore, the earliest record to use this new draft is the Nēsarikā grant⁴ of Śaka 727. It follows that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in the north as well as south before Śaka 727, the date of the Nēsarikā grant, if we follow the usual criterion of ascertaining the chronology of his campaigns by the appearance of the earlier and later drafts. From the wellknown verse *śiṣṭa Śrībhavān*, etc., found in this later draft,⁵ we learn that, from Śrībhavana (identified with modern Sarbhon in Broach District) where he had spent the rainy season, Gōvinda III marched with his forces to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra and, staying there, captured the fortune of the Pallavas. This shows that Gōvinda conducted his southern campaign from the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. This is corroborated by the fact that when the Jharikā grant was issued, the royal camp was on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra near Alampur, and that the inscription under review also states that the king had fixed his encampment on the bank of the same river. Evidently all the above-mentioned three references to the royal encampment on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra point to the same event in Gōvinda's southern campaign. It appears that this expedition commenced from the date of the Jharikā grant (November 803 A.D.) and was not yet complete on the date of the present inscription (April, 804 A.D.). However, it must have been completed soon after the date of the present record, since the Nēsarikā grant, dated 21st December 805 A.D., was issued when the king was apparently on his way back to his capital.

The chronology of the southern campaign detailed above would show that Gōvinda's northern conquests were completed before November 803 A.D., the date of the Jharikā grant. As indicated above, Gōvinda III marched quickly from Śrībhavana to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra as if to suppress some sort of revolt from the south. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Añjanavati plates, dated in June 800 A.D. (Śaka 722), were issued from Gōvinda's capital at Mayūrakhaṇḍī and, as already indicated, use the earlier draft. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the northern campaign of the king must have been conducted between June 800 A.D., the date of the Añjanavati plates, and November 803, the date of the Jharikā grant. One may, however, ask why this northern expedition is not referred to in the Jharikā grant. But, as already stated, the king was still engaged in his southern expedition on the date of this grant and even some time thereafter as proved by the inscription under study and he could only prepare the new draft incorporating his exploits in the north as well as in the south sometime before issuing the Nēsarikā grant in December 805 A.D.⁶

The village or locality called Mudumbe cannot be identified.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 297. In his latest contribution on the subject, Altakar also adopts the same view. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 8.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 159. [The reason cited cannot be regarded as enough for characterising the Maṅge plates as spurious. For a case of this kind among the records of the Eastern Ganga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239, where I suggested an unnecessary correction.—Ed.]

⁴ Below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III. [The Nēsarikā grant or any other record of Gōvinda III does not mention Chakrāyudha, though according to the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I he surrendered to Gōvinda III along with his ally Dharmapāla. Some of the conclusions of Mirashi and others thus appear to be based on *argumentum ex silentio*.—Ed.]

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 244, verse 18.

⁶ [The absence of reference to the northern campaign in the Jharikā grant of 803 A.D., before which it must have been completed as indicated by the issue of the charters of the period between 802 and 805 A.D. from the southern camps, makes Dr. Cal's explanation rather doubtful. Gōvinda III was not actually fighting with the Pallavas on the Tuṅgabhadra and the officers with him could have drawn up the new draft in any of his camps if he so desired.—Ed.]

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [| *] Śaka-nripa-kā]-ātita samvatsaramga]-ślnūri(r-i)rppatāraṇe-
 2 yā Subhānu embhā(mba) varahadā Vaisā(śā)kha-māsa-kṛishṇa-pa-
 3 kha-pañchame(mi)-Bṛihaspati(ti)vāram-āgi [|*] Svasti(sti) Prabhū-
 4 tavarsha-śrī-Prithuvi(thvi)vallabha-mahārājā(hirāja) pa(rā*)mā-
 5 śvara Gōyindara-bhatārārā Gāmuṇḍabbega]² mahādē-
 6 viyār-āgi³(gi) rājyā(jya)-pra[va]rddhamāna kālādo]

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 Kañchiyan-ā]vā(jva) Dantigana māg-e]du⁴ kappam-go]a-
 8 l-bandalli Tuthgabhadreyā taḍiyol-tāpa-biḍuga-
 9]-i]du Rāmśvara emba tirthadā modalo]-mopp-i-
 10 kki porada pandigalan-i]iyal-bandalli(ili) tirthad-o]pa-
 11 n=kaḍḍu⁵ Śivadhāri emba goravargge Mudumbeya-
 12 maṇ-untu Kitthi(rtti)vammo(rmma)rāja*-paramśvara-dattamān-vi]tā(r*)[|*]⁶

Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 idam kaḍisidaro]a(l=ā)r-appode int-appāt(ppār) [|*]
 14 Śva-dattā[m*] para-dattambā⁷ yō harēti(ta) vasu-
 15 ndharān(rām |) shashṭhi(ṣṭi)-varsha-sahasrāṇi(ṭi) viś[hā-
 16]yām jāyatē krimi]b [|*] Api varsha-sahasrāṇi

¹From the Plates in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, between pp. 126 and 127.²The two letters ga were first omitted and then inserted below the following letter ma.³The character rā is written below the line between pā and gi.⁴Fleet reads *Dantiganame gēdu*.⁵Fleet reads *tirtham=ojpa=kaḍḍu*.⁶These two letters were first omitted and then inserted below the line between ma and the following letter

pa.

⁷Fleet reads *vi]tā(r*)*.⁸This character is redundant.⁹Read *paradattān va*.

Third Plate

17 tēna mē n=ānyatō bhayam(yam) []¹ pūrva-ethiti Ku-

18 nd=emba toye mēre []² Mahāsandhivigrā(gra)hā³dhi-

19 kāra(r-ā)dhi(dhi)patā[]⁴ Śrīdharasya likhitah⁵ aya⁶[]⁷

¹ This is only a half verse.

² This letter hā is written below the following letter dhī.

³ Read Hāhām.

⁴ This letter is unnecessary.

⁵ While this article was going through the press, I visited Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. It was at this place, situated on the bank of the Tungabhadra, that Gōvinda III was camping as shown above. About a mile to the north of Alampur, there is, on the river-bank, a locality called Rāmāvara which is evidently the same as Rāmāvara-tīrtha mentioned in our record. I noticed here the remains of one or two old temples. But what is more interesting is that, on the other bank of the river opposite Rāmāvara, there is still a small jungle and I was informed that it is infested with bears even today. I was also told that a stone inscription of the reign of Gōvinda III, which is now kept in the museum at Alampur, was originally found at this Rāmāvara. These facts go to confirm the interpretation of the text (lines 9-10) offered at pp. 328-29 above.

No. 61—NOTE ON SHAR-I-KUNA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

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A rock inscription of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 269-232 B.C.) was recently discovered in a locality called Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahar in Southern Afghanistan, that is to say, in the vicinity of the site of the ancient city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great in Arachosia. It is a bilingual record, one of its two versions being in Greek and the other in Aramaic. Both the versions of the inscription have been published in Italian by U. Scerrato, G. Tucci, G. P. Carratelli and G. L. della Vida in a small book entitled *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Asoka—La prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan*, Rome, 1958, and in French by D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1 ff. A paper on the same inscription received by us from Prof. J. Filozat is appearing in the pages of this journal, below, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff.

The Shar-i-Kuna inscription is an edict referring to the results of Aśoka's propagation of what he called his *Dharma* and we know that such results are referred to in some of his other edicts, especially in Minor Rock Edicts I-II and Rock Edict IV. The two versions of the Shar-i-Kuna inscription are really independent free translations of an edict (or two versions of an edict) that may have been drawn up in Prakrit at Aśoka's Record Office at Pataliputra and sent to his Viceroy and the *Mahāmātras* at Alexandria in Arachosia for being translated into Greek and Aramaic no doubt for respectively the local Greek (Yavans) and Kāmbōja subjects of the Maurya emperor, who are referred to in Rock Edicts V and XIII. The Aramaic text refers to a fact recorded in Rock Edict I that formerly numerous birds and animals used to be killed daily at Aśoka's kitchen for the preparation of curries, but that, at the time of the issue of Rock Edict I, only three living beings were being killed for the same purpose. The Aramaic version also mentions the Maurya king clearly as the lord of the people and officers of the Kandahar region where the edict was engraved.¹ No clear allusion to these is found in the Greek text. Likewise there is mention of the king's hunters only in the Greek text and not in the Aramaic version. We may regard the Shar-i-Kuna inscription as Minor Rock Edict IV.²

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been satisfactorily deciphered and interpreted, though there are some doubtful passages in the Aramaic version.³ The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it not only proves the inclusion of Afghanistan, apparently the home of the Yavans and Kāmbōjas, in Aśoka's empire but also quotes the date when the emperor became a zealous propagator of *Dharma*.

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been translated into French as follows:

- (A) Dix ans étant révolus, le roi Piodassès a montré aux hommes la Piété. (Ten years having passed [since his coronation], king Priyadarśin has shown Piety to the people.)
- (B) Et depuis lors il a rendu les hommes plus pieux, et tout prospère sur toute la terre. (And, since then, he has rendered the people more pious, and all prosper on the whole earth.)

¹ Aśoka could not have issued such an edict to the subjects of a foreign ruler.

² The Bairāt-Bābrī inscription may be regarded as Minor Rock Edict III. See my *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Delhi, 1937, pp. 27, 28-29.

³ There is some difference between the views of the Italian and French scholars. We have followed the latter. A study of the Aramaic version by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl has since appeared in *East and West*, September 1958, pp. 192 ff.

⁴ The use of Past Tense is required here since the following sentence makes it clear that the reference is to an earlier event.

- (C) Et le roi s'abstient des êtres vivants, et les autres hommes et tous les chasseurs et pêcheurs du roi ont cessé de chasser. (And the king abstains from [the eating or slaughter of] living beings, and other people and all the king's hunters and fishermen have given up hunting.)
- (D) Et ceux qui n'étaient pas maîtres d'eux-mêmes ont cessé, dans la mesure de leurs forces, de se pas se maîtriser. (And those who could not control themselves have ceased not to control themselves as far as they could.)
- (E) Et ils sont devenus obéissants à père et mère et aux gens âgés, à l'inverse de ce qui était le cas précédemment. (And they have become obedient to [their] father and mother and to the old people contrary to what was the case previously.)
- (F) Et désormais, en agissant ainsi, ils vivront de façon meilleure et plus profitable en tout. (And henceforth, by so acting, they will live in an altogether better and more profitable way.)

It may be translated roughly into **Prakrit**, as used in Aśoka's inscriptions in general and, in particular, his edicts at Shāhbāgaḥ in the Peshawar District (as also Mansehrā in the Hazara District) of West Pakistan, as follows :

- (A) *daśa-vash-abhisittena rāja Priyadrasīna janaspi dharm-anustasti pravartita |*
(*daśa-varaḥ-ābhishiktēna rājā Priyadarśinā janā dharm-anustastih pravartitā |*)
- (B) *tataś chu tena munīna bādhataraṁ dharmā-yuta kṛta prajā cha vādḥita hita-sukhena sarva-puṭhaviyaṁ |* (tataś cha tu tēna manuṣyāḥ bādhataraṁ dharmā-yutāḥ kṛitāḥ prajāḥ cha varḥitāḥ hita-sukhēna sarva-prithivyām |)
- (C) *rājaś chu prajā-arambho paritijita savrehi cha manuṣāhi lūḍakehi cha savrehi kevaṭehi cha rājā paritijita vihināsa bhūtanāṁ |* (rājāś cha tu prajā-ārambhaḥ paritīyaktāḥ sarvāḥ cha manuṣyāḥ lubdhakāḥ cha sarvāḥ kaivartāḥ cha rājāḥ paritīyaktā vihināsa bhūtānām |)
- (D) *yēṣaṁś chu n-asī sahiyamo te pi cha sahiyata bhūta yathā tena tena śakam |* (yēṣaṁś cha tu n-asī sahiyamāḥ tē api cha sahiyatāḥ bhūtāḥ yathā tēna tēna śakyam |)
- (E) *te pi cha mātā-pitūṣu vudḥeshu cha suśrūṣanti yadīṣam no bhūta-pruṣam |* (tē api cha mātā-pitūṣu vṛddhēṣu cha suśrūṣanti yādīṣaṁ no bhūta-pūṣam |)
- (F) *evaṁś cha karamma te pacha hita-sukhena vādḥisanti bādhamś cha vādḥisanti ||* (evaṁś cha kurvāṇāḥ tē paścāt hita-sukhēna vārḥiṣyantē bādhamś cha vārḥiṣyantē ||)

The Aramaic text has been translated into French as follows :

- (A) Dix ans étant révolus (?), il advint (?) que notre seigneur Priyadarśi le roi se fit l'instaurateur de la Vérité. (Ten years having passed (?), it so happened (?) that our lord, king Priyadarśin, became the institutor of Truth.)
- (B) Depuis lors le mal a diminué pour tous les hommes, et toutes les infortunes (?), il les a fait disparaître ; et sur toute la terre [il y a] paix [et] joie. (Since then, evil became diminished among all men and all misfortunes (?) he caused to disappear ; and [there are] peace [and] joy on the whole earth.)
- (C) Et, en outre, [il y a] ceci en ce qui concerne la nourriture : pour notre seigneur le roi on [ne] tue [que] peu [d'animaux] ; en voyant cela, tous les hommes ont cessé [de tuer des animaux] ; même (?) ceux qui prennent les poissons (=les pêcheurs), ces hommes-là sont l'objet d'une interdiction. (And, moreover, [there is] this in regard to food : for our lord, the king [only] a few [animals] are killed ; having seen this, all men have given up [the slaughter of animals] ; even (?) those men who catch fish (i.e. fishermen) are subject to prohibition.)

- (D) Pareillement, ceux qui étaient sans frein, ceux-là ont cessé d'être sans frein. (Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased to be without restraint.)
- (E) Et [regne] l'obéissance à sa mère et à son père et aux gens âgés conformément aux obligations qu'a imposées à chacun le sort. (And obedience to mother and to father and to old men [reign] in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each [person].)
- (F) Et il n'y a pas de Jugement pour tous les hommes pieux. (And there is no Judgement for all the pious men.)
- (G) Cela (=la pratique de la Loi) a été profitable pour tous les hommes et sera encore profitable. (This [i.e. the practice of Law] has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable [in future].)

The text may be roughly translated into the same Prakrit as follows:

- (A) *daśa-vash-abhiśhitena rāṣa Priyadraśina spamikena no tada dharm-anuśasti pravaṭita | (daśa-varaḥ-ābhishiktēna rājā Priyadarśinā svāmikēna naḥ tadā dharm-anuśastiḥ pravartitā |)*
- (B) *tata apayasa hini jata savraspi cha janaspi tena dupratibhaga nivaṭita | asti pi saṁti cha priti cha savra-puṭhaviyam | (tataḥ apāyasya hāniḥ jātā sarvasmin cha janē tēna duṣpratibhāgāḥ nivartitāḥ | asti api sāntiḥ cha pritiḥ cha sarva-prithivyām |)*
- (C) *eta che pi bhutam | sup-āthaya chu rāṣo no spamikasa lahukam arabhiyati | tam cha draśana savra manuśa na arabhamti | evam pi ye cha kevaṭa te pi cha niyamena saṁyata | (ētat cha api bhūtam | sūp-ārthāya cha rājāḥ naḥ svāmikasaya laghukam-ālabhiyātē | tasya cha darśanāt sarvē manuśyāḥ na ālabhantē | evam- api yē cha kaivartāḥ tē api cha niyamēna saṁyutāḥ |)*
- (D) *evam pi yesham cha n=asi saṁyamō te pi cha saṁyata bhuta | (evam=api yēśām cha na āst saṁyamāḥ tē api cha saṁyutāḥ bhūtāḥ |)*
- (E) *savre cha mata-pitūshu suśrūṣanti vudheshu cha suśrūṣanti yadīśam tasa tasa kaṭavaṁ aropitam | (sarvē cha mātā-pitṛīshu suśrūṣanti vṛdhēshu cha suśrūṣanti yādīśam tasya tasya kartavyam ārōpitam |)*
- (F) *Dharma-yutanam chu kho paratra n=asti vicharapa | (dharma-yutānām cha tu khalu paratra na asti vicārapā |)*
- (G) *sarve cha manuśa dhrama-charapena abhunnata cha abhunnamishanti ch=eva || (sarvē cha manuśyāḥ dhrama-charapēna abhunnatāḥ cha abhunnamishanti cha ēva ||)*

The first sentence in both the versions suggests that Aśoka became a zealous propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in the eleventh year of his reign. The same date is also suggested by the evidence of some of his other records.

It is usually believed that Aśoka's coronation took place about 269 B.C. and that he became a Buddhist after he had been greatly moved by the horrors of the campaigns in Kalinga which was conquered by him, according to Rock Edict XIII, eight years after his coronation, i.e., in his ninth regnal year.

Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued earlier than his Fourteen Rock Edicts.¹ They were promulgated when Asoka had passed the 256th night of a long tour undertaken for the propagation of *Dharma*.² Minor Rock Edict I states that, at the time of its issue, Asoka had already been an *upāsaka* (i.e., a lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two years and a half and that, out of this period of a little over two years and a half, he had not been zealous in respect of *Dharma* for one year at the beginning, but that, as a result of his close contact with the *Saṅgha* or Buddhist church,³ he became a zealous propagator of *Dharma* thereafter for a little over one year.⁴ To this period of zealous activity must be assigned the emperor's pilgrimage to Sambodhi (i.e., Mahābōdhi or Bōdhgayā) undertaken, according to Rock Edict VIII, in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e., in the eleventh regnal year), and the creation of the posts of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras* in the thirteenth year after coronation (i.e., in the fourteenth regnal year), which is referred to in Rock Edict V. The pilgrimage to Sambodhi, the holiest of the Buddhist *tirthas* where the Buddha attained enlightenment, may be regarded as one of the earliest acts of the active period of Asoka's religious life, to which Minor Rock Edict I pointedly refers. Pillar Edict VI, issued in the twenty-sixth year after Asoka's coronation (i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year), states that he issued (i.e., first issued or began to issue) *Dharma-lipsa*, i.e., edicts relating to the *Dharma* he preached, in the twelfth year after his coronation (i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year). Rock Edict III contains an order of Asoka asking certain classes of his officers to set out on tour once in every five years for the propagation of his *Dharma* in addition to their normal duties, and this order was promulgated in the twelfth year after coronation, i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year. Rock Edict VI is stated to have been caused to be written down in the same year. These activities of the thirteenth regnal year of Asoka must likewise be attributed to the period when he was a zealous propagator of *Dharma*.

On the basis of these facts, we suggested elsewhere⁵ (1) that Asoka became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (i.e., nine years after his coronation, c. 260-259 B.C.), (2) that he came into close contact with the Buddhist Church, became a zealous worker in the cause of *Dharma* and undertook a pilgrimage to Sambodhi, in the second half of the eleventh regnal year (i.e., ten years after coronation, c. 259-258 B.C.), (3) that he set out on a tour for the propagation of *Dharma* about the middle of his twelfth regnal year (i.e., eleven years after coronation, c. 258-257 B.C.), and (4) that Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued in the course of that tour in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year (i.e., twelve years after coronation, c. 257-256 B.C.).

The Shar-i-Kuna edict now corroborates the suggestion that Asoka became an active propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in his eleventh regnal year, and sets at rest certain unwarranted speculations about the duration of Asoka's *upāsabata* when Minor Rock Edict I was issued.⁶ The nature of the Shar-i-Kuna edict is similar to that of Minor Rock Edicts I-II and both the former and the latter appear to have been issued in the same year and may be counted among the earliest edicts issued by Asoka.

As indicated above, the imperial order contained in Rock Edict III was issued and Rock Edict IV was caused to be written down in the thirteenth regnal year of Asoka. But Rock Edict V, belonging to the set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts including Rock Edicts III and IV, contains a reference to the creation of the posts of *Dharma-Mahāmātras* in the following year.

¹ Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 18-19; my *Mast's Inscription of Asoka*, p. 25, note 1; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 3.

² Cf. *Mast's Inscription of Asoka*, pp. 29-30.

³ For the meaning of the words *upāsaka*, *upāsaka* and *upāsaka* used in indicating Asoka's relation with the *Saṅgha*, see *ibid.*, p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.

⁴ This is quite obvious from the language of the different versions of Minor Rock Edict I (see *Mast's Inscription of Asoka*, pp. 23-25) and is now corroborated by the evidence of the Shar-i-Kuna edict.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 28 ff., 29-30.

The set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts could therefore have been engraved in Aśoka's fourteenth regnal year at the earliest. Amongst the Six Pillar Edicts forming another set, it is known from Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI that the set was issued twenty-six years after Aśoka's coronation, i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year. Pillar Edict VII added to the above set of six on the Dalhi-Toprā pillar was caused to be written down in the following year and this particular set of Seven Pillar Edicts could not therefore have been engraved before Aśoka's twenty-eighth regnal year. There is a fairly long and rather inexplicable interval of more than a decade between the issue of Minor Rock Edicts I-II (thirteenth regnal year) and the set of the Rock Edicts (thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years) on the one hand and that of the Pillar Edicts (twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years) on the other. During this interval, Aśoka may have been busy with his tours of pilgrimage and with the schism in the Buddhist Church, both referred to in some of his records.

The Shar-i-Kuna edict (very probably of the thirteenth regnal year) suggests that the hunters and fahermen in Aśoka's service, who had originally been responsible for supplying animals and fish to the royal kitchen for the preparation of curries, gave up the practice of catching animals and fish under the king's orders. This reminds us of the fact that, according to Pillar Edict V, the emperor banned the slaughter of certain species of animals and fish totally and of all kinds of them on particular days of the month, in his twenty-seventh regnal year (i.e., twenty-six years after coronation). The general prohibition therefore came after many years of intensive propaganda, even though Pillar Edict VII says that, in the matter of the propagation of *Dharma*, Aśoka considered propaganda by far more effective than prohibition.

INDEX

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[The figures refer to pages, n. after a figure to foot-notes, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au.=author; ca.=capital; ch.=chief; ci.=city; co.=country; com.=composer; da.=daisy; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epitaph; f.=family; fe.=female; fend.=fendatory; gen.=general; gr.=grant, grants; ins.=inscription, inscriptions; k.=king; l.=locality; l.m.=linear measure, land measure; m.=male; min.=minister; mo.=mountain; myth.=mythological; n.=name; N.=Northern; off.=office, officer; peo.=people; pl.=plate, plates; pr.=prince, princess; q.=queen; ri.=river; S.=Southern; sa.=same as; te.=temple; t.d.=territorial division; Tel.=Telugu; tit.=title; tn.=town; tk.=taluk; vi.=village; W.=Western; wk.=work; wt.=weight.]

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